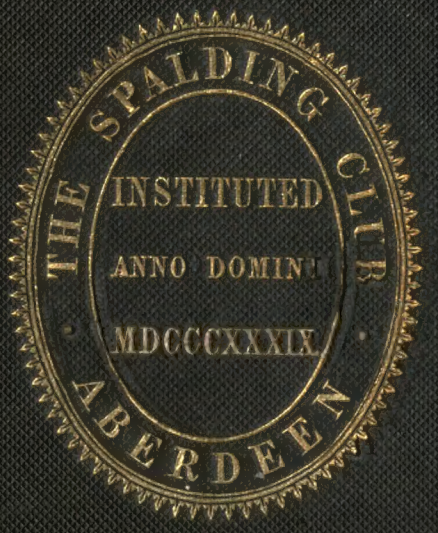
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THE DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE.

ABERDEEN: PRINTED BY WILLIAM BENNETT.

THE DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE,

M DC LII.—M DC LXXX.

AND OF HIS SON,

JAMES BRODIE OF BRODIE,

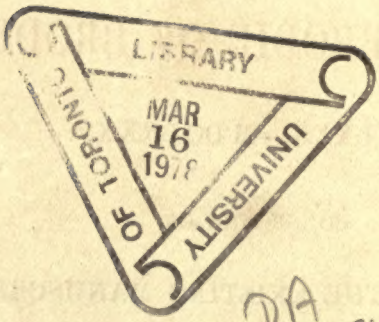
M DC LXXX.—M DC LXXXV.

CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS FROM THE EXISTING MANUSCRIPTS, AND
A REPUBLICATION OF THE VOLUME

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH IN THE YEAR 1740.

ABERDEEN:
PRINTED FOR THE SPALDING CLUB,
M DCCC LXIII.



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PREFACE.

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE, the Author of the following Diary was the representative of the ancient family of that name, in the counties of Elgin and Nairn. Upwards of a century ago, this work was brought under notice by the appearance of a small octavo volume, comprising the earliest existing portion of the Diary, from 25th of April, 1652, to 1st of February, 1654. The Editor of that volume, printed at Edinburgh in 1740, is not known. From its marked religious character, it was often surmized that passages which related to public events might have purposely been kept out. Yet the Editor is quite explicit on this point, when he informs the reader, that the MS. had fallen "very accidentally into his hands," and that in publishing it, "nothing that could be read, so as to make a full sentence is omitted." He at the same time laments that "the Journal of this excellent person should appear to the public under the disadvantage of being imperfect." In using this phrase, he evidently refers to the loss of what the Author himself mentions as his "First Diary Book," which contained the years 1650 to 1652. "I hope," (says the anonymous Editor) "whoever is possessed of it, if it still be extant, will not deny the publick so valuable a present." He seems not to have been aware of the existence of some other and later volumes. But it is clear that the Laird of Brodie himself never contemplated even the possibility that any part of his Diary should be printed; and having no such object in view for recording public events, it was chiefly for his own benefit

that, for so many years, he continued the practice of keeping a register of his religious experiences, and the trials and difficulties of his Christian life. We have reason, therefore, to conclude that the 1740 volume exhibits an accurate transcript of the Original Manuscript, with this exception that the personal pronoun *I* has been changed to *he*, to suit, it might be, the necessarily fragmentary character of the volume. In fact, selections only were, or could be given, from the manuscript, judging from the subsequent volumes, in which the constant use of cypher or a kind of short-hand, interspersed more or less in every page, is quite sufficient to render no small portion of the writing altogether unintelligible, and to afford clear proof of the Editor's judgment and skill in his selections. His remark, therefore, of printing passages of *a full sentence*, thus becomes easily understood; but the wish he expressed regarding "the first Diary Book," has unfortunately never been gratified.

The attention of the Members of the Spalding Club was early directed to this Diary, as likely to furnish materials for a work of some historical importance, in addition to its local interest. Application was accordingly made to WILLIAM BRODIE OF BRODIE, Esq., the Author's representative, and this was liberally responded to by allowing the Secretary, Mr. JOHN STUART, to have the free use of such manuscript books as were preserved. The result of a careful search was to prove that the Author's Diary, which he had commenced in the year 1650, was continued till within one day of his death, on the 17th of April, 1680; although some of the volumes are lost; and further, that the Diary itself was chiefly confined to recording his daily religious experiences and meditations, interspersed with occasional notices of public occurrences.

The five volumes of Brodie's Diary which have been recovered, are as follows:—

Vol. I. Begins January 22d, 1655, and ends October 13th, 1656.

Vol. II. Begins July 6th, 1661 (the first leaf probably commencing July 1st, being lost), and ends July 11th, 1663.

Vol. III. Begins January 3rd, 1671, and ends December 31st, 1673.

Vol. IV. Begins February 22d, 1676, and ends October 12th, 1678.

Vol. V. Begins October 13th, 1678, and terminates with April 16th, 1680. The Diary is then carried on by his Son, James Brodie, from April 17th, 1680, and ends in February, 1685.

It is thus evident, that besides the two earliest, several of the intermediate volumes of his manuscripts have not been recovered. But in addition to the above volumes there are four others of an earlier date, containing short-hand notes of Sermons, to be afterwards noticed.

Here it is proper to repeat, to prevent any feeling of disappointment, that the following Diary has no claim to be regarded as Historical: it properly belongs to the class of Religious Meditations, or in other words, of Spiritual Experiences; the notices of local events, and the daily occurrences in private life, being subsidiary. At that time there prevailed in all classes of the community a degree of religious fervour and a deep sense of the importance of spiritual things, which led to the practice of recording from day to day, for personal benefit, pious exercises and reflections. Many of these Diaries still exist, and several of them have been printed. But the Laird of Brodie's Diary commends itself to notice, not as that of a private individual, but from his own position and his connexion with public affairs at a remarkable period in the history of Scotland, and from having intermingled passing allusions, not only to occurrences in his own family and neighbourhood, but also to the stirring events of his time, as well as incidental notices of the public men with whom he associated. It is, no doubt, disappointing and unsatisfactory while he alludes to circumstances and events now of general interest, that instead of furnishing the details, he should so constantly break off with pious reflections, and his purpose of making them the subject of prayer to God. But we must not forget what has already been remarked, that while such entries reveal as it were the inner man, they were never meant for the public eye.

It may also be remarked that the BRODIE MANUSCRIPTS present no

small perplexity to an Editor. Not only has the Author's wretched handwriting to be mastered, and this aggravated by a peculiar orthography, and the free use of contractions, but there are portions of every other sentence written in a kind of short-hand. In case that any curious or important matter might be lurking under this disguise, the manuscripts were submitted, by means of the late EARL OF ABERDEEN, PRESIDENT OF THE SPALDING CLUB, to some persons in London skilled in decyphering, and in particular to Mr. A. Peterkin, who devoted much time and ingenuity in forming explanatory tables of the alphabet and chief contractions; the result of which was to show, when applied to various passages, that the Laird of Brodie used a system partly his own, not with any view of concealment, but as the easiest mode of carrying on his journals. As the passages or sentences written in this form, seemed to be, for the most part, only pious resolutions and ejaculations, it was considered that the time, labour, and expense, that would be required to have these portions decyphered, might be employed to better purpose. With such aids, however, the manuscripts were put into the hands of Mr. Francis Shaw, Aberdeen, skilled in reading and transcribing old writings, with instructions to select from the volumes all the passsages that were historical or seemed to possess any local interest. This he accomplished in a satisfactory manner.

At a subsequent period, I was requested by the Secretary to give some assistance in revising these selections while at press for the Club, and I agreed to do so, with this understanding, that I should neither be held responsible for the selections themselves, nor be expected to collate the proofs with the originals. Upon comparing, however, the first specimen sheet with the manuscript, it seemed to me that the extracts might, with considerable advantage, be much enlarged, as Brodie's constant allusions to matters connected with the state of religious feelings and observances throughout Scotland were by no means unimportant. Perhaps the other extreme has been the result by making the extracts too copious. But it was desirable in printing a volume like the present that it should furnish a complete

picture of the Author as a man of sincere and devoted piety. In accomplishing this serious labour, I fortunately secured the aid of one who was singularly well qualified for the task, by his indefatigable application and familiar acquaintance with the history of that period, I mean the Rev. James Anderson, well known as the author of several valuable contributions to religious biography in such works as his "Ladies of the Reformation," "Ladies of the Covenant," and "Memorable Women of Puritan Times." It might perhaps have been well had we at first decided to reject the Author's peculiar orthography, he having, for instance, been so sparing of his final *e*'s, that it became necessary to supply the vowel to prevent mistaking such words as *made*, *observe*, *grace*, *face*, *rage*, *give*, *have*, *resolve*, &c., written by him, *mad*, *obseru*, *grac*, *fac*, *rag*, *giu*, *hau*, *resolu*.

Having every reason to believe that the volume printed in 1740 was faithfully copied from the MS. Diary 1652—1654, now lost, and as it is now of considerable scarcity and value, there could, I thought, be no hesitation as to the propriety of reprinting it verbatim. It accordingly forms the first section or division of the present volume.

It is not essential to attempt any detailed account of THE FAMILY OF BRODIE. The Rev. L. Shaw, in his "History of the Province of Moray," first published in 1775, says, "This name is manifestly local, taken from the lands of Brodie;" and he supposed the family "were originally of the ancient Moravienses, and were one of these loyal tribes, to whom King Malcolm IV. gave lands about the year 1160, when he transplanted the Moray rebels." He proceeds to trace the descent of the family for about 500 years from Malcolm Thane of Brodie, in the reign of Alexander III., and his son, Michael, son of Thomas de Brothie and Dyke, who had a charter of the lands of Brodie from King Robert I. about the year 1311. But I shall pass over the earliest period of the Brothies, or Brodies, as not essential for this work.

The reverend Historian of Moray admits, he could not trace their descent, as the old writs, he says, were either carried away by Lord Gordon, when he burned Brodie House in 1645, or were destroyed in that burning;[a] and I shall content myself with a brief notice of the Laird of Brodie's immediate progenitors. In Burke's History of the Commoners, &c., 1836,[b] and in the supplementary volume of the Dictionary of the Landed Gentry, 1848,[c] more detailed accounts will be found, continued to the dates of publication, of the families of Brodie and of Lethen.

ALEXANDER BRODIE of Brodie who flourished at the middle of the sixteenth century, was twice married; first, to Margaret, daughter of Robert Dunbar of Durris, before 1553; and secondly, to Margaret Hay, widow of Dunbar of Benagefield. He died in August, 1583, and in his confirmed testament[d] he is styled Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, mention being made of David Brodie, his eldest son, and other children; also of David Dunbar of Grangehill, as his eldest son's mother's brother.

DAVID BRODIE of Brodie was born in the year 1553. He married Janet Hay, youngest sister of his stepmother (daughter of John Hay of Park and Lochloy), in 1584. He died in May, 1627, aged 74, leaving a family of six sons and one daughter.

The younger sons of David Brodie were:—

2. Alexander Brodie, who became the founder of the LETHEN Family, having purchased the barony of Lethen, in 1622, from Sir John Grant; with the Abbey lands of Kinloss, from Thomas, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, also the lands of Pitgavenie, in 1630, from Alexander Hay of Kinudie, and also during the rule of the English in the North, the Laird of Lethen in 1651 and 1652 sold the stones of Kinloss Abbey to be employed in building the citadel of Inverness.[e] Subsequent dilapidations for the purpose

[a] History of Moray, p. 105. Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i p. 261.
[b] Vol. iii. p. 594.
[c] P. 38.
[d] Register of Confirmed Test. Edinburgh, vol. xii., 22d Nov., 1583.
[e] Shaw's Hist. of Moray, pp. 256, 257.

of building dykes and cottages have left the ruins a sad spectacle of a venerable ecclesiastical building, apparently used as a farm-steading for keeping poultry and swine!

3. Mr. John Brodie, was educated for the Church, and his name occurs as a student in King's College, Aberdeen, in 1606. He became, in 1624, on the death of his maternal grandfather, minister of Aulderne and Dean of Murray. He died, as stated in his Nephew's Diary, on the 7th of January, 1655.

4. Mr. Joseph Brodie was also educated for the Church, in King's College, Aberdeen, where he took his degree as Master of Arts, in 1620. He was instituted as minister of Keith, 27th June, 1631. He was present at the memorable Glasgow Assembly in 1638; and was translated to Forres, in December, 1646. He died 27th of October, 1656. The Laird of Brodie speaks of these two ministers with great affection, when they joined together, with other relations, at Leathen, in January, 1654, in renewing their solemn Covenant engagements on two days set apart for private humiliation and devotional exercises.

5. Francis Brodie, designed of Miltoun and Inverlochtie, whose death is recorded by his nephew in 1676.

6. William Brodie, designed of Coltfield, who, according to the same authority, died in 1650.

David Brodie of Brodie, the eldest son, was born in the year 1586. Before 1616 he married Katherine, daughter of Mr. Thomas Dunbar[a] of Grange, Dean of Murray, by Grizzell, daughter of Sir Robert Crichton of Eliock and Cluny, and sister of the Admirable Crichton. The Laird of Brodie died 22d September, 1632, aged 46, leaving three sons and one daugh-

[a] From the Books of Assignation we find that Mr. Thomas Dunbar was appointed in 1590, Minister of Nairne, then disjoined from the adjoining parishes of Aulderne, Ardclach, and Rafford, of which Mr. James Raitt had been minister, with the assistance of a Reader. Dunbar's stipend was the haill Deanrie of Murray, extending to £130 0s. 10d., with 31 chalders, 5 bolls, 1 firlott, and 3½ pecks beir. In 1591, he was transferred to Aulderne, with the same stipend, and survived till about 1623. During Episcopal times, the Minister of Aulderne was *ex officio* Dean of Murray.

ter. His widow married, secondly, Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff of Murray, while still a minor, and he died in 1646, leaving her again a widow. Brodie occasionally mentions his aged mother, who survived till about 1664.

Joseph Brodie of Aslisk, was the second son of the second David, Laird of Brodie. He settled in Edinburgh, and survived till the close of the year 1681. His family are recorded in the pages of Burke.

David Brodie, the third son, remained unmarried. He was not regular in his mode of life, and latterly became insane. Burke, by mistake, calls him William.

Elizabeth Brodie, the only daughter, was married on the 6th of June, 1634, to Colin Campbell of Arderseer and Calcantrie,[a] second son of Sir John Campbell of Calder. He died in 1642, but left two sons, the eldest of whom, Hugh, on the death of his uncle, in 1654, succeeded to the title and estates, was knighted in 1660, and became the progenitor of the Earls Cawdor.

Alexander Brodie of Brodie, the Author of this Diary, was born the 25th of July, 1617. "I was sent," he says, "into England, in Anno 1628, being little more than ten years old, and returned in Anno 1632, in which my Father of precious memory deceased." Of his early history we have no other particulars, excepting that in the years 1632 and 1633, he was enrolled as a Student in King's College, Aberdeen, but did not take his degree of Master of Arts. On being of age, he was served heir of his father, 19th May, 1636, by dispensation of the Lords of Council; but on the 28th of October, the previous year, he had formed a matrimonial alliance with the relict of John Urquhart of Craigston, tutor of Cromarty, who died 30th March, 1634. This lady to whom he was most devotedly

[a] Cawdor Papers, Spalding Club volume, pp. 285, 300.

attached, was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, Bart., by Lady Grizzel Stewart, daughter of James, second Earl of Murray.

The young Laird of Brodie, when twenty-three years of age, had to bewail the loss of his wife, who died 12th of August, 1640, leaving one son and one daughter. Considering his love of domestic society and his natural disposition, as occasionally exhibited in passages of his Diary, it is somewhat singular that he should never have contracted a second marriage. When the great National excitement took place in favour of Presbytery, and the renewal of the National Covenant, in 1638, his youth, and retired habits, probably restrained him from any marked zeal on the occasion. It was not, at least, until after his sad bereavement, perhaps in consequence of it, that he began to take any share in public matters. One of his earliest acts bears testimony to his religious enthusiasm against what he deemed to be superstition. As antiquaries we cannot but regret such proceedings. On Thursday, the 28th of December, 1640, a party consisting of Brodie, his brother-in-law the young Laird of Innes, and others, along with the Minister of Elgin, came to the grand old cathedral of Elgin, and demolished two oil paintings of the Crucifixion and Day of Judgment, and also the fine carved work inside of the church, as unsuitable for a place of worship.

Spalding in his History of the Troubles, waxes eloquent in his denunciation of this act of barbarity, and the passage may be quoted:

1640. The partitioun tymber wall of the College kirk of Elgin dung doun. A excellent peice, indurit long tyme. MONONDAY, 28th December, Mr. Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgyne, accompaneit with the young laird Innes, the laird Broddy, and sum vtheris, and but auchtoritie brak doun the tymber partitioun wall divyding the kirk of Elgin fra the queir, quhilk had stand sen the Reformatioun, nar sevin scoir yeires or aboue. On the wast syde wes painted in excellent cullouris, illuminat with starris of bright gold, the crucefixing of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This peice wes so excellentlie done, that the cullouris nor starris never faidit nor evanishit, bot keipit haill and sound, as thay were at the begining, notwithstanding this Colledge or channonrie kirk wantit the rooff sen the Reformation, and no haill wyndo thairintill to saif the same from storme, snaw, sleit, or weit, quhilk myself saw, and mer-

vallous to consider. On the vther syde of this wall, towardis the eist, wes drawn the day of judjment. Alwayes all is throwne doun to the ground.

The Minister burnis the tymber. The fyre gois out on the night.

He forbearis to byrn ony moir. A boldness without auchtoritie to demolish kirkis.

It was said this minister causit bring hame to his hous the tymber thairof, and burne for serving his keching and vther uses; bot ilk nicht the fyre went out that it wes brunt, and could not be haldin in to kyndle the morning fyre as vse is; whairat the servandis and vtheris mervallit, and thairvpone the Minister left of and forboor to bring in or burne ony more of that tymber in his hous. This wes markit, spred throwe Elgyne, and crediblie reportit to myself. A boldness, but warrand of the King, to distroy churches; yet is done at command of the Assemblie, as wes said.[a]

A few years later, Brodie and his friends suffered retaliation for this sacrilege, during the depredations of Montrose's followers; when, as Spalding words it, Montrose in his return from Inverness, in February, 1645, "comes down throu Morray, chargis his rebell subjects, with fire and sword, while utheris were plunderit, and their housis brynt."[b] Among the houses and lands which suffered in these depredations, he goes on to say:

The place of Grangehill, pertening to Niniane Dunbar; *the place of Broddie, pertening to the Laird of Broddy;* the place of Cowbin, pertening to Kynaird; the place of Innes, pertening to the Laird of Innes, and Reidhall, all brunt and plunderit. The landis of Burgie, Lethein, Duffus, plunderit bot not brunt, Garmoche plunderit bot not fyrit. Thair salmound cobillis and nettis cuttit and hewin doun, quhairby the water of Spey culd not be weill fishit. Thus, as Montroiss merchit, he sent out pairteis throw the countrie with fyre and plundering.

According to Shaw, it was on this occasion that the old family papers in Brodie House were destroyed, or carried of.[c]

Among the Brodie manuscripts, as already noticed, there are four volumes of Short-hand notes of Sermons. The dates appear to be between the years 1642 and 1654. A list of the ministers who preached may not be without interest to some readers. In looking over this list, we could have wished, as specimens of the style of discourses of such men, that some of the Sermons had been written in a legible form; but Brodie's

[a] Spalding Club edit., vol. i. p. 376.
[b] Spalding Club edit. vol. ii. p. 447.
[c] Hist. of Moray, p. 105.

notes, for want of decyphering, are not available for any useful purpose. This practice of writing the heads of Sermons was very common, and Brodie, having acquired a facility in this short-hand mode of writing, he was enabled to carry on his Diary in subsequent years with the greater ease, but rendering his note-books so perplexing to a transcriber at the present day.

The first volume of these short-hand notes of Sermons was apparently written in 1642 or 1643, or in both these years. It has prefixed to the first sermon "25 June," the year not given, but perhaps 1642. In this volume the month is rarely prefixed to the sermons, and only in one instance the year, namely, to the 75th, a sermon preached by Mr. William Falconer, which has the date 3rd September, 1643. The sermons or lectures in this volume, according to a list on the last page, were delivered by the following ministers, but the earlier part of the volume is not preserved:—

	No. of Sermons.		No. of Sermons.
Mr. Patrick Hamilton,	one.	Mr. Massie, - -	six.
Mr. Alexander Henderson,	seven.	Mr. James Hamilton, -	four.
Mr. William Colvill, -	seven.	Mr. Andrew Ramsay, -	one.
Mr. George Gillespie, -	ten.	Mr. Joseph Brodie, -	one.
Mr. Robert Douglas, -	thirteen.	Mr. Wm. Falconer, -	one.
Mr. John Adamson, -	six.	Mr. D. Dunbar, - -	one.
Mr. David Dickson, -	three.	A Regent, - - -	two.
Mr. Robert Blair, -	one.	Mr. John Sharp, -	two.
Mr. Samuel Rutherford,	one.	Mr. Rue, [Row] - -	one.
Mr. Robert Baillie, -	one.	Mr. Bonnar, - -	two.
Mr. Andrew Cant, -	one.	Mr. M. Weems, - -	one.
Mr. Arthur Mortoun, -	one.	Dr. Sharp, - - -	one.
Mr. Gilbert Ros, - -	one.	Mr. G. Leslie, - -	one.
Mr. Stephen Marshal, -	two.	Mr. Bysset, - -	two.
Mr. Nie, [Philip Nye]	two.	Mr. D. Douglesh, -	one.
Mr. W. Bennet, - -	three.	Mr. Col. Adam, - -	one.

Another of these volumes begins with notes of a sermon by Mr. John Brodie, preached 25th May, 1645, and extends over the years 1646 and

1647, ending with notes of a sermon preached 30th January, 1648. This volume consists of notes of sermons preached chiefly by Mr. John Brodie, Mr. Joseph Brodie, Mr. J. Annand, and Mr. William Falconer.

A third volume begins with a lecture delivered by Mr. David Dickson, 15th November, 1646; and it extends over the following year. It consists of notes of sermons, as in the index, preached by the following ministers:—

	No. of Sermons.		No. of Sermons.
Mr. David Dickson,	two.	Mr. Geo. Leslie,	one.
Mr. Wm. Colvill,	four.	Mr. J. Adair,	one.
Mr. Andrew Cant,	four.	Mr. Robertson,	two.
Mr. Andrew Ramsay,	three.	Mr. R. Leighton,	one.
Mr. S. Austen,	one.	Mr. J. Fleming,	one.
Mr. W. Bennet,	two.	Mr. Ephraim Melvil,	one.
Mr. J. Nave [Nevay,]	two.	Mr. Patrick Sheals,	one.
Mr. John Adamson,	two.	Mr. Tho. Vassie,	one.
Mr. Robert Blair,	three.	Mr. R. Rue,	one.
Mr. J. Oswald,	three.	Mr. Ward,	three.
Mr. Mungo Law,	two.	Mr. Andro Fairfail,	one.
Mr. John Weir,	one.	Mr. T. Givan [Garvan,]	one.
Mr. Robert Douglas,	three.	Mr. J. Hay,	one.
Mr. John Moncreiff,	one.	Mr. Th. Wylie,	one.
Mr. James Guthrie,	one.	Mr. Adam Penman,	one.
Mr. Robert Laurie,	seven.	Mr. Andro Afleck,	one.
Mr. John Annand,	two.		

An additional volume consists of short-hand notes of Sermons which he heard in Holland in 1650, and in Edinburgh that year, before he went the second time to Holland, and after his return. It also embraces notes of Sermons which he heard in the years 1652, 1653, and 1654. The Sermons he heard in Holland were preached by Messrs. John Livingston, James Wood, and George Hutcheson, his fellow-commissioners. One of them is dated Camphyr, March $\frac{14}{24}$ 1650; another, Breda, April $\frac{7}{17}$ 1650. Other Sermons in the volume were preached by Mr. Robert Laurie, Hugh M'Kail, Alexander Law, Mr. Annand, Mr. Adair, Mr. Rue [Row], and Mr. Robert Douglas.

There are some other volumes containing notes of Sermons in long-hand,

but they do not appear to be Brodie's hand-writing: they might be the MSS. of his uncle John or Joseph Brodie.

In 1643 the Laird of Brodie was chosen to represent the County of Elgin in the Parliament which met in the 22nd of June that year. In this, and subsequent Parliaments, his name frequently occurs as upon Committees, which shows that he enjoyed the confidence of the Estates[a] during the later years of Charles the First's reign. As Ruling Elder, he was likewise a member of the General Assemblies of the Kirk, at the same period.[b] In the list of unprinted Acts of Parliament, we find "A ratification in favour of the Laird of Brodie, of his infeftment of the lands of Brodie and others." Also a "Decreet of the Committee of Estates," 27th March, 1647; and another "Act in favours of the Laird of Brodie," 15th March, 1649.[c]

The efforts used by the Scots Commissioners to avert the sad termination of Charles the First's career were unavailing, and the King was beheaded at Whitehall on the 30th January, 1649. Six days later (5th of February) his son was proclaimed King of Great Britain, at the Cross of Edinburgh, declaring, however, "That before he be admitted to the exercise of his Royall power he shall give satisfaction to the Kingdom in these things that concern the security of Religion, the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and peace of this Kingdom, according to the Nationall Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, for the which end we are resolved with all possible expedition to make our humble and earnest Address to his Majestie."[d] Charles at this time was residing with his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, at the Hague. The Commissioners appointed for this purpose by the Estates of Parliament, on the 6th of March, were, John Earl of Cassillis, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Mr. George Wynrame of Libberton, and Alexander Jaffray burgess and provost of Aberdeen. To accompany them two ministers were appointed by the General Assembly,

[a] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vi., pp. 4, 60, 177, 269, 299, 346.

[b] Printed Acts of Assembly.

[c] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vi., pp. 287, 288, 434.

[d] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vi. p. 363.

Mr. James Wood of St. Andrews, and Mr. Robert Baillie of Glasgow. Their mission was unsuccessful, as the terms which they were instructed to offer did not prove satisfactory to the King and his advisers. Having therefore returned, their Report, along with the various letters and papers were printed in a separate form,[a] and the Estates, on the 14th of June, passed an "Act of approbation of the proceedings of the Commissioners who went to his Majestie."[b] A similar Act of approbation was passed by the Assembly on the 10th of July.

Among a series of missives addressed to the Borough of Aberdeen,[c] there are two letters written at this time by Provost Jaffray, from which an extract may be made, but without adhering to his peculiarly bad orthography:—

This letter having stayed by me longer then I expected, we have since been several times present with the King. Some of our wicked countrymen and of his English counsel are only for his going to Ireland, because they have not hope to get libertie to come with him to Scotland, yit we want not out own friends here. The Prince of Orange, the Princess Royal, and Estates General are for us. We have interchanged several papers with the King, and are this night, or the morrow, to give in a paper containing the substance of our desires. What will come of it I cannot tell; but all that either loves King or Kingdoms, has much reason to be earnest with God, for mercy to them, for his controversy seems not yet to be near an end. Ye shall be further advertised as occasion offers. . . .

From the Hague, 2–12*th Apryle*, 1649.

. . . We have not had that success in our employment here with the King that we would wished, by reason of evil counsel that are about him. He is shortly to go for France to meet with his Mother. Till then he will not resolve what to do.[d] . . .

From the Hague,
May 3–13, 1649.

In like manner, on the 10th of April, Mr. James Wood in writing to his wife, from the Hague, says:—

Deare heart, excuse me to friends that I wreit not to them at this occasione, because I am

[a] Edinb. 1649, 4to., pp. 30. See Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii., pp. 510. Several of these papers are there given, in the Appendix.

[b] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vi., pp. 451—459.

[c] Printed in the Spalding Miscellany, vol. v., p. 379.

[d] Spalding Miscellany, vol. v., p. 379.

resolved to forbeare till I have somewhat [to tell] of our matters here, which I conceive once this week will be in the heat of debate with the King's Counsell. What the issue and result will be, we cannot yet tell, onlie we heare surmises that there will be a messenger sent from the King, not [to] our Parlament or Committee of Estates formallie, but to the Chancellor and some others particularly with some offers, &c.

In another letter on the 9th of May, 1649, Wood writes as follows:—

We have not as yet received from the King a direct answer to our desires, but now after long delayes, we are promised to have it this following Saturday, and we know alreadie what it will be, verrie unsatisfactorie. Yesternight Mr. Bailie and I was with him (the King) in privat for the space of an houre; and by his discourse which was open and free to us, we found his resolutione is to offer the confirming of the Covenant and Reformation in Scotland, himself to practise according to the Directorie, while he shall be in Scotland; as for England, that he shall follow the advice of a free Parlament and Nationall Assemblie. He told us withall plainelie, that his resolutione is to goe first to Ireland, and thence to come with some forces to Scotland, that these and the Scots being joyned together, he might be the stronger against his ennimies. We had long debate with him about this resolutione which I have not time to relate. Towards the end of our discourse I was free with him, told him that God would not blisse him, if he joyned with these Irish Papists, &c.[a]

The following extracts from the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Excise in 1649 may be quoted as showing the expenses incurred during this negotiation.[b] It may be added, that the subsequent Accounts for 1650 are not known to be preserved:—

Compt maid be Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield, Knight, Thesaurer of the Excise, off the haill Excise of this Kingdome, frome . . . Marche 1648 to the first of Maij 1649:

Summa of the haill charge, &c.	£304,775 15 1

In the Discharge.

Item to Peter Sympsone Dutchman who attended the Commissioners in thair Voyage to Holland 16 Marche 1649	£502 10 0
—— to Captane Johne Gillespie his allowance for his service in goeing to Holland with the Commissioners and serving from the 27 Februarii to the 16 Junii 1649	9450 0 0

[a] Original Letters in my possession.

[b] Vol. of Original Documents, from 1668 to 1774, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Item to Sir Joseph Douglas for his charges when he was sent to Holland in Februarii 1649, £50 Sterling.....	600	0	0
—— to Euer Hansein Dutchman who carried over Sir Joseph Douglas to Holland.....	880	0	0
—— to the Earl of Cassills at his goeing to Holland 15th Marche 1649 (£90 sterling to himself, £30 sterl. allowit to the Secretarie for the Commissioners. Inde.....	1,440	0	0
—— to the Laird Brodie and Alexander Jaffray at their goeing to Holland in Marche 1649, conforme to their receipt Ane hundreth punds Sterling.....	1,200	0	0
—— to Maister James Wood Minister at his goeing to Holland with the rest of the Commissioners, £30 Sterl.....	360	0	0
—— to Maister George Winrahame of Libbertoune at his goeing to Holland with the rest of the Commissioneris, conforme to his receipt first Marche 1649.....	1,440	0	0
—— to Maister Robert Baillie Minister who went with the said Commissionaris to Holland for twa monethis allowance to him, conforme to his receipt, Thriescore punds sterling.....	720	0	0
—— payit to Thomas Cunynghame Conservator ffor bills of Exchange drawen upon the Comptar be the Erle of Cassills and the rest of the Commissionaris at Holland in Junii 1649, and Maij preceding.....	11,368	0	0
—— delyverit be the Comptar to Alexander Jaffray for himself and in name of the rest of the Commissionaris at thair goeing to Holland, Billes of Exchange conteining £380 Flemish, for thair accomodatioune, conforme to the said Alexander his receipt daittit 16 March 1649.....	2,660	0	0
—— payit be the Comptar to Mr James Dalrumple in name of the Erle of Cassills and the rest of the Commissioneris who went to Holland, at thair returne by and attour the haill former sowmes	478	6	8
—— to Sir Joseph Douglas £20 Sterl. by and attour the sowme given him formerlie for defraying of his chargis in his Voyage to Holland 12 May 1649.....	240	0	0
Summa of the Discharge.....	£312,784	5	3

These Accounts are attested as follows:

LOUDOUN CANᴸᴸIUS. CASSILLIS.

A. ARGYLL. J. BURGHLY.

JA HOPE. S. J. CESNOK. CHARLES ERSKINE. W. CUNYNGHAMHEID.

RO. FREILAND. RO. BARCLAY.

J. SMYTH. G. PORTERFEILD. GEDION JACK.

Wynrame and Brodie, in June, 1649, were nominated Lords of Session, but not to interrupt the account of the negotiations with Charles the Second, it may first be noticed that the former was again sent to His Majesty as the bearer of a letter from the Estates, 12th September, urging the King to comply with their requests, he having shown some inclination to do so, notwithstanding his undisguised aversion to these overtures. In a letter to Mr. Robert Douglas,[a] dated Rotterdam, last October, 1649, Wynrame says:—

Sir, their is hopes that the King will acknowledge the parliament, and desyre a treaty: which, if he doe, I am persuaded it will be your care to study soe much moderatione as ye ar able, with safty to Religioun and Covenant: unless his Majestie get satisfactione in some things, they will suffer him to die in misery, and we will haue no settled peace.

In another letter to Douglas,[b] dated at Campvere, 18-8 November 1649, Wynrame represents the very deplorable condition to which the King was reduced:—

" . . . Sir, now is the time to pray that the Lord wold prevent the King with his tender merceis, for indeed he is brought very low; when he hes not bread both for himselfe and his seruands, and betuixt him and his brother not ane Inglish shilling; and worse yet, if I durst wryte it. I am confident no ingenous spirite will tak advantage of his necessiteis; but for all this (as I have heard yow aduyse them to deall with [his] Father), use him princely. France is neither able nor willing to help him. The Prince of Orange hes suffered not a little for his Father and himselfe, till he is forced to alienate the most considerable thing of his ancient patrimony: Scotland is neir exhausted; soe that his case is very deplorable, being in prisone, where he is living in penurie, sorounded be his enemies, not able to liue any where els in the world, unles he would come to Scotland, by giuing them satisfactione to their just demandis; yet his pernitious and deuillish Counsell will suffer him to starue before they will suffer him to take the League and Covenant. I am persuaded no rationall man can thinke he will come that length at first; but if he could once be extricate from his wicked Counsell, their might be hope.

The following letter from the King, the result of Wynrame's mission, serves to illustrate the progress of events, by showing that Charles himself

[a] Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 522. [b] Ib. p. 523.

had appointed the Commissioners to meet him at Breda in the 15th of March, 1650.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor &c., We greete you well. We have received your severall letters lately presented to Vs by Mr. Wynrame of Libertoun, and doe graciously accept all those expressions of affection and fidelity you make to us therein, together with that tender sense of our present condition, and just indignation which you professe to have against the execrable murtherers of the King our late deare and Royall Father of blessed memory, believing that your intentions are as full of loyalty and candour to us, as we are and have always been reall in our desires to begett such a clear and right understanding betweene us, and all our subjects of that our ancient Kingdome of Scotland, as might be a sure foundation of their future peace and happiness, and an effectual means to roote up those seedes of division and animosity which have been occasioned by the late Troubles; And so to vnite the hearts and affections of our Subjects to one another, and to Vs thair lawfull King and Soveraigne, that by their due obedience and submission to our just authority, We may be enabled to maintaine them in peace and prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberties, as to our Kingly office belongeth. And as we have ever resolved to contribute all that depends of us to these good ends, and to the just satisfaction of all our subjects of that our Kingdome, so wehave now thought fitt by the returne of Mr. Wynrame to desire that Commissioners be sent to us sufficiently authorized to treate and agree with vs, upon all particulars, as well in relation to the concernments and just satisfaction of our Subjects there. as to those helpes and assistances We may reasonably expect from them for the bringing of the murtherers of our late deare Father of blessed memory, to condigne punishment, and for the recovery of our just rights in all our kingdomes, and that they attend us by the fifteenth of March next at Breda, where we intend (God willing) to be. In order whereunto and in confidence of such a Treaty as also to evidence to you and to the whole world that We sincerely desire to agree with you, and expecting that no other use shall be made of it to the prejudice of us or Our affairis then what we intend in order to the Treaty. Notwithstanding many important considerations that might haue dissuaded us from doing anything antecedently at this time, We have resolved to direct this letter unto you by the name of the Committee of Estates of that our Kingdome, hoping that from the confidence Wee express in your clear and candid intentions toward us, you will deriue effectuall arguments to yourselves of mutuall confidence in us, which by the blessing of Almighty God, by your just and prudent moderation, by the earnest Desire Wee have to oblige all our Subjects of this Kingdome, and by means of the Treaty which we expect and desire may be the foundation of a full and happy Agreement between us, and of the future Peace and Security of this Nation, which we assure you Wee passionately desire and shall effectually endeavour: And so Wee bid you very heartly farewell. Given at our Court in Jersey, the $\frac{2}{12}$ day of January $16\frac{4}{49}$ In the first year of our Reign.

This letter is given from the original among the papers of the Mar-

quess of Lothian at Newbattle, and appears never to have been printed. It is addressed:

> To our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin and Councillour John Earle of Loudoun Chancellour of our Kingdome of Scotland, To our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousins and Councellores, To our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousins To our trusty and right welbeloved Councellors, and To our trusty and welbeloued the Committee of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland.

Charles himself also addressed a letter to Douglas, from Jersey, in February, 1650, containing overtures for the Treaty of Breda,[a] where he took up his residence, having been constrained to leave Holland. Douglas's reply to the King is dated 21st of February.[b] The Commission of the General Assembly on the same day nominated three Commissioners and the Earl of Cassillis and Brodie as ruling Elders, in terms of the following Act:—

Edinb: 21. Februarij, 1650.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly doe hereby authorize Mr. John Livingstoun, Minister at Ancrum, Mr. James Wood, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrewes, and Mr. George Hutcheson, one of the Ministers of Edinbrugh, Ministers; And John, Earle of Cassills, and Alexander Brody of that Ilk, one of the Ordinary Lords of Sessions, Elders: With their full power to repair to the King's Ma^tie. and present unto Him their humble desires, That hee may subscribe the Nationall Covenant, and the League and Covenant, and enjoyne the same; And that Hee may advance the work of Uniformity and establish Presbyteriall Government, Directory of Worship, and Confession of Faith in all his Ma^ties. Dominions: And to do all with his Ma^tie. to satisfy the desires of his Subjects for setleing Religion and Peace in his Kingdomes: And to doe every thing for that effect according to the Instructions given, or to be given to them thereanent.

Sic subscribitur,
A. KER.[c]

A similar commission was given by the Estates of Parliament on the 8th of March, to John, Earl of Casillis, William, Earl of Lothian, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, George Wynrame, Sir John Smith, and Alexander

[a] Printed in the Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 524.

[b] In Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.

[c] MS. in the Editor's possession.

Jaffray," directing them, as Commissioners, "to repair to his Heynes at Breda to treat with his Majesty upon the grounds of the former desires presented to him at the Hague be the Commissioners of the Parliament of this Kingdom, according to the Solemn League and Covenant." At the same time there was "Ane letter of Credit granted to the Commissioners to borrow beyond seas, upon the credit of this Kingdom, the sum of £300,000.

In the Appendix of "State Papers" collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II., Oxford, 1773, will also be found the various papers written by the Commissioners of Parliament of the Kirk of Scotland, at Breda, &c., between March 25th and June 22nd, 1650. Signed by the Earls of CASSILLIS and LOTHIAN, BRODIE, and the other Commissioners.

Of the numerous letters and papers connected with these negotiations, only a few can be selected. The first is from Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," (Lond. 1732–35 or 1779), which also contains Letters addressed to Charles the Second, from Mr. Douglas, Moderator of the Assembly, the Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the Marquess of Argyle, 21st of February and the 9th of March, exhorting his Majesty to take the Covenant. It is entitled by Peck, "Commission of the Commissioners sent from the estates of Scotland in Parliament, to K. Charles II., to exhort him to take the Covenant. From the very attested copy, sent to the King himself at Breda, (once Mr. Oudart's) now in the hands of the Editor":—

At Edinburgh, 8th March, 1650.

I. The Estates of Parliament presently conveened, in the first session of this second trienniall parliament, haveing resolved, that, in prosecution of their former desires, commissioners should be sent to his Majesty; and having sufficient proof and experience of the faithfulnesse, good deserveings, and abilities of the right honourable John Earle of Cassils, William Earle of Lothian, Alexander Brody of that ilk, and Mr. George Wynrame of Libbertoun, two of the senators of the College of justice, Sir John Smith, and Alexander Jaffray: doth therefore, nominate, appoint, authorise, and give power to the fore said persons, being all present together, and to any four of them (but, in case of sickness, returne, or necessary absence of the rest, to any three of them) to repair to the King's Majestie at Breda, or where hee shall happen to be within the united provinces or their dominions, or to any other place where the reformed religion is professed or tollerated; and

there to treat with his Majesty upon the grounds of the former desires presented to his Majesty at the Haghe, by the commissioners of the parliament of this kingdome, according to the Solemne League and Covenant, and the instructions which are given, or hereafter shall be given by the Parliament or their committees (not being contrary to these now given by this Parliament) to them, in pursuance of these ends: firme and stable holding whatsoever shal bee done by them conforme to the said instructions.

Extracted forth of the records and acts of parliament, &c.

Sic subscribitur

Vera Copia collata A. JOHNSTON, *Cls. Regri.*

JA. DALYRMPLE.

Endorsed by Mr. Oudart's own hand—Copy of the Scots commissioners commission. Received at Breda $\frac{1}{11}$ Martii, 1650.

The Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, being this afternoon informed that your Majesty is about to receive the communion to-morrow, and apprehending that your Majesty may therein continue the use of the gesture of kneeling, which is contrary both to Christ's institution of that sacrament, as also to the national covenant, and solemn league and covenant, and to the directory of worship established by the Parliaments and Assemblies of both kingdoms, whereunto your Majesty hath engaged to conform yourself in your practice and family; therefore do find it incumbent to us, in discharge of the duty which we owe to God, to your Majesty, and to those that have intrusted us, to give warning hereof, and with all humility and earnestness to entreat your Majesty to forbear the same, as that which cannot but provoke the anger of God against your Majesty and your proceedings, and will undoubtedly raise jealousies in the hearts of your good and loyal subjects.

Breda, $\frac{\text{May 25th,}}{\text{June 4th,}}$ 1650.

CASSILIS. JO. LIVINGSTONE.
A. BRODIE. JA. WOOD.
G. HUCHESONE.

The Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

We cannot but with exceeding joy and thankfulness accept your Majesty's paper of the 21st of June, which doth contain a bountiful satisfaction to the propositions which we tendered to your Majesty, by which you have (according to royal promise) so fully explained and cleared your concessions at Breda, that all ground of jealousy betwixt your Majesty and your people is thereby removed, and the hope and confidence which we had in your goodness and justice is thereby made good and confirmed; which will be a

matter so acceptable to your Parliament, and so refresh the hearts of all your good people, as (without doubt) will produce a very comfortable meeting betwixt your Majesty and them.

And therefore, as we did formerly by our's at Breda of the $\frac{29\text{th April,}}{9\text{th May,}}$ 1650, in name and by warrant from the Parliament of Scotland, invite your Majesty to that your ancient Kingdom, so do we most humbly and heartily renew that invitation, and give your Majesty all the assurance therein contained, according to the act of parliament explaining and approving the same, which is herewith presented to your Majesty; wishing from our hearts, and expecting such a blessing from the Lord upon this agreement, as that his great name may be thereby honoured; and it may be the beginning and the ground of much prosperity and happiness to your Majesty and to all your dominions.

From aboard the Skiedam,
22d June, 1650, Stilo Vet.

CASSILIS. LOTHIAN.
A. BRODIE. GEO. WYNRAME.
J. SMITH. AL. JAFFRAY.

We do not possess Brodie's own statement or reflections on these various occurrences, but it may not be unsuitable to refer to the statements of two of his associates in these negotiations with the King.

The first was his friend Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells, a native of Aberdeen, and Provost of that City in the years 1636, 1638, 1646, 1649, and 1651. He left a "Journal or Diary continued to July, 1661—about which time he joined the sect of Quakers, among whom he became one of the earliest members." In this Journal[a] he gives the following account of their missions to treat with the young King.

"In the year 1649, I being then a member of Parliament for the town of Aberdeen, was sent unto Holland, with the Earl of Cassles, Lord Brodie, and Lord Libertone, for to treat with and bring home our young King. I shall spare to mention many things, for shortness: only by the way, I must observe this, that having gone there in the simplicity of our hearts, minding what we conceived to be duty, it pleased the Lord to bring us safely off without any snare or entanglement.

But, being again sent there by the Parliament, in the year 1650, for that same business, we did sinfully both entangle and engage the Nation and ourselves, and that poor young Prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a Covenant, which we knew, from clear and demonstrable reasons, that he hated in his heart. Yet finding that upon these terms only, he could be admitted to rule over us, (all other means having then failed

[a] Diary of Alexander Jaffray, &c., p. 32. Lond. 1833, 8vo.

him) *he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him. . . . . In this, he was not so constant to his principles as his Father, in yielding to this act of so great dissembling; but his strait and our guiltiness was *the greater*, especially [that of] some of us,—I mean especially by myself, who had so clear convictions of this to be wrong, *that I spoke of it to the King himself*, desiring him not to subscribe the Covenant, if in his conscience he was not satisfied—and yet went on to close the treaty with him, who, I knew so well, had for his own ends done it against his heart. But I may say,—so did I desire him to do it against mine,—so weak and inconstant was I; being overcome with the example and advice of others, gracious and holy men, that were there, whom in this I too simply and implicitly followed, choosing rather to suspect myself in my judgment to be wrong, than theirs. But the Lord taught me in this, and in things of that nature, not so implicitly to depend on men."

The other person referred to was Mr. John Livingstone, Minister of Ancram. He was appointed one of the Commissioners in 1650, for the treaty at Breda; and in his own Biography, after alluding to his extreme reluctance to be employed in a matter of so much importance, he enters very fully into detail. Livingstone's Life has been several times printed, and his account is much too long to be given in this place. But his statements are very important, and he was impressed with the conviction of the King's insincerity. The three Ministers had no vote, and the Earl of Casillis was chosen president which kept him from voting, three of the Commissioners, Lothian, Wynrame, and Smith, being in favour of compromising matters, outvoted the other two, Brodie and Jaffray, who were of a contrary opinion. "Some of our number," Livingstone says, "urged once that the Treaty might be by word of mouth, and not by papers; but that motion was rejected. The drawing up of the papers to be presented to the King was committed, by those of the State to Mr. Brodie, and by those of the Church to Mr. James Wood; wherein this oversight was committed in the very first papers, that the words and purpose of the Instructions were not fully keeped, but both in the order and matter somewhat was altered or left out by them that drew them up, and more thereafter was altered upon debate in the meetings."[a] But Charles in his desire to secure Scotland was ready enough to sign anything; and his

[a] Livingstone's Life, Wodrow Society edition, Select Biographies, vol. i. p. 172.

mode of life, and his counsellors were such, that Livingstone says, "All these things made me alwayes suspect there could be no blessing on the Treaty, and many a time Mr. Hucheson and I, whose chambers joyned close one to another, would confess one to another, that we were glad when the Treaty was like to break off, and sad when there was appearance of closing it."[a]

Livingstone further says, in a letter written to Mr. Robert Douglas, before landing at Aberdeen, on Sabbath the 28d of June, 1651. "The King hath granted all desyred, and this day hath sworne and subscribed the two Covenants in the words of your last Declaration, and with assurance to renew the same at Edinburgh when desyred."[b] At the meeting of the Scots Parliament on the 1st of July, Sir James Balfour, in his Annals, says, "A letter from our Commissioners, dated from Aberdeen, 28 June, showing that they had sent Libertone and Brodie, desyring that the House would give them full trust, in what they had commission to report for them.

"'Brodie and (Wynrame of) Libertone made a full relation of all their negotiations with his Majestie; they producit the Covenant, with the Churches explanations, subscribed with the King's hand, as also the concessions subscribed by his Majestie. They likewise exhibit to the House foure Articles from the Commissioners with the King, to be solved and considered by the Parliament."[c]

The first of these Articles was to take course for the payment of 100,000 merks which they had borrowed for the King, at Campvere, payable on the 1st of August, upon their own personal surety, "for they declared that they could have none upon the publick faith," or the warrant which Parliament had previously granted for that purpose.

In regard to this episode in the history of Charles the Second, it is only necessary to say, that he was constrained to accept the terms offered. The Comissioners having, on their return, laid before the Scottish Parliament

[a] Wodrow Society, Select Biographies, vol. i, p. 174. [b] Ib., p. 260. [c] Sir James Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iv. p. 67.

their Report, with copies of "the Papers interchanged betwixt his Majesty and the said Commissioners,"[a] on the 14th of June, an "Act of Approbation of the proceedings of the Commissioners[b] who went to his Majestie," was passed: the Estates of Parliament "being satisfied with their integriti, acknowledge their faithfulness and diligence, do therefore unanimousli and heartilie approve their proceedings, and render to them the heartie thanks of this kingdome for the same." The Papers alluded to, along with the Report, are contained in the Parliamentary proceedings.[c] On the 4th of July 1650, Brodie was one of those who were deputed "to repair and congratulate his Majesties happy arrival in this Kingdom."[d] The result of these proceedings, the arrival of the King, 23rd of June, 1650; his coronation at Scone, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, on the 1st of January, 1651; and the battle of Worcester, on the 3rd of September, which drove him again into an inglorious exile, are matters of general history, and need not be detailed.

On his return from Holland, Alexander Brodie of Brodie had been appointed as Ordinary Lord of Session, on 26th of June, 1649.[e] He accepted the situation, and gave his oath *De fideli administratione* in the presence of Parliament, on the 23rd of July,[f] but did not take his seat on the bench till the 1st of November. In his judicial capacity, therefore, Lord Brodie, as he was called, could have had but little experience, as the last sitting of the Court was on the 28th of February, 1650, the distracted state of the country having prevented any meeting of the Court during the next Session; and in May, 1652, the forms of the Court itself were wholly changed, by the appointment under the Great Seal of seven Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Civil affairs.[g] His resolution not to accept any office under the English rule, enabled him to retire and live quietly in the North, and probably led him to avoid entering so keenly, as he might otherwise

[a] Acts Parl. Scotl., vol. vi. p. 513.
[b] Ib., p. 514.
[c] Ib., pp. 451–459.
[d] Ib., p. 537.
[e] Ib., p. 461.
[f] Ib., p. 485.
[g] Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice.

have done, into the religious divisions which proved so fatal to the peace and unity of the Church.

The author of "A True Representation of the Rise, Progresse, and State of the present Divisions of the Church of Scotland,"[a] printed in 1657, says, "The Division and rent which is now in our Church, (once beautifull and strong in its unity and harmony, as a city compact together) is matter of sad lamentation to us. . . . We could heartily wish, that our breach, had it been the Lord's good pleasure, being removed ere now, our differences had been buried in silence, and perpetual oblivion, rather than that we should be necessitated to give an account thereof to the world." Without attempting to furnish any minute details regarding such disputes, some brief allusion to the state of Church matters at this period is at least requisite. By the Act of Classes, in January, 1649, all such persons as were concerned with the Duke of Hamilton "in his late unlawful war against England" were termed Malignants, and were excluded from places of trust, or employment in the army. This and some other stringent Acts were rescinded by the Parliament which met at Stirling in May, 1651. The Commissioners of the General Assembly were asked, and gave their concurrence to this measure by which such persons were enabled to make a profession of their repentance, and be capable of serving in the army in terms of the Public Resolutions. The Assembly having met at St. Andrews on the 16th of July following, an unsuccessful attempt was made to exclude those persons who had been upon the Commission; but their proceedings and minutes were approved and confirmed, while the commissions were rejected of Patrick Gillespie and others of the opposite party, who were thus prevented from sitting as members. In consequence of such a result, Samuel Rutherford gave in a Protestation against the freeness and legality of the Assembly itself, and this being subscribed by twenty-one of the members, they rose and left the meeting in a body. The state of public affairs

[a] Anonymous, but written by Mr. James Wood of St. Andrews, one of the Commissioners to Holland and Breda, in 1649 and 1650, see p. xxii.

having rendered it necessary for the Assembly to adjourn the meetings from St. Andrews to Dundee, the Protestation was then taken into consideration, and as the Protesters were not present, and no one appeared in support of the reasons of protest, it was unanimously adjudged to be deserving of the highest censures. The Moderator, Robert Douglas, said, "he thought it no hard matter to evince the Protestation to be the highest breach of all the articles of the Covenant, that ever was since the work of reformation began." The Assembly further proceeded to depose three of the Protesting ministers, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James Symson; and to suspend James Nasmyth. A late writer justly remarks, that "the liberal and enlightened reviewer of the proceedings of the Assembly, 1651, will find cause for the utmost caution in commending or in censuring either party."[a] But these unhappy divisions were productive of bitter animosities, and proved fatal, as we have said, to the peace of the Church, and the continuance of the Presbyterian Church Government.

We might indeed feel surprised at the excitement which then prevailed, if, in our own days, we were not called upon to witness the effects of similar proceedings in Church matters. Robert Baillie of Glasgow, on the 11th of March, 1651, says, "Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie are going on in their work to destroy our State, and rent [rend] our Kirk, but we hope it shall not lye in their power. Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dick[son] stand very right and zealous against their evill way."[b] Blair himself, five days later, writes, "I like not the present repealing of the Act of Classes: it was ill made, and now it were as ill rescinded;" but in July following,[c] he says, "The folly of the Protesters, I think it very presumptuous."[d] It would seem that Brodie was not present at this Assembly. At first he appears to have leaned towards the Protesters. But his cautious temper and conscientious scruples kept him

[a] History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth, by the Rev. James Beattie, p. 172. Edinb. 1842, 12mo.

[b] Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii., p. 140.

[c] Ib., p. 557.

[d] Ib., p. 559.

from giving any marked adherence to either party. In the Province of Murray, however, the Synod met on the 13th of November, 1651, and by a large majority approved of the meeting and acts of the last Assembly. But five ministers, Messrs. John Brodie of Aulderne, Joseph Brodie of Forres, William Fraser of Inverness, James Park of Urquhart, and Patrick Glass of Edinkylie, along with three Elders, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and Hugh Campbell of Auchindune, united in protesting against this determination, on the ground that the Assembly was not free or regular in the election of its members, and that several of its Acts were contrary to the Covenants and the Engagement. The Protesters adopted the mode of always calling it the (pretended) Assembly. At the time, the Synod of Murray promised to treat those protesting members with all brotherly love and forbearance; but after the Restoration, the Synod, in October, 1660, misled by the expectations which the King seemed to hold out, of recognizing the authority of that Assembly, reverted to their former proceedings, and while they sharply rebuked Glass, the only surviving minister, and obliged him to sign a recantation, they deposed, in absence, the three Elders who had approved of the protest alluded to, one of whom, as already mentioned, was the Laird of Brodie. This was the more singular, inasmuch as he, in his peaceable disposition, had shown himself more inclined to adhere to the moderate party known as Resolutioners, than to those more zealous and fiery brethren the Protesters. This appears rather from casual passages[a] in his Diary, than from his taking any prominent part in their proceedings. In June, 1652, he writes, "There is no end or measure of our dissensions and differences; our darkness is increasing, and we are all in danger to be scattered one from another: therefore to seek that the Lord would return and cause his face to shine upon us." Again, on the 27th of May, 1653, he mentions that, having accompanied Robert Blair and James Durham to a meeting with some of the Protesters in Warriston's chamber,

[a] Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, p. 370.

he exhorted the latter to "ways of peace and union." In the conversation that ensued, Warriston said, "that the Neutrals were as far wrong as any of them; and therefore exhorted us to consider." Warriston also said to him, "I would either come a step nearer them, or step further from them to defection." A few days later (3rd of June) he records an interesting conference he had with Samuel Rutherford and Sir John Chiesley, who were sent to him "from the Brethren of the Protestation" for the purpose of prevailing on him to join their party; Rutherford saying, "They were come to lay claim to me in the Lord's name, and desired me to appear for the way wherein the Lord had led us and blest us for many years." But they were unsuccessful in this attempt. Brodie acknowledged he was dissatisfied with the bulk of public proceedings—that his heart was with them (the Protesters), and should be loath to be upon a contrary side, but he added, "I must wait." At a much later period, in November, 1676, when all the leading men of the party were off the stage, Brodie says, "I did reflect on all those gracious men whom I had known, Warriston, Alexander Jaffray, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and was ready to stumble not at their suffering, had it been clearly and for pure truth, but infirmities, darkness."

At this time, Brodie reckons among his trials and temptations "the sinful inclinations of his heart to the English employments," and on the 23rd of May, 1653, he says, "I have resolved and determined, in the Lord's strength, to eschew and avoid employment under Cromwell: I say, it is in the Lord's strength"—being fully aware of his "own unstedfastness." A month later, on the 17th of June, he "got Oliver Cromwell's letter, or rather a citation and summons to come to London." This, which indicates the esteem in which he was held as a public man, was reckoned by him as his last and greatest temptation, and he tells us, he communicated it to several of his friends, and desired them "to set themselves apart for solemn seeking of the Lord in his behalf. . . . and to deal with the Lord that this citation may not be a snare to him, but that he might be led out of the

temptation." It would appear that the immediate object of this citation was to act as one of the Commissioners of Scotland to treat respecting a project which commended itself to the Protector, for an incorporating Union of the two Nations. But this journey to London—a snare which caused him so much uneasiness—he evaded, from a strong aversion to the Protector's government, although pressed to undertake it by Provost Jaffray and other friends. The project itself, it is well known, proved abortive at the time, as half a century had to elapse before it could be accomplished, and a still longer period before its advantages were generally felt and acknowledged.

The Laird of Brodie, however, continued to be urged again to accept office as one of the Judges. At length he says, "after much resistance and reluctancy, I took that place upon me, in January, 1658. Let the Lord turn it to His glory, mine, and His people's good!" He again took his seat on the bench as Lord Brodie, on the 3rd of December, 1658. But his judicial labours were doomed once more to be of short continuance, as upon the Restoration of Charles the Second, the former constitution of the Court was restored, Lord Brodie and the English Judges were superseded, and other Lords of Session appointed on the 1st of June, 1661.

James Brodie, his only son, was married to Lady Mary Ker, a younger daughter of William, Earl of Lothian, on the 28th of July, 1659; and in his Diary, the Laird records that three days later "she did subscribe her Covenant to and with God," an obligation to which she appears to have faithfully adhered, in declining all compliance with the prelatic ministers, when a dark cloud hung over our national Church. The MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN having kindly permitted a search among the papers at Newbattle for any letters connected with the Brodie family, not many were found, and these of no special interest, if we except the two which are here printed. The first refers to the mutual obligations incurred in Holland on behalf of the King. The other may also be assigned to the year 1659, after a visit

from the Earl, when the young married couple had first taken up their residence at Brodie House :—

"My Noble Lord,—I forgott soe much as to mention that long lasting buisiness off our Holland negotiation, wherein your Lordship and the rest of us ar ingadged, and as yet not extricated. 1. Albeit the great Band be retird, yet ther is one of the doubls not deliverd to us as yet. 2. There is a band off 4300 lb. yet lying over our head, and noe diligenc don for geting payment, which unavoidabli will light upon us. 3. Albeit at your desir we payd Mrs. Bunch, yet the other doubl of that band is not retird, and Mrs. Bunch her discharg is a slender warrand, being clothed with a husband who may disclaim her deed. 4. What shall be don for collecting in what remains of that money; and if we shall comitt it to Sir Jhon Smyth, he releeving our bond of 4300 lb. from the factours, and paying Geo. Campbell one of the aresters and giving us ca[u]tion for the superplus to mak it forthcoming whenever it shall be cald for. 5. The compts would be adjusted. Thes and other things of this nature deserve our mature deliberation. Therfor not being able to wait on your Lordship at present I have sent my sone to kiss your hand and to know your pleasur and advise in all thes particulars. My stay in this place will be verie short, and if ani thing may be don in them before my return, I shall be readie to attend your Lordship, and to reaceave what commands you shall lay upon, your Lordship's verie affectionat and most humble servant. A. Brodie.

"29 June, 1659."

Addressed on the back: "For my noble Lord, The Earle of Lothian. Thes."

My Noble Lord,—I long to heare off your [safe arrival, and that] you have weil overcom the [fatigues of so] painfull and toilsom a journaye. I cannot but with thankfulnes acknowledg thes kindlie expressions off respect and affection which you signified to me from Pitoulie; which, albeit farr above my deserving yet verie suitable to your native goodnes and generositie.

That living pledg off our mutual affection which you left heer, is to me off all persons in the world the most acceptable, as being the instrument by whom I may reaceave my greatest comfort in a present world; neither will your Lordship nor herself measur my desir off her good by what portion I have in the world, or may be able to conferr. But iff som grains of willingnes may be admitted to com in the balanc, it is noe vanitie (if I should say) I com short of none; having my hart noe less inlargd for her weilbeing then it is for my own.

I leave it to your Daughter to give your Lordship and my Ladie and other freinds a farther account of this place where we ar fallen together, and of her satisfaction in it, and in us. Whatever it be, it is her oun without anie competition. This propertie alone, in a verie lowe condition, has (to moderat and sober spirits) affoorded more contentment (throgh God's good will and blessing) than large dominions have been able to doe.

One thing cannot be remedied in our common lot, That we can be off noe more use to

your Lordship, and if by all our pains and endeavour this could be made up, that myself or this poor familie, or anie having interest in us, could be servicable to your Lordship, or anie of yours, it should add greatlie both to ther and my happiness. Least I should seim larger in my professions than your Lordship's ingenuitie or my inclination will weil allow, I shall forbear to inlarge upon this subject. Whylst I can extend my self noe further I shall joy in your prosperitie and weilfare, and to hear of the good of your familie, and when your Lordship shall esteim that my service may be of anie further use you will not more willinglie injoyn than I shall obey anie command wherwith you shall honour your Lordship's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Brodie 27 October. A. BRODIE.

Addressed on the Back: "For my noble Lord, The Earle of Lothian at Newbotle. Thes."

The Restoration of Charles the Second was hailed with an enthusiasm which ought to have secured both peace and prosperity to the country. But the Royalists, when firmly established, showed no want of desire to retaliate the harsh proceedings of the Presbyterian party during the time of the Commonwealth. When the Parliament of Scotland met on the 1st of January, 1661, occasion was taken by the Earls of Cassillis and Lothian, Brodie, Smith, and Jaffray, the surviving Commissioners to Holland and Breda in 1649 and 1650, to present a petition, stating that they had by public authority engaged their own credit in borrowing certain sums of money "for defraying his Majesties expenses from Holland, and other his Majesties necessar affairs," and praying for relief from these obligations. This petition was favourably received; and on the 4th of July that year, there was passed an "Act anent the Accompts of the Moneths maintanence imposed for defraying his Majesties expenses from Holland, &c."[a]

The Scottish Parliament having adjourned on the 12th of July, 1661, the Laird of Brodie, in compliance with the advice of some of his political friends, resolved to visit London. His object seems to have been more on behalf of others than for himself, in the hope of obtaining from the King an exemption from certain fines either imposed or threatened. This journey he

[a] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vii., p. 292.

undertook, as usual, on horseback, accomplishing it within eight days. He set out by Heriot and Torwoodlie, to Ancrum, where he saw the Earl of Lothian, and the minister, his colleague at Breda, Mr. John Livingstone. From thence he rode to Newcastle and Durham, and so on till he reached London at night, on the 27th of July. The account he gives of his residence in the English metropolis, and the persons he had occasion to see on public or private matters, form perhaps the most interesting portion of his Diary. In matters which had been intrusted to him by the Earl of Morton, Lord Lorn (afterwards Earl of Argyle), and others his 'poor friends,' his business lay with the chief Officers of State; more especially the Earls of Middleton, Lauderdale, and Glencairne, whose influence he tried to secure. On the 31st, he says, "I was taken to the King, and kissed his hand; and did acknowledge the Lord in this, that I had seen his face in peace." During his protracted stay, he lived on terms of intimacy with the Earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and several other friends from Scotland. But he had to experience the vexations and irksomeness of waiting on at Court, with hopes deferred, soliciting favours in which he seems not to have been very successful. Among the Newbattle papers is a letter written by Brodie at this time, containing some allusions to matters of which he had the charge. It is not of much interest, but so few of his letters are preserved, that it may be added:—

"My Noble Lord,—This is the third to your Lordship since I came heere. My last was inclosd in a packet off my L. Lorn's, with ane answer to yours, which I delivered to the Earle off Crawfourd; whereby I gave your Lordship ane account off evrie thing recommended to me. Your æque will be made (as you desired) at the Thresurer's return; and he promises fair enough as to the rest for the future.

"The Patent, and what concerns your precedencie or designation off your Sone, must lie at present in all appearance. Onlie you are advisd to tak a right from the air male of the holl [whole] dignitie. I have been verie full in all thes things with my Lord your brother, and your other freinds. You want not unfreinds.

"Yours letters to your sister and Sir Tho. Cuningham were deliverd. I never could yet find the occasion to wait upon my Lord your brother, since the first time that I kissed his hands; for his being heere in Toun is uncertaine.

"As to your freind Doctour Nisbet I went to the citie of purpos to trie the Prerogative

Court anent the probat off his will, and extracted his Testament. He made Testament 21 May, 1661. The executors who confirmed are Jhon Keyes, James Wilkie, and Jhon Nisbet.

"He hath left his wife the liurent off som houses and tenements, quhairoff he had some leases; and the liurent use off his household stuff, plate, and furniture. All these efter hir death are appointed to be sold by his executors, and the money to be given out on anuelrent for his two brothers behoof, equalli, and ther children (John and James Nisbet are the designation of his brethren), and to be payd to them as soon as the money is raisd. He has 400 lb. beside, wheroff one hundred pound [is] in the Earl of Lothian's hand. This he leaves to his said two brethren, equalli, and ther children, and the annual rent off the one half of this 400 lb. to his mother during her lyftyme; this money to be given out on interest by advice off Sir Jhon Nisbet. This is the substance of the wholl. What further you command me anent this or anie other thing shall be carefullie obeyed by your Lordships most affectionat and most humble servant,

A. BRODIE.

"The Lord Lorn's business is yet under hope.
17 August 1661."[a]

At the end of August, finding himself suffering from bodily infirmity, Brodie writes, "I have some apprehensions of death, and knows not if I shall see my poor family again: let it be in mercy both to me and them." This led him to serious reflections and resolutions, and he expressed his willingness to leave all that was most dear to him, if the Lord pleased to call him away. In this submissive spirit, he says:—

"I die praying for King Charles, that God may bless his person and government, with lenth of days, peace, and abundance of truth.

"I leave on God's care my deir and onli son, his wyf and familie and seed, my aged belov'd Mother, my child Grizel, her husband, children, and familie, my kinsmen according to the flesh, even thes of my Father's house. They ar a generation of uncircumcis'd lips and an uncircumcis'd hart. Oh! that God may forgive and tak away their guilt and corruption, may forgiv and reform them for his nam sak.

"I doe not conclud of the tyme of my death: nor can I promise my self one day: onli I find frailtie, and desire to be found readie, and loosd from al my comforts, even my sweit children, my dear parent that bore me, my yong ofspring growing up, my christian belovd freinds, my natural deir freinds, kindreds and relations, my pleasant dwelling, houses, lands, rents, walks, woods, retirment. . . . I had as much gronnd of contentment in my hous, dwelling, freinds, neighbours, relations, countree, as much credit

[a] The address on the back is torn away, except the name "New——," the place where his Lordship, to whom the letter was addressed, was residing.

among them as my hart could wish. My enemies that hated me, and for noe ill I did them, yet I doe pray for them all; and now desir to bidd all things created farweil. The offer of a world, a croun, a pleasant dwelling. to be assured to see thes com of me mani and honourable, to be in the cheif honour and plac in the world: I would desir to say to it (if Thou cal me to Thee), Begone! I desir not to delay one hour to enjoy al thes: yet desir to submit to His will if He think fit to keip me heir for 40 year; thogh I hope He minds good to me, stay I short or long. . . .

His fit of sickness a few days later was such that "I was readie to give over; nay Dr. Wedderburn feard my case; yet as it were by a miracle (so did the Lord order it and bless the means) I was healed and recovered, and my sickness did not return, but past away at once;" on which he expresses his resolution of unceasing thankfulness.[a]

It would have been singular had the Diarist passed over in silence the English ministers whom he heard preach in the metropolis. It may in this place, however, suffice to notice, that after hearing the service in the Abbey Church of Westminister, accompanied with "so much ceremony of man's devising," corrupting the simple worship of God, he "desired to keep a due distance with anything that has not the authority or warrant from God."[b] Yet soon after he once or twice acknowledges, "I found my inclination not averse from a form of Liturgy." The most important part of his Diary refers to his residence in or near London at this time, and to his intercourse with the Scottish nobility and gentry, attracted to the Court by the hope of preferment or personal benefits, and more especially with the four ministers who had come thither for consecration to the office of Bishop as the preliminary step for the establishment of Prelacy in Scotland. In a particular manner, he was on terms of intimate friendship with Leighton, the only one of the four about whom any interest continues to be felt. Their temper and dispositions coincided very much, and the notices which Brodie has interspersed in the Diary tend to confirm the general opinion, that that excellent man, whose writings will be always held in estimation, if not altogether dead to worldly affairs, was at least not chargeable with

[a] P. 210. [b] Page 217.

the ambitious and selfish motives of his apostatizing brethren, but was in some measure induced to accept Episcopal honours by a natural inclination to the forms of worship in the English Church.

On the 30th of September, 1661, Brodie writes, "I heard Mr. Leighton inclined to be a Bishop, and did observe his loose principles before, anent surplice, ceremonie, and Papists. I desired grace to discern what to judge of this, and if [whether] the Lord called me to speak to him or not."[a] In reference to his opinions, he remarks, "He had a great latitude: Lord! deliver him from snares." A month later, the 25th of October, Leighton having dined with him, Brodie writes, "I perceived he was not averse from taking on him to be a Bishop. All was clear to him: civil places free from censures: he approved the organs, anthems, musick in their worship. He said the greatest error among Papists was their persecution and want of charity to us. His intention was to doe good in that place, and not for ambition. . . . I prayed for him, as for myself and was fear'd that his charity misguided might be a snare to him. . . . He said, he sign'd and swore the Covenant, and had these same thoughts then, That the Covenant was rashlie entered into, and is now to be repented for."[b] Two days previously he had noted, "I heard Mr. Sharp and the Bishops of Scotland would not take ordination from the Bishops of England. I acknowledge the Lord in this."[b] But this report was unfounded. These time-serving prelates soon got rid of scruples, which even Spottiswood and his brethren, who came to London on a similar errand in 1610, would not concede by admitting the invalidity of their previous ordination to be ministers in the Presbyterian Church, as a Church of Christ.

Again he says, "I met with Mr. Leighton, and anent his undertaking did express myself freelie to him." Having heard his opinion in favour of tolerating all sects and denominations, including Roman Catholics—opinions which Brodie thought were dangerous, he adds, "I besought him to watch, and prayed the Lord for him. I desired him to use his credit that the

[a] Page 216. [b] Page 221.

ceremonies might not be brought in upon us. He said, he wish'd so. But he hoped they should be prest on none. Alace! after introducing, force will soon ensue. But, good man! he does not perceave nor suspect it."[a] In like manner, "I did speak with Sharp, Fairfoull, and Hamilton; and did perceave they were inclined to press the ceremonies: I said, that we were well before the year, 1633." On the 3rd of December, "I spoke to Mr. Leighton and found his satisfaction in the worship of England, and all the ceremonies of it, and I could not but be troubled. He preferred Liturgy, and set form to other prayer."[b] But Brodie again admits, "I found not that aversion from their Liturgy and some other things that I had had, and other godly persons have. Oh! that this be no snare to me." On the 24th of November, "I heard Mr. Sharp and Leighton were re-ordained [as Deacons and Priests], and scrupled at nothing;"[c] Fairfoull and Hamilton having had Episcopal ordination before 1638, were exempted from this degradation in the observance of ceremonial order. On Sunday, the 15th of December, the four ministers were consecrated in Westminster Abbey. Brodie, in place of witnessing the solemnities of this ceremonial, and envying their feasting, desired "to exercise his soul with fasting," and he gravely and solemnly remarks, "We declare that this day the name of God was taken in vain: that we swore falsly in the Lord's name. We are condemning al that we have been doing and endeavouring for reforming the house of God; reproaching and raising a slander on our mother Kirk of Scotland, her ministers, ordinances, officers, as if we had none and were no Church, but dwindel from this superstitious form, and they only were a true Church, and al other Churches had noe power of their own officers, ministers, ordinances, ordor, government, discipline. These men ar they which did renounce and abjure what now they tak on them, and glorie in. How shall they be beleeved next when they preach or when they swear? They have dealt so falsely and perfidiously in this. Shall not both they and we mourn for this?"—It did indeed prove a cause of mourning, as we shall have occasion to remark.

[a] Page 229. [b] Page 230. [c] Page 228.

While in London, Brodie took a special interest in the Argyle family, the restitution of Lord Lorn (afterwards Earl of Argyle) to his honours and estates being one of the objects he had in charge. In considering his case, he professed his "inability to understand how God's providence should prove so contrary to that family."[a] In consequence of some imprudent speeches, which Brodie in his zeal had used in behalf of Lord Lorn, he made the Clerk Register and others his implacable enemies; while the rivalry of Middleton and Lauderdale, and the persuasion of the former that Brodie was plotting against him, and other false reports, were sufficient to prejudice the Chancellor against him, and interfere with his success at Court.

The following passage in the Diary was accidentally omitted under its proper date, but in connexion with Brodie's visit to London, and as expressive of his feelings when, being misrepresented to the King, the purposes of his journey were likely to be frustrated, it is too important to be overlooked:—

"1662, April 23.—I desir to be exercisd under my own lot, and the lot of al God's people at this time. I mentiond my coming to this place, saw noe great ground of incouragment, peace, or comfort in ani thing, and desird to mourn under al the sinfulnes of eyes, thoghts, ways, courses, words, since ever I cam from hom to this day. Oh! let not the Lord remember my sin, nor enter into judgment with me. To be neir 2 years from my famili, tossd 9 or 10 month in a straing land, as exil'd, discountenanced, malign'd, hated, persecuted, oppos'd, freindless, witless, great ones against me. Now I desir to ador the Lord, and to obtain grace to understand this providence, and to be humbl'd, instructed, reform'd, convinc'd, and profited by such His dealings, and to maintain in my heart right thoghts of Him, doe what He will." He afterwards adds, "This, this shall be a humbling journey, goe things as they will."

At length, the Laird of Brodie, after a sojourn of ten months, resolved on returning to Scotland, but was first anxious, in testimony of his loyalty,

[a] Page 262.

to obtain access to kiss the King's hand before commencing his journey. His words are:

"May 12.—I was attending yesterday evening and this day waiting to tak leave of the King; but in vain. I was cast down, seing, as it wer, al men against me, and none caring for my soul.

"I intend this day (if the Lord permit) to tak journey. Let the Lord be with me in setting forth, and let him accompani by the way, give grace to serv him, and let my return be comfortable, and for his glori.

"14.—Yesterday, I had access to the King, and kissed his hand. Now I desir to reckon this as a merci, considering how men have labourd to prejudg him against me. It was mor then I almost looked for: now I lean on him all that concerns me." . . .

He left London on the 14th of May, returning by Grantham and Doncaster, and attending the English church at Alborough, in Yorkshire, on Sunday the 18th, and reached Edinburgh on the 21st. "In my way, I desired to direct my eyes to God. I did see and apprehend a great storm against me." We may refer to his Diary for the particulars of his troubles and anxieties during the four months he remained in Edinburgh, in consequence of the strong opposition he met with from the Lord Commissioner, the Clerk Register, the Bishop of Murray, and others;—the Bishop of St. Andrews, "that subtle, unsound person," promising to "do in a private way what he could, but not own and out (support) me in a publick;" and for his fears in regard to the Oath of Allegiance; his disquietude on the subject of fines; the prevalence of witchcraft; and the state of the Church.

The King's 'gracious' letter of the 3rd of September, 1660, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which, by a pitiful evasion, he engaged "to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, *as it is settled by law*, without violation," and to maintain the Acts of the General Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee in 1651, was evidently meant to excite a renewed spirit of hostility against the Protesters; and it serves to explain the course taken by the Synod of Murray already mentioned. The

subsequent proceedings were quite in accordance with such duplicity; and what was effected by falsehood and treachery, required to be maintained by a course of unmitigated oppression and cruelty. Well might the Estates, in 1689, addressing William, Prince of Orange, say: "*Prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolished.*"

Some of the Edinburgh ministers were more decided than the Laird of Brodie in regard to these new dignitaries. He had his own compunctions in calling Sharp "Lord," when they met in London. Among others, Hutcheson and Douglas, who is said to have refused Sharp's offer of obtaining for him the See of Edinburgh, resolved to decline, either to meet the Bishops when they came to Edinburgh, or to give them their titles.[a] In July following, Brodie says: "I did meet with Mr. Douglas and Hutcheson, and found their straits, and that the time of their trial was come. The Lord did bear them up to a good measure of resolution against complying with the Bishops; not to meet with them, or acklowledge them, nor to co-operate with them, nor to derive power or jurisdiction from them, and choosed rather to be laid by."[b]

But passing over the general history of that unhappy period which has often been written, it has to be noticed that, in September, 1662, when the Act of Indemnity was before Parliament, another "Act containing some Exceptions from the Act of Indemnitie" was passed on the 9th of September, being, in fact, a list of fines imposed by the Earl of Middleton on all persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious either by compliance with the English usurpers, or by opposing the changes in Church government and discipline. In this number Alexander Brodie of that Ilk was fined £4800 Scots;[c] although it has been stated that the money disbursed by him at Breda had not yet been repaid him.

[a] Page 254. [b] Page 268. [c] Acts Parl. Scot., vol. vii., p. 424.

The following is a letter from Lady Mary Ker, wife of the young Laird of Brodie, addressed to her mother, the Countess of Lothian:

Dear Madam,—I have nothing to truble you with, bot to inquir of your weallfair, which is no small satisfaction to me to know. I wold have trubl[d] my Lord with a line att this tim wer not my fear to devert him from his more serious affairs, and besids thatt I am in truble for my little daughter Anne, who is at present verie sick of a fever, and, as I think, breding the small pocks, bot they are not come outt as yett. I have given hir a litle of my Lady Kentt's powder, bot it's not put any thing furth as yett. Madam, if it be not presumtion in me I wad tak upon me to desayr my Lord might be upon his gard for my lord Burlie's business, for he will find many frinds att this time. As also, Madam, his Lordship wad be aware of Holmbe, for he has a mind to leave about this somer. I have delt with some of his relations to kepe him as long off as is possabell, that my Lord may have tim to doe for himselfe. I have made sour [sure] Terbett and Cromirtie, for both business, so fare as ther pouer or creditt can riche. Your Ladyship will, I hope, pardone my friedome with your Ladyship, when you remember it cometh from, Dear Madam, your Ladyship's most affectionatt daughter,

MARIE KERR.

Brodie,
June 8, 1663.

Addressed on the back: "For the Right Honourable the Countas of Lotheane. Thes att Newbatle."[a]

While in Edinburgh, the Laird of Brodie endeavoured to vindicate himself from misrepresentations to the Officers of State, but all his attempts seem to have been fruitless, and the letters he wrote had no better effect. In his intercourse with Douglas and Hutcheson, he found them "both very fixed," and exclaims, "Oh! far am I from that steadfastness of spirit that appears in them. They declined all meeting with these Bishops, nay were against all Liturgie and Ceremonies, and could not meet in a presbytery with them, nor give them titles, or the like."[b] A few days later, he says, "I did see the Bishop of Murray, and with reluctancie. I profest that the change was against my will; but God having suffered it (Prelacy) to be brought about, the King and Laws having established it, I was purposed to be as submissive, and obedient, and peaceable as any." In this spirit he set out for the North, on the 16th of September, 1662, stopping at Cupar,

[a] MSS. belonging to the Marquess of Lothian. [b] Page 254.

Fettercairn, Clatt, and Kinloss, reaching home on the 20th, after a protracted absence of upwards of fifteen months, and feeling "a sense of the Lord's goodness and providence." From this time he appears to have resided almost wholly at Brodie, or in its neighbourhood.

The subsequent course of the Author's life offers so little variety or incident as not to require more in this place than a general notice. Among other subjects which occasionally served to him as a source of trouble, were various dreams and imaginations which he relates. The numerous instances of witchcraft which came under his notice, as one of the Commissioners for the trial of witches, gave him great uneasiness. Thus he reckoned among the sins of the time: "The sin of Witchcraft and devilry which has prevailed, and cannot be gotten discovered and purg'd out, Satan having set up his very throne among us." Again, "I heard that at Inverness there was none of the Witches condemn'd, and I desir'd to consider this, and be instructed. This, if God prevent not, will be of very ill example." He had also to endure severe bodily suffering from disease and increasing frailty; but nothing pressed more heavily on his spirits than the melancholy state of the Church during this dark period of its history.

In the Parliament held at Edinburgh, in May, 1662, with the view of securing a compliance with the change in the constitution of the Church to Prelacy, an Act was passed, requiring that all ministers who had been ordained since 1649 should receive new presentations from their respective patrons, and collation from the Bishop of the Diocese, before the 20th of September following. So little inclination was shown to observe this injunction, that the Privy Council, having met at Glasgow on the 1st of October, the Archbishop complained that not one of the young ministers had owned him for Bishop. An Act and Proclamation was then agreed upon, by which all ministers were liable to be banished from their houses, parishes, and presbyteries, unless they received collation or admission from the Bishops of their respective dioceses on or before the 1st of November. The Archbishop of Glasgow assured the Commissioner, the Earl of Mid-

dleton, there were not ten in his diocese who would refuse compliance.[a] So far, however, was this from being the case, that a special meeting of Council was held at Edinburgh on the 4th of November, in order to prolong the period to the 1st of February following. But, as in England with the Act of Uniformity, when about two thousand of the Presbyterian Clergy relinquished their livings, on the 24th of August, 1662, rather than openly renounce their principles, so it happened in this country. The result of such proceedings proved indeed very different from anything that had been anticipated. It has been estimated that, in Scotland, where there were about eight hundred parishes, nearly one half of the ministers voluntarily submitted to a sacrifice of all their worldly prospects, rather than conform to such radical changes in the forms of worship, discipline, and Church government.[b] These ejected ministers were prohibited from residing or preaching within the bounds of their own parishes—no toleration was permitted to private assemblies for devotional purposes—and any person frequenting such conventicles was liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment.

In the North, the ministers generally, with some notable exceptions, were less zealous and decided, and, as might be expected, they greatly preferred conformity to suffering. At this time, in the diocese of Murray, Brodie's two uncles, John, and 'his beloved' Joseph, were dead; and George Innes, minister of Dipple, and Harry Forbes, minister of Auldearn, prevented deposition by resigning their charges, in 1663. In the same year, Thomas Urquhart, minister of Essill, James Urquhart, minister of Kinloss, and George Meldrum, minister of Glass, were formally deposed.[c] The places of such men were supplied with others less scrupulous, but who were so unacceptable to the people, that they would not avail themselves of the ministrations "of intruders." The Bishop of Murray, Murdoch M'Kenzie, appears to have acted in a very tyrannical

[a] Wodrow's History, vol. i., pp. 265, 283.

[b] See Memoir of Robert Baillie, by the present Editor, prefixed to his Letters and and Journals, Edin. 1843, 3 vols., large 8vo., or Bannatyne Club edit., 4to.

[c] Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, 1775, p. 371.

manner; yet Brodie says, "I did see the Bishop at Spynie," and in their discourse, he adds, "I did goe far alongst in complying by titles, fair words, and the lyke. Oh! discover the secret sins of my nature, and inclinations, that this complacency be no snare to me, nor may it be to others."[a] In his own parish, in April, 1667, he says, "I desire to be affected with the withered and dry state of Dyke and Auldearn. Oh! does there fall any rain upon them?"[b] A few days previously, he says "the case of Auldearn and Dyke was my sore burden; that the Lord would shyne in on this dark place, and breath on these dead bodies, is one of the great desires of my heart." Being so greatly opposed to ceremonies and formal worship, he felt himself constrained to abstain from giving any countenance by his attendance to the class of ministers who were then intruded in these vacant parishes; even while he had an overpowering sense of the duty of "keeping up the form of public worship."[c] In August, 1672, he says, "Oh! let God raise up faithful and able teachers in His Church, and pitie the want of such; what great differ is there in the gifts of these that are laid by, and these that are keeped and admitted?"[d]

In reference to the compulsory attendance upon religious services that were felt to be unprofitable, contrasted with the ministrations of those who had been ejected, Brodie speaks of himself in March, 1673, as being tied up "to attend the dead ministry of others . . . of far less gifts, . . . to prevent confusion and disorder, waiting, but desperate in my waiting, to see if God will vouchsafe an outgate, and make way for able and faithful preachers—ministers "not of the letter only, but of the Spirit." Had they faithfulness, diligence, gifts, and endowments, I hold their ministry lawful even that enter by Bishops, and acknowledge them, albeit I prefer the other government, if rightly administered; but the Lord has humbled us in that also! Greater confusions have not been at any time than our divisions produced by our Assemblies." To a person so peaceably disposed,

[a] Page 277.
[b] Page 311.
[c] Page 328.
[d] Page 332.

it argues a sad state of spiritual destitution, that he found it more profitable to abstain from public worship, or participating in Church ordinances. Thus in June, 1676, when doubtful as to his communicating at some neighbouring church, he says, "I have been these several years without this ordinance of the Sacrament. . . . It's true, I have communicated with these who conform, and I think I may lawfully doe it without partaking of their sin. Yet the offence that honest men took at it has made me forbear. . . . The last Sacrament which I receaved was 25th August, 1669."[a] From what he states, it is clear, that his objections were not such as actuated his friends of the stricter class, who refused to countenance any minister who had received ordination at the hands of a Bishop, while he stayed at home "partly because the minister to preach was not such as he ought to be, partly to avoid giving some offence to others."[b] Or when hesitating whether he ought to attend or not, he exclaims, "Lord! give me direction, for I am nothing edified by him. Yet he is in the place of a minister." A special cause of his dislike to Bishops was not merely the introduction of English ceremonies, but the fact of churchmen being employed in civil matters; yet he still continued, on the whole, on friendly terms with many of the Conformists. He mentions his getting admonitions from time to time "to come and hear his own minister, Mr. William Falconer"[c]; and in December, 1676, having met with him, "He did expostulate with me for not hearing. I told him, it was not from prejudice against him more than others, but being dissatisfied with the constitution of the Church and government as it is now is, I did withdraw, lest my hearing might be constructed a consent and compliance. I told him, that besid the Covenant, I held the civil places of kirkmen unlawful and inconsisting with the office of a minister of Christ. To sit on life and death, and on civil things of fyning, punishment corporal, and the lyk, earthli dignities, as

[a] Page 359.

[b] Nov. 1673, page, 348.

[c] Minister of Moy and Dyke from 1674, till, in his turn, he himself was ejected after the Revolution.

princes, and preferenc befor Dukes and Marquises, was unseeming and inconsisting. I durst not disclaim the present ministers of the church of Scotland, but I did hold them guiltie of gross defections and corruptions. . . .

"He askd, If my son had baptizd his child. I told him solemly I knew not, for if it was baptized it was more than I knew. But, if my good daughter[a] did it, I could not controll her; and I did not hold it unlawful to hear."[b]

In the following year, when the ejected minister of Kinloss went to the North of Ireland, then a place of refuge to the Nonconformists, he says, "Mr. James Urquhart took journey from this towards Ireland. Whatever darkness I be under, I desire to be affected duly with this, to part with him and to be separated from him, and that the land cannot bear such. Let the Lord bring back the banish'd, and loose the prisoners in His own due tyme, and teach me how to walk and be affected in the meantym."

Notwithstanding the rigour exercised against those who frequented conventicles, or unlicensed places of preaching, the frequent opportunitiest of hearing the ejected ministers were not neglected. The houses of several of the chief families in Morayshire were so many sanctuaries to the oppressed."[c] Some of the Nonconformist ministers, chiefly from Rossshire, often visited the province of Murray; in particular, Brodie mentions James Fraser of Brae, Thomas Hog of Kiltearn, John MacGiligan of Inverness, and Hugh Anderson of Cromartie, who were much esteemed by many of the gentry; and as field-preaching in the North was not greatly encouraged, their ministrations were more tolerated than in various other districts, notwithstanding the zeal of the Earl of Murray and Bishop Mackenzie to repress and punish such persons. All this time we may regret that Brodie had no opportunity of meeting with Bishop Leighton, to have had, as it were, some account of his Prelatical experience. Of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, when he heard a report of his murder, he expresses his regrets at such an atrocious act, without any feelings of personal regard. It would have been well, had Sharp escaped

[a] His daughter-in-law. [b] Page 373. [c] Shaw's Moray, p. 372.

the vengeance of these misguided zealots, and been left to wear out the rest of his life in the enjoyment of his gratified ambition, even at the risk of continuing to the end of his days a fierce enemy to his brethren of the Covenant.

One of Brodie's relations, Alexander Brodie of Mains, apparently his cousin-german, and the son of his uncle, Mr. Joseph Brodie, minister of Forres, was also the writer of a Diary, part of which is still preserved. It is a small volume, extending from September, 1671, to July, 1675; and contains occasional notices of his family relations. The following excerpts may be therefore given, as some of them relate to the Laird, or as he calls him, Lord Brodie:—

"10 September, 1671.—Was the Lord's day. Mr. Collin Falconer being at Edinburgh, Mr. George Innes preached; who intruded contrair to his promise and profession upon Mr. James Urquhart's kirk, at Kinlos. I thocht it amisse to heir him upon that accompt. Therfor I have staid at hom.

"The eight day of February [1672].—The old Lady Park was buried.

"1 March.—Ther cam in or about this time som Popish books to Leith and Newcastle. They at Newcastle were brunt; but they which cam to Leith were by the arch-prelate put up in the Castle. A massacre of holy men was much feard in Edinburgh. It is hie tym for Thee to awak, when the wicked mak voyd Thy law!

"16 March.—This day ther was a preparatory servic befor the sacrament to be given. Mr. Colin in his fast day spok most invectively against them who upon the account of the present government wald not partak of the sam.

"May—June.—My Lord Brodie has been very unwell of the gravell. Lord be thanked, quho has wrought a gret delyverance for him, by giving him two gret stones after a long continued sickness.

"It is reported, the Archbishop of St. Androes hes gotten ane yearly pension from the Pop to promove Poperie.

"This week Mr. Colin Falconer is gon South, som say in expectation of ane Bishoprick.[a] Lord! disappoint and confound their hops quho wold build their hops and themselves upon the ruins of Thy hous.

"24 June.—Being Sabboth, Mr. Fordyce preached, who passed over the fornoon with some good discourse, and cam not to his text till the glass expyred. O Lord! repair the breaches of Thy hous, and purify the trybe of Levi. In the afternoon I stayd at hom. Alas! how does my hert accuse me for the careless and lazie performances I go about.

"3 day of August.—Being the Sabboth, my wyff and I went with Collin Hay's wyff and the Laird of Brodie to hear Mr. Tho. Hog. He preached upon the 13 Luk, 6 v. to the 10.

"August.—My Lord Brodie has been at the Wells (this 12 days) of Eslisk: great neid have I to run to that well which refreshes the city of God: it is for all diseases: Lord! I have many diseases, and my great disease is I kno' it not."

The following is a letter of the time, from the Laird of Brodie to the Lady Henrietta Stewart, wife of Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder. In the Cawdor Papers the name is given as "D. Brodie," a mistake easily accounted for, as he usually signs his name with a kind of monogram much liker D. B. than A. B.

17 Aug. 1674.

Madam

Having a great desyr to know of your La. weilfar and the children's, I have sent thes that I may know how you are, and if you have heard from the Laird since he arrived at his journeys end. I am feared you ar oure solitarie, and if your La. would be at the pains to direct your self and com this lenth, my son and my self should gladlie wait upon you. I hope the Lord will soe direct thes effaires which has cald him out, that you shall not haue anie caus to feare. If I may be off anie use to your La. you shall not mor frielie command then I shall obey. If you be in health, and your litle ones, it shalbe great contentment unto

Madam,

Your La. most humble servant,
A. BRODIE.

[a] Nor were his hopes disappointed: see page 359, note [a].

My Daughter-in-law presents her humble service to your La., and if she had strenth would be glad to wait upon you.

For the right honorable my Ladie Henriet Stewart Ladie of Calder.[a]

The following passage from Brodie's Diary has reference to a Commission Court against Conventicles, appointed to be held at Elgin in December, 1676. In the expectation that he would be called upon to explain his own conduct, Brodie considered it expedient to prepare beforehand, the heads of a proposed vindication of himself; and the substance of what he intended to say, as follows, was reserved for quotation in this place as explanatory of his own views and course of life in matters of a public nature.

December 17, 1676.—Die Dom. I considerd if I should beforhand draw a note of the heads which I would speak of, if I shal be cald befor them. Albeit I doe not lippen to my own judgment, wit, memori, or forthinking. but to His Spirit and immediat asistanc, yet I desir to consider if I may not speak to this purpose :—

I have scarcli al my lyf been cald befor the barr of any Judicatur; and now I thank God it is not for ani evel or wickednes, oppression of my neighbour, treason, or rebellion, or insurrection against my Soverain the King: in this I joy: But it is for my humbl desir to keip my conscience undefild, and that I be not involvd with others in taking the ever blest nam of God in vain. I keip noe unlawful meetings; but that I partake with my freind and relation [b] in his famili exercises within the wals of my own hous, and that but veri seldom,—for it I may rather deserv blam then reproof. The worship we perform, as it is with reverenc to God, soe with reverenc to the King's Majesti, for whom we pray, as for our oun souls. I count it not unlawful to hear thes who conform, nor dar I condemn them that hear, especiali when they have no others. It's true I hear seldomer then I would.

1. Becaus ther ministri is not livlie, and others I find mor livli on my hart.

2. I have a dislyk of and am stumbld greatli at their entri and admission and acting, seing ther constitution is not consisting and agreable with the rules and precript of Scriptur, and the Apostls; worldli glori, ambition, pomp, civil dominion, jurisdiction, places, dignities, and offices, and honours, civil and criminal, abov al subjects, even above the princes of the royal blood. Lordli dignities is veri incompatibl with the office of the tru ministers of Christ, who should watch for the souls of peopl.

3. This veri thing, civil places and dignities of Churchmen, which we cal Prelaci, as it

[a] The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor, (Spalding Club volume), p. 330-1, Edinb. 1859, 4to.

[b] Mr. James Urquhart, formerly minister of Kinloss, whose wife Anna Brodie, was a relation of Brodie's.

is a human, sinful devic of man, without warrand in the Word of God, so it has been abjured solemli in thir ages past, by the consent of Kings and their Parliaments, even three Kings successivli; and let no man doe our royal Monarch that wrong as to say, it was by force; for with as much cheerfulnes as could be exprest, noe armi, nor violenc used; and applid expresli in terms, and declard to be meant, Bishops, Deans, Arch., Chapters, &c. The oath being on a matter lawful, and enjoind by the Kings of this Realm, ratified and consented to, and the peopl and I having taken this Engagement, I dar not so farr defie God as to violat his oath, and tak his nam in vain; for it is no light thing; nor can a thousand Parliaments, and Emperors, and Pops, absolv from it, or dispenc with a lawful oath made to God. It's not man we have to doe with, or can requir the breach, but God.

4. I shall wish and pray that the King's Majesty may see his safti and preservation, and the stabilitie of his royal government to be mor surlie bottomd on the true affections of his peopl then on the civil placcs of Kirkmen, to the wounding of the consciences of his faithful subjects. As for my loyalti, ther's none of my condition within al his Kingdoms that detests and abhors disloyalti mor, and that shall mor willingli pour out his blood and lyf at his fiat, then I shall doe.

We have already alluded to the intense pain to which Brodie was subjected from what, in 1672, he called "his old disease of the stone"[a] in the bladder. The blotted state of the Diary, and the heavy penmanship during several of the last months of his life, seem to indicate the greatness of his sufferings, and his perseverance to the last in a practice he had observed for so many years, although the making these entries must have been a serious labour. At times, he was subject to "doubts, and fears, and darkness;" and latterly, also, both himself and his friends were afraid that in one of those paroxysms he might pass away without a clear manifestation of his continued faith and trust in his Redeemer, such as was befitting the life of a true, sincere, and devoted Christian. It was otherwise mercifully ordained; and, as the last dying words of God's people are deemed to be precious, so, when his life drew to a close, his suffering abated, and he was enabled to express such sentiments as might have been expected from a man of exemplary piety, proving, that while "the wicked is driven away in his wickedness: the righteous hath hope in his death."[b]

[a] P. 327.

[b] Prov. xiv. 32.

We might also add, in the words of the Psalmist, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: FOR THE END OF THAT MAN IS PEACE."

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE died on the 17th of April, 1680, in the 63d year of his age. On the previous day he commenced a short entry in his Diary. But while so frequently accusing himself of manifold failings and shortcomings, he had the peculiar satisfaction of witnessing his son and grandchildren, the objects of his dearest sympathy and of many fervent prayers, taking upon themselves the same Covenant engagements to a life of faith and hope, of which he had set such a consistent example. On the same day, his son, JAMES BRODIE, who succeeded to the estate of Brodie, takes up his Father's Diary and continues it.

There is a singular degree of touching pathos in the mournful regrets expressed by the younger Brodie on occasion of his father's death, lamenting how little he had profited by his instructions, and recording anew the resolutions he had formed of treading in his footsteps, and striving to imitate his example. On that day when he takes up his father's Diary, and during the time that intervened till the day of the funeral, he dwells on the great and irreparable loss sustained by his removal. This Diary, by James Brodie of Brodie, breaks off with February, 1685, but it was no doubt carried on during the rest of his life, in one or more subsequent volumes, not now preserved. He inherited so much of the character and devotional spirit of his Father, that unless for the dates, and the subject of his Diary, we might have still mistaken it for that of the elder Brodie. The handwriting is more legible, and he makes no use of cyphers, but even in the orthography, in the omission of the final e's, and the phrasology he uses, there is a marked resemblance. He also, constantly "desires to be instructed," or "to lay it seriously to heart," or "to spread it before God."

It was deemed, therefore, advisable to subjoin a series of Extracts from this Diary, as it forms a natural sequel to what precedes, and more especially as it was not of sufficient extent or importance for separate publication.

It has already been mentioned that Brodie's family consisted of two children, a son and daughter, he having formed no second marriage, although he survived his wife for nearly forty years.

GRIZZEL BRODIE, his daughter, was born 28th of October, 1636, and married her cousin, Robert Dunbar, son and heir of Ninian Dunbar of Grangehill, on the 7th of September, 1654. Her husband had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him, by Charles the Second, in 1660. They had several children.

JAMES BRODIE OF BRODIE, was born on the 15th of September, 1637. His marriage with Lady MARY KER, a younger daughter of William, third Earl of Lothian, in 1659, is previously noticed. Like many of the religious ladies of the time, she seems to have been even more determined than her husband against complying with the Conformist ministers. In conversing with the Earl of Tweddale, 10th of September, 1684, his Lordship "spoke anent my wiff's not hearing, and told me the danger of it. I thought myself beholden to him for his freedom and ingenuitie with me; and know not what to do anent her."[a] Yet he himself, in 1680, exclaims, while noticing that the Bishop of Murray was at Forres, inducting a minister to that place, "Oh! for the plague the land lyes under of such teachers,"[b] and again, "Oh Lord! forgive, and reform, and send out a Gospel ministry."[c]

James Brodie, as in such times might have been expected, was subjected to fines and punishment on account of his alleged frequenting Conventicles. In 1685,[d] he disowned frequenting such meetings, unless within his own house, and he asks himself, "Is there any guilt in this before God?"

His Diary closes with some account of a Court held at Elgin by the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Kintore, and Sir George Monro, who had been

[a] Page 498.
[b] Page 443.
[c] Page 443.
[d] Page 508.

appointed and commissioned by the Privy Council at a meeting held at Edinburgh, on the 30 December, 1684, "to prosecute all persons guilty of Church disorders and other crimes in all the bounds betwixt Spey and Ness, including Strathspey and Abernethie, and their first meeting to be at Elgin, the 22 of January following." Brodie was then fined for his nonconformity in the sum of £2000 Sterling, or £24,000 Scots. "The world," he says, "has been my idol, and the love of it, and covetousness the root of much evil, and the Lord justlie may punish in this."

The report of these Commissioners is given by Wodrow in his History;[a] but the entire Minutes of the proceedings, with the several Depositions of the persons accused of nonconformity, which Wodrow had not seen, are preserved in Her Majesty's General Register House, among the unbound papers of the proceedings of the Privy Council.

But Wodrow in his account of these proceedings,[b] has subjoined some further particulars, which, he says, were furnished to him by "a worthy gentleman in Murray, upon whom the Reader may depend for the truth of it;" part of which may be quoted:—

> The Members of the Criminal Court which sat at Elgin of Murray, in the beginning of the 1685, were the Earls of Errol and Kintore, with Sir George Monro, commonly called Major-general. As soon as the Commissioners came to town, they caused erect a new gallows *ad terrorem*. Most of the presbyterians in this country were summoned before them, tho' they had no crimes to charge them with but absence from the kirk, and being at Conventicles; none here having been at Bothwel, or in any thing termed rebellion.
>
> They fined the Laird of Brody, this Brody's Grandfather, in Forty-five thousand Merks, merely upon his having a Conventicle in his house. That gentleman went to London to get, if possible, some reasonable composition made for this fine: after much pains and expence he was forced to give bond for Twenty-two thousand Merks to one Colonel Maxwel, a papist, to whom that sum was paid, and the Colonel's acknowledgment of it is yet among the papers of that family.
>
> Alexander Brody of Lethen in Forty thousand pounds, and a fifth part more in case it were not paid in a year. All they had against him was, that he would not depone he had not heard a presbyterian minister preach. His fine was gifted to the Scots Popish

[a] History of the Sufferings, folio edit., vol. ii, p. 464; 8vo. edit., vol. iv., p. 92.

[b] Ib., folio edit., vol. ii., p. 466; 8vo. edit., vol. iv., p. 195.

College at Doway; and an adjudication was led against his estate, which yet stands in the Register of Adjudications. A composition was made, and a great sum paid to the Earl of Perth; and this Lethen yet hath the Earl's receipt, if I remember, for Thirty thousand pounds, which he hath promised me to send to you, if needful."

From the original Minutes, which supply a variety of information relating to nonconformity in Morayshire, we learn that Brodie and his wife appeared before the Court on the 3rd of February. The following is the registered record of their examination :—

Elgin, 3 February, 1685.

—In presence of the Earls of Errol, Kintore, and Sir George Monro.

Lady Mary Ker, Lady Brodie, being examined upon the libel, declares, she abstained from the Church till September last, and that Mr. Alexander Dunbar was a servant in their family, and has prayed and read the Scriptures there, when the Laird of Brodie has been from home: Depones, he was a servant to the Lord Brodie, and was recommended by him to the Laird, and that the Laird uses to exercise in his own family himself when at home: Depones, she has had no children baptized irregularly, since the Indemnity, nor been at, nor heard Conventicles, nor entertained any vagrant preachers since that time.

5 February, 1685.

The Lady Brodie, being examined upon oath, depones to the truth of the above written declaration in all points.

Marie Ker.

3 February, 1685.

James Brodie of that Ilk, being solemnly sworn upon the libel, depones, that since the year 1679, he did not keep his parish church in Murray, but within thir two years. But he was seventeen or eighteen months at Edinburgh, and there he kept the kirk orderly: Depones, when he was in Murray he was tied to the attendance of his dying father, who was sick a long time, and died about the end of the year 1680: Depones, Mr. Alexander Dunbar was his father's servant, and was recommended to him by his father, and that when he was from home, Mr. Alexander Dunbar went about family worship, but he himself always used family worship in his own family when at home: Depones, he was acquaint with Mr. Robert Martin, and saw him at Edinburgh about two years ago, and never conversed nor corresponded with him since, either by word or writ; only two year and a half since he wrote to him from Edinburgh, desiring he might intercede with a kinsman of his to forbear the using diligence against him for a sum of money he was

resting to him; Depones, he has not had a child since the Indemnity: Depones negative, as to plotting, contributing money, corresponding with or favouring rebels, hearing and concealing treason, and also as to all the other heads and articles of the libel: And this is the truth, as he shall answer to God.

Jas. Brodie.

It would be out of place to extract any other depositions from this document, although it records the examination of some of Brodie's friends, and the punishment that was inflicted upon them "for their own and their wives delinquencies, irregularities, and disorders;" but the result of these tyrannical proceedings in regard to the fines which were imposed on the Brodie family, may be quoted as possessed of some local or family interest.

11 February, 1685.

Earls of Errol, Kintore, and Sir George Monroe.

The Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, in regard the Lady Grant, confesses two years and a-half with drawing from ordinances, having and keeping an unlicensed chaplain, hearing outed ministers preach several times, and that the Laird of Grant confesses the keeping of the said unlicensed minister in his family, and hearing an outed minister preach once, and pray several times,—They therefore fine and amerciate the Laird of Grant for his own and his Lady's delinquencies, irregularities, and disorders, in the sum of lbs. 42,500 Scots money.

And, likewise, having considered the depositions of Alexander Brodie of Lethen, whereby he confesses nine house conventicles, and two years and more withdrawing, and entertaining vagrant preachers,—They therefore fine and amerciate him in the sum of lbs. 40,000 Scots money.

And, also, having considered the depositions of the Laird of Brodie, whereby he confesses half a year's withdrawing, and the keeping an unlicensed chaplain, and the Lady Brodie's deposition, whereby she confesses three years' withdrawing, and more, after old Brodie's death, at which time they became heretors and masters of their oun family,—They therefore fine and amerciate him for his own and his Lady's delinquencies, disorders, and irregularities, in the sum of lbs. 24,000 Scots money.

The Lords having considered the deposition of Francis Brodie of Milntoun, whereby he confesses constant withdrawing from the ordinances since the Indemnity, except three Sabbath days, and several house conventicles,—They therefore fine and amerciate him in the sum of lbs. 10,000 Scots money.

The Lords having considered the deposition of Francis Brodie of Windiehills, whereby he confesses three house conventicles, and three years' withdrawing, and the deposition of Margaret Brodie, his wife, whereby she confesses withdrawing, and conventicles,—

They therefore fine and amerciate the said Francis Brodie for his own and his wife's delinquencies, disorder, and irregularities in the sum of 5,000 merks Scots money.

The Lords having considered the deposition of Mr. James Brodie in Kinloss, and Anna Forret his spouse, whereby they confess hearing of conventicles, and in regard they were formerly fined, and are no heritors,—They fine the said Mr. James for his own and his wife's delinquences and disorders in the sum of 200 merks Scots money.

And ordains them to make payment of the said respective fines to his Majesty's Cash keeper betwixt and the first day of May next, to come under the penalty of being liable to a fifth part more than the said respective fines.

It may be added, that David Brodie of Pitgounie was also severely fined, and imprisoned in Blackness for fourteen months; when the Privy Council in compliance with his petition, granted, March 30, 1686, order and warrant for his liberation "upon caution under the penalty of £5,000 pounds Sterling to compear before the Council when called." By the sentence of the same Court at Elgin, 4th of February, Mr. John Stewart, Mr. James Urquhart, Mr. Alexander Dunbar, and Mr. George Meldrum of Crombie, were banished his Majesty's dominions, and ordained "to be transported prisoners to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, there to remain till occasion be had for their transportation." None however of these ministers were transported. Stewart and Dunbar were imprisoned on the Bass, and Urquhart and Meldrum in Blackness Castle, until the Revolution set all such persons at liberty.

James Brodie of Brodie died in March, 1708. His family consisting of nine daughters, the estate of Brodie devolved on his cousin-german George Brodie of Aslisk, who had moreover married the fifth daughter. We cannot conclude these notices more appropriately than by giving the following letter addressed by Brodie of Aslisk to his relation John Campbell of Calder, at the time of his father-in-law's death:—

Sir,

Your servant brought yow the lamentable news of the death of your dear friend Brodie. God is humbling this familie. I wish we may learne to draw near to him, that our end may be also blest in the Lord as his was. Sir, it was amongst his last words to me *that I might burie him with his Ladie on the same day*, and it is the opinion

of his Children and other friends here to obey his commands; and I have sent this bearer to you to know if the carriage of your coach be entire to carie one of them, or if in two or three days you can make it so.

We have horse in abundance, but you would also informe us if you can lend us wheel harnesing for two horse. You will be pleased to give us ane distinct accompt of this, that we do not trust to your cariage and be disapoynted; and if Kilravock or you do not furnish us with a cariage, we will be necessitate to burie them separately.

You will show your sone Sir Archibald that he needs not come here to my Ladie's buriall untill he gett new advertisement. . . .

Your affectionat coosing and most humble servant,

Brodie House, 5 March, 1708. GEO. BRODIE.[a]

To the Laird of Calder.

From this letter we learn that Lady Mary Brodie had predeceased her husband only a few days, in mentioning the earnest desire he had expressed that they might be buried on one and the same day. As they died full of Christian faith and hope, it might truly be said of them that they "were lovely and pleasant in their lives; and in their death they were not divided."[b]

It only remains to add, that the Members of the SPALDING CLUB are under deep obligations to William Brodie of Brodie, Esq., to whom the Manuscript Diaries of his ancestor belong, for entrusting them in the Secretary's hands so long until it should be found convenient to have the present volume completed. It would have been very gratifying, had it been possible, to have given a portrait of the elder Brodie, as one of the remarkable men of his age. For this purpose, some years ago, Mr. Stuart, Secretary, accompanied by Mr. Cosmo Innes, visited Brodie House to examine the family portraits in the hope of discovering one of the writer of the Diary. In this they failed, and all subsequent inquiries have proved equally unsuccessful.

DAVID LAING.

Edinburgh, 1862.

[a] The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor, Spalding Club, p. 406. [b] 2 Sam. i 23.

The originals of the following letters are preserved in one of the volumes which belonged to Wodrow the Historian, and were purchased from his representatives by the General Assembly, in 1742. They were not accessible when the preceding Preface was in the Printer's hands, but may now serve as an Appendix, along with a Supplication from the Laird of Brodie, and some Acts in his favour extracted from the unpublished Rescinded Acts of Parliament; as they relate to the depredations and losses he sustained, and for which he probably never received compensation.

REMITT ANENT THE LAIRD OF BRODIE, 6 August, 1645.

Anent the Supplicatione givine in to the Estates of Parliament now presentlie conveened in the fourt Sessione of this first trienniall Parliament, be vertue of the last act of the last Parliament haldine be his Majestie and their Estates in anno 1641 : Quhairof the tennor fallowes :—MY LORDES and others of the Estates of Parliament, I, your Lordships servitor ALAXANDER BRODIE of that Ilke, humblie meanes, That quher I am nather sorie nor ashamed to be broght before yow in ane caise so singular, it is not my fault that I suffer ; for except it should be callit a fault to serve God and yow, I know, besyde the Testimonie I may have within my selfe, I may and am confident of the Testimony of this honorable House, that as they sitt heir with justice and reasone thane what I have or may suffer in this caus in my persone and estate is for ane cause not les honorable and just thene is the name and authoritie of this highe court. Not I, bot the priviledge of it, is more imediatlie strickine and hunted at. I intend not to make this ane Apologie or introductione to my loises. That they should at this tyme be thought upoun, it wer folie and shame to mentione it, quhill all the handes and estates you have is but enuch to defend the head. The good success of your present intentiones is of more value and will be dearer to any honest heart than a thousand of thair lyves. I make no mentione of burneing of houss, landes, corne yairds, spoyleing of goods and cattell ; I onlie crave what is in your hand to give, and the giveing quhairof may weell augment but not diminish your Treasour or authoritie. Your enemyes are skillfull to destroy. Amonges the rest in this commone calamity the writes and evidentes quherby I have title to enjoy the small estate wherto I succeid are not in pairt but whollie destroyed. I am, throughe this loise and distructione of writes, evidentes, contractes, discharges, and otheres such lyke, exposed to ane hundreth yea many yeires troubles and pley. I have nothing to ansuer if any thing be cleamed, thought

never so unjustlie. I have no title to cleame nor aske from otheres, thought with never so great reasone or justice. My inconveniences are more is [than] I can reckone or ansuer, and they offer themselves to any judicious eye. I humblie accept this at the handes of God, and not choise. I would be sorie to have distrustfull discontented thought; I resolved before this with the loise of lyfe, and all; thought this and all loises hade bene presented to me and the cause to be entered wpon of new, I would thinke it ane great faintness or wickednes to be cold or ly by. Tho I should thairby preserve all, I lay doune all I have at your feet; I cannot escape false and unjust persutes if you bar them not; and if yow make not my escape I cannot bot perishe. My humble desyre is, That as the constancie and confidence of your servant is come to view, so it may please your Lordships to pas some act of favor for my securitie, not only in my land and heritadge, mylne and multors; but to shoot the door aganes all actiones and persutes which upoun this occasione may be intendit, or heirtofor has bene depending againes me, quherin I am heavilie prejudged in the probatione of my laufull defenss, by the burneing of my writtes and evidentes. And if your Lordships pressing effaires for the publict doe not spair so much tyme for takeing my desyre to consideratione, I humbly desyre that your Lordships would be pleased to remitt the desyre of your Servant ather to ane particulare committee, or to the Committee of Estates, to be appoynted to sitt efter the dissolveing of this present Sessione of Parliament, to do therein as they shall think fitting, for secureing me in maner foirsaid, and according as I shall particularly remonstrat to the said Committee my particular sufferinges and prejudices, throw the burneing of my saides writtes and evidentes, at said is, as the Supplicatione proportes: Quhilke Supplicatione being red and considered be the saidis Estates of Parliament, the saidis Estates hes remitted, and heirby Remittes and recommendes the samene, and desyre therof above specifeit.

To the Committie of Estates, to be taken in consideratione be them, with power to them to determine, and to doe thairin as they shall thinke expedient.[a]

Alexander Brodie of Brodie to Mr. Robert Douglas.

Reverend and much respected,

Iff your avocations had not drawen you away, and great distance had not impeded, I would have visited yow more frequently then I have done. Althogh thes parts be overspread with a dark cloud, yet it would lighten our burden to heare that the Lord's caus were prospering elsewher.

On[e] off the greatest mountains that I have seine is tumbling southward, and seims to stopp our desyr'd Peace, even (when in our thoghts) it was at the up-taking. I know not what your opinion will be off it, but to the end yow may be resolu'd I have sent yow a Remonstranc emitted by the E. of Seaforth. Pretending good to the kingdome, he has drawen in some honest men, who, out of ther simplicitie and ther desyre of Peace, have gone alongst in subscriving this oath. Ministers some at the contriving consented to it,

[a] Unprinted Acts of Parliament, 1645, fol. 286.

and resolu'd some scrupling minds that it was lawfull; other ministers are threatned: all is on fyre on eury side. I will not ripp up the immodest articls insinuating injustice on the Parliament, nor will I examin the oath, and compare it with the articls off our latest leaug and covenant, which as it leaves out soe it contraries. Laying all this asyd to your more judicious examination, I only desyr and beseich yow most humbly to advert and look to the consequences off it. I desyre not only to know in private what your opinion is anent it; but efter you have consulted with the Lords of Committee, examin'd the grounds of state policie, and learn'd what they know heiranent, then let this part of the kingdome know what is the mind off the Commission of the Generall Assembly.

I beleiue your letters from the Commission to the Earl off Seaforth would be of great authoritie. I know your letters to the Presbyteries would keipe off ministers from subscriving; your admonitions would confirm the weak, and reclaime them who, out ofi a meire honest simplicitie, hav suffer'd themselves to be ledd away vpon the fair colourabl hopes of Peac, which was promis'd to insue. I need not request yow to use meiknes: your wisdome is great to restore bones that are out of joynt.

Iff yow think it not worth the looking to, or if the wys committe shall bidd yow forbeare, if they and yow think that it may produce some good effect, I will not, for my life, censure the means, but suspend and correct my rashnes on your information.

But it is growing; iff it spread farr, the danger is the greater; use your counsels, and applie your remedies tymly, if yow would have the bodie or the members safe.

Iff yow direct som generall letters to any particular men of place, such as E. Sutherland, L. Lovat, &c., we shall tak a care to spread and convoy them safely. Sir, yow need not mak more vse of my name then yow think meit; not that I think shame or feare, for (except my lyf) man can doe noe more to me. Truly I mak litl count of all men, if I may get the way of Christ follow'd and adher'd to.

I must lykwys let yow know a passage off the Gordouns expedition; they and Huntly hav bein now 13 weeks in Murray, and hav left neither to eat, nor sow, nor plogh in many places, wher they reaceau'd not obedienc. Ther wholl tym and pains was taken vp with beseidging the hous of Leathin, belonging to ane uncl of myne, quher (except my self and very few more, for the Garison of Invernes call'd me heire to attend them, althogh truly I am litl profitabl in any place of the world), ther I say all my freinds were taking shelter. When all the amunition was spent, and noe hop of relief (althogh often was the armie advertiz'd and requir'd), at last having kill'd many of the enemie in severall assaults, they wer forc'd to come vnder parlie and surrender. Upon a band off money to be pay'd to the Lord Huntly, in cace he conform'd not to his Majestie's service, the Lard was restor'd to his hous and all that is in it, and has sinc that tyme furnish'd and fortified himself for a longer seidg, if God be with him. Now in this parlie, Mr. Joseph Brodie my uncl, throgh the vehement importunitie, and the pressing necessiti off the poor beseidg'd people, was employ'd to mak such conditions with the enemie as might consist with a good conscienc and the covenant, they hoping that he also might attain them better conditions then any other. Now, as himself has wrytten to yow, we desyr to know what your judgment is anent the capitulation, and Mr. Joseph's communing with the enemie. In truth,

I doe confess, althogh the Lord humbl'd them in bringing them to that extremitie (which nothing else could perswad them to), yet they being free of engadgment, or the least concurane with the enemie in ther purposes, I cannot censure the Act in such a cace as this. Your opinion will much satisfie both him and them: I know, however, you will put a favourabl construction on it, for I will be bold to saye ther was never man more avers from them, or ther wayes, or had less favour of them than he and we all have.

I have wearied yow with so larg a letter; I will end with the occasion off my wryting to yow, that you delay no tyme untill yow return your answear and such counsell as is meit for soe perilous a tyme. My lord Crawfourd will inform you more. Iff you desyre me to wryt to yow off other things as they occurr, I shall obey yow heirafter. In the meantym tak information from this bearer of particulars, and urge a relief to this place from the Committe, for it is in noe less then in daunger to be lost, iff it be not releiu'd or strenthend. It is the most considerable pass in the kingdom, as affairs stand. Iff yow will tak pains to inform me of the success off our synod, and the Treatie, and our Armies in England, I shall sympathiz with yow in holding up ther condition to God, who (I know) will bring about his glory and ther deliverance and Peace throgh all thes croc events, which in his Providenc he suffers us to meit withall. That God may accomplish this, and may in the mean tym vphold us all, and counsell yow, and bless your counsels, shall be the humble and vnfein'd prayer of,

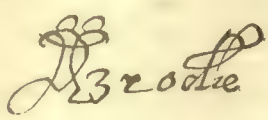
your verie asur'd and ever oblidg'd
Brother and servant,

Invernes, 10 March, 1646. AL. BRODIE.[a]

Ffor the Right Reverend and my much respected Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS, minister of God's word at Edinburgh, and Moderatour of the General Assembly of Scotland.

The Remonstrance or Band, alluded to in the preceding letter was framed by George, Earl of Seaforth, and consisted of seven articles, the first of which contained an invitation to the King to come to Scotland. It was presented to the Committee of Estates in March, 1646. The Commission of the General Assembly emitted a declaration against it on the 30th of the same month. "Meanwhile Seaforth had an army of 5000 for to effectuate

[a] The following is a fac-simile of Brodie's signature; which corresponds exactly with the letters in the Marquess of Lothian's possession, printed in the above pages—



the ends contained in his Remonstrance."[a] On the 13th of June following, the General Assembly passed an ordinance for excommunication of the Earl of Seaforth, not only for having himself subscribed, but for having seduced and threatened others to subscribe "that perfidious Band made and contrived in the North, under the name of 'An humble Remonstrance, against our Nationall Covenant, and the League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms;' boasting also the pursuance of that his Remonstrance against all deadly the opposers thereof, whether King or Parliament."[b]

Vigesimo Septimo Martij, 1647.

RATIFICATION IN FAVORS OF THE LAIRD OF BRODIE.

The Estates of Parliament, now conveend in this sext session of the first trienniall Parliament, Ratifies, approves, and confermis the act or decreit of the Committie of the Estates of Parliament given and pronuncit be them at Edinburgh vpon the twentie day of Maij, j^m^ vi^c^ fourtie sex yeirs, in favors of Alexr. Brodie of that Ilk, ffinding and declaring him, his airs and successors, to be frie from all action and execution quhilks may be clamed or execute against them be quhatsomevir persones dwelling within the Sherefdomes of Invernes, Narne, and Elgine, being than within the cuntrie the tyme of the vsing of the citatiounes mentioned in the foresaid decreit, given aganis them, and quharupon the said decreit proceidit, for the causs and reasones respective mentioned in the aforesaid decreit, as the samen, of the date abonewritten, in the selfe mair fullie beiris, in all and sundrie the headis, articles, clauss, conditions, and provisions respective, specifeit in the foresaid decreit, and conforme to the tenor therof in all points: And declares this present Ratification tharof to be alse valeid, effectuall, and sufficient, as if the foresaid act or decreit abonementioned wer insert verbatim heirintill, Quheranent, and anent all defectis and imperfections of the samen, The Estates heirby dispenss for evir: And also the saidis Estates declares that the foresaid act or decreit abonementioned, of the twentie day of Maij, j^m^ vi^c^ and fourtie sex yers, and this Ratificatioune tharof, sall nawyis be extendit aganis Niniane Dumbar of Grangehill, nor his airs and successors, nor aganis anie richtis of multours, nor aganis anie uther richtis, indentors, actions, or uther writtis or securities personall or reall, perteining or competent to him for himselfe, or as air or appeirand air to anie of his predecessors.[c]

[a] Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 180, 181.

[b] Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 445.

[c] Unprinted Acts of Parliament, 1647, p. 501, b.

Vigesimo Septimo Martij, 1647.

Ratificatioune in Favors of the Laird of Brodie.

The Estates of Parliament, now conveend in this sext session of the first trienniall parliament, taking to their consideration that the Kingis Majestie, with consent of his Hienes Thesaurer principall, and Thesaurer deput, and remanent Lordis of exchecker, by virtue of the act of the Committie of Estates haveing full power from the parliament to that effect, granted in favors of Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, Hes by his Hienes chartar vnder the great seall (conteining ane gift *de novo damus* therintill), disponed vnto the said Alexander his airs male and assigneyis heritablie, vpon his awne resignation, all and haill the landis and barronie of Brodie, comprehending the particular landis and teindis therinspecifeit, erected of old in ane frie barronie, called the barronie of Brodie, lyand in the parochine of Dyke, and sherefdome of Elgine and fforres; all and haill the toune and landis of Greiship and Bronns crook, with the pertinentis, lyand within the parochine of fforres and sherefdome foresaid; all and haill the kirk landis of Dyck, with the brew seats and brew landis therof, with all the liberties, priviledges, pairtis, pendicles, and pertinentis belonging to the saidis landis, barronie, and others contenit in the said chartar, and off all and sundrie the teind sheavis of the landis and barronie of Brodie and uthers, at mair lenth contenit in the said chartar, as the samen, of date the aucht day of Julij, j^{m} vi^{c} and fourtie sex yeirs, mair fullie proportis: And herewith also considering the trueth and realitie of the groundis and causs quhervpon the foresaid chartar was granted, and quhervpon the act therein mentioned, of the twentie sevint of September, j^{m} vi^{c} & fourtie five yeirs, did proceid, Thairfore the Saidis Estates of Parliament hes ratified, approven, and confirmed, and doe heirby ratifie, apprôve, and confirme the foresaid chartar and infeftment abonementioned, with the instrument of saising following thervpon, togither with the act and groundis quhervpon the same proceidit, in the haill headis, articles, clauss, conditions, and vthers therin contenit, and interponis the authoritie of Parliament thereto: And ffindis and declares this generall Ratification therof to be alse valeid and effectuall as if the same wer at lenth word by word insert heirintill, Quheranent the Estats dispenss: And also ffindis and declares that the chartar, infeftment, and others foresaidis, with this present Ratificatione therof, ar, and salbe gude, valeid, and sufficient richtis to the said Alexr. Brodie of that Ilk, and his foresaids, ffor bruiking and posessing of the foresaids landis, barronies, teindis, and uthers therin specifeit, in all tym comeing, conforme to the tenors therof respective: And ffindis and declares that the certificatioune of improbatioune or reduction salbe granted for not production of anie of the principall prior infeftmentis, richtis, and evidentis of the landis, and others specifeit in the said chartar and infeftment abonewrittin, in respect the samen wer burnt and destroyed by rebells and enemies of this Kingdome, at the tyme of the burning of his hous of Brodie, as is instructed by the said act of the Committie of Estates and probatioune ressaved.[a]

[a] Unprinted Acts of Parliament, 1647, P. 501, b.

Decimo quinto Martij, 1649.

Act in favouris of the Laird of Brodie.

The Estates of Parliament, having taken to their consideratioune the supplicatioune given in to thame be the Laird of Brodie for himselff, and in name of his mother, and the relict and bairnes of vmquhile Coleine Campbell of Arthneseir, and Alexr. Dowglas of Spynie, and Marie Innes, his mother, Desyreing that the Parliament wald approve their act maid in favouris of these wha hes their landis brunt and waisted by the barbarous rebellis, by exeming of thame frome all publick dewis, and the samen maid effectuall to thame, according to the probatioune led, and the yeeres therin contenit, And to discharge Collectoris and vtheris frome uplifting of the samyne, or troubleing thame therfoir, Togidder with the reporte maid be Sir Williame Scott of Clerkingtoune and Johne Dicksone of Hairtrie, to whome the said supplicatoune wes remitted, wherby they fand it instructit be Actis of the Committee of Estates, subscryved be Sir Archibald Prymrose their clerk for the tyme, That the heretoris of brunt and waisted landis sould have deductioune of the mantenance and vther publick dewis, and be exemptit fra all payment therof, according as thair landis are brunt and waisted in haill or in pairt: The Saidis Estates of Parliament approves and allowes of the said Reporte, and ordaines the benefeit of the foirsaid act to be extendit in favouris of the said Laird of Brodie, and his mother, and the relict and bairnes of the said vmquhile Coline Campbell, And als[o] in favouris of the said Alexr. Dowglas of Spynie, and Marie Innes, his mother, ffor all bygane taxt and loane, and for the seven monethis mantenance whilk wes first granted: And thairfore the saidis Estates of Parliament heerby dischairges all Collectoris, subcollectoris, and vtheris intromettoris with the public dewis, to vplift the samyne, or to trouble and molest the saidis Supplicantis for the seven monethis mantenance foirsaid.[a]

The following letters are connected with the proceedings of the Scottish Commissioners in their negociations with Charles the Second in Holland, May, 1650.

Sir John Smith to Mr. Robert Douglas.

Reverend Sir,—It hes pleased the Lord in his merci to grant us evident demonstrationes of his kyndnesse in everi thing conduceable for our journey. And in these things for establishement of religion and lawes quhat lenth we ar cum I doubt not, Sir, bot yow hav had the particulers from diverse hands. Wee have reason to blise God for quhat is doine. And as we hav fund the return of your and God's people's prayers, as I hairtili wish yow wold continou, That the Lord wold extricat him [the King] out of evil compani, and the mani dificulties he is yet involved in. The mouthes of mani wilbe oppen

[a] Unprinted Acts of Parliament, 1649.

and mak conclusiones to themselfs as [if] all wer doin; and thereby occasion our wigilant adversaries be sea and land to look to our motiones. The Lord quho as it wer, caryed ws in eglis wings in our woyage heer, and made his creatures sensibli to concurr thervnto. Ther is no les (if not more) nead now to wrestle with the Lord day and night that ther and our return may hav the same safe convoyance. I conceaved at our depairtour that monoyes had cum alongs for suppli of his [Majes]tie's effaires, which wold hav cum weri seasonabli, if his personale and domestick wants wer alse weel knoen at home as to others your servands heer. The publicq credit is not adverted to at home, which maks it of smale waleu heer; and throw disapoyntments in Holland hes occasioned Provest Jafrey and my cuming hither yisternight. Thes we ar to speak with heer hes smale will to the work in regard of former disapoyntments We ar presentli to meet with them. I had the honor to speak with the K[ing] yisterday, and did represent to him how that wicked man in the north (Montrose?) his inconsiderable appearance ther wold mak a diversion of Da. Lesselie's forces, and therby in cace of any southerne incursiones indanger his now, (?) London, Edinburgh, and Leath. He seamed to relish extream weel that expression and said that ther was sum present course layd doun for recalling that wicked one's pretendit commission. I sould be sori yow hav not ane exprese from heer. He is not cum yet. This for my exoneratione at your hands, however yow hav all fra better hands. My best respects rememberit to your wyf. I cease, and remaines, Your affectionate freind to serv yow,

J. Smith.

Camphear, $\frac{9}{19}$ Maij, 1650.

For his Reverend Pastor, Mr. Robert Douglas, these.

Mr. John Livingstone and Mr. George Hutchesone to Douglas.

Reverend and loving Brother,—When wee wrote last unto yow by Mr. James Dalrymple we did not expect to have bin so long detained as that we should have needed to have written again. But it pleases the Lord so to retard matters, as that wee could not hitherto get off. We are dailie made to expect that wee shall remove from this place, but (whether through want of preparation or of resolution, we will not determine) it is probable it may be a good while ere all be readie. We have diverse times bin made to consult about our oun comming away, but have not as yet found it convenient so to do; but if matters foreslow as they are like to do, it is like wee may resume some such resolution. Wee know we need not put yow in minde to take notice of all negotiations from hence (for some ar gone over whose earand we know not), and that matters heer ar promised to us (and that with such deserts as yee will observe in the papers), but not performed: which we have told the King was only that which his subjects their can build any thing upon. Yee will receive her[e] inclosed a double of the paper we gave in yesterday to the King, which wee think shall be our last addresse. We blesse the Lord

that hath appeared for his people against that execrable traitor. The Lord keep Scotland from provoking him to take away their strength and shaddow from them! To his grace wee commend yow, and are, Your verie loving brethren,

Jo. Livingstone.

Breda, May ¶¶, 1650. G. Hutchesone.

Our brother, Mr. James Wood, is this day gone abroad on some private bussinesse of his oun and the Colledge of Saint Andrewes, so that he could not with us salute yow.

For our Reverend and Loveing Brother, Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Edinburgh.

In his letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, and repeatedly in his Diary, Brodie makes allusion to the sufferings and losses sustained by his uncle, Alexander Brodie of Lethen, in those evil times, from the Marquess of Montrose and the Marquess of Huntly. The account which Brodie of Lethen himself has given of his sufferings and losses may here be quoted, as contained in a petition or petitions, presented by him to the Estates of Parliament, the substance of which is engrossed in an Act of Parliament in his favour, dated the 27th of March, 1647. It may be added that Alexander Brodie of Lethen died previous to June 4, 1673, at which date his son Alexander was served his heir.

The Estates of Parliament, having taken to their consideratioune the several supplicatiounes given in to thame be Alexr. Brodie of Lethen, Beareing that he out of his affectioune to the good caus, in Anno 1643 yeeres, lent to the publict the soume of two hundreth pundis sterling, whereof, as zit, he had never receaved any payment principall nor annuels: Lykeas, in the yeere 1645, his hous of Lethen was beseidged be James Grahame and his adherents, wha, not able to prevaill, brunt his haill barnes, barneyairdis, and cornes, plunderit the haill insight and plenishing of his baronie, and took away eight hundreth oxin and kyne, eighteine hundreth sheepe and goates, two hundreth horses and meares: Lykeas therefter the laite Marques of Huntlie, and his sones, with two thousand fute and horse, beseidged the supplicantis hous of new, be the space of twelff weekis, Wha, being dissapoynted and inraged throw the loss of many of their men, at last did vtterlie burne over againe the said supplicant his haill landis, Whervpone their wes abone the number of eight scoir persons, and left not ten of them to remain vpone the saidis landis: And about half a yeere therefter, the Hielanders took away all that wes left vpone the ground: And the Supplicantis losses being valued extendit to ffourscoir fifteine thousand thriescoir pundis: Whilk being represented to the Estates of Parliament in Anno 1647, they ordained the said Supplicant to have ten thousand pundis for his subsistance,

and interteaning the garriesone in his house: And lastlie, the Supplicant haveing plenished sume of his boundis, the enemies, for his refuisall to concurr in the laite unlawfull ingadgment, did eat up and destroy his haill cornes, plundered of new againe his haill nolt and bestiall, and left the land in worse conditioune nor it wes before: And thairfore supplicating That some effectuall way might be fund ffor payment of the said ten thousand pundis, and some course might be taken for keeping of the gariesone within his house, and for the Supplicantis encouragement to continew constant in the guid caus, That the saidis Estaites of Parliament might dispone to him the bailliarie of the regalitie of Kinlose, which belongit of befoir to the lait Marques of Huntlie: And also craveing exemptione of putting out of horse or foote out of his lands, seing they are yet totallie waist: . . . Whilkis being heard and considdered be the Committie for the commoune burdingis and losses to sie and consider the samyne and instructiounes thereof, whilk being reported to the Parliament, The saidis Estates of Parliament ffindis that there is restant vnpeyed to the said Alexr. Brodie of Lethen the soume of fourteine thousand merkis of the fyftene thousand merkis contenit in the said act, and for his more effectual payment thereof, gives power to the said Supplicant to cite, persew, and call any persones wha fallis vnder the compas of the act of Class[es], to be fined . . . till he be payed of the said fourteine thousand markis for his present subsistance . . . and till farder reparatiounе of his losses.

The other prayers of his petition granted.

The bailliarie of Kinloss, mentioned in the above unprinted Act of Parliament, had fallen into the hands of the Estates of Parliament in consequence of the sentence of forfeiture which had been pronounced against the Marquis of Huntly.

CORRECTIONS.

In the Preface, I should have noticed at p. xvi., that the Laird of Brodie had other two brothers, JAMES, referred to in 1652, at p. 22 of his Diary, and JOHN, whose burial, 22nd of November, 1672, is recorded at p. 336.

Page.	Line.	
22,	19,	after church fellowship *delete the comma.*
25,	24,	*for* Time *read* James.
26,	20,	*for* tha *read* that.
27,	4,	*for* belief *read* behalf.
„	11,	*for* sifters *read* sisters.
39,	33,	*for* unfavouriness *read* unsavouriness.
44,	4,	*for* ound *read* found.
59,		foot-note, *delete the words* "Minister in New England," *after Hudson's name.* His work was in answer to some of the New England ministers.
60,		note [a] *for* David Brodie *read* James Brodie.
87,	14,	*for* sleep *read* slip.
99,	29,	*for* Protester's *read* Protesters.
104,		*delete foot-note, and substitute the following:*—Alexander Douglas of Spynie, son of Alexander Douglas of Spynie, Bishop of Murray. He was served heir to his father, January 5, 1654. (Inquis. Retor. Abbrev. Elgin and Murray, no. 97.) He died previous to July 27, 1690, at which date his son William Douglas of Eagleshaw was served heir to him. (Ibid., no. 156.)
109,	24,	*for* go *read* so.
125,	25,	*for* tos itt *read* to sitt.
„	32,	*for* oid *read* oi's.
174,	32,	*for* It moved mind to the minister, *read* It was moved to the minister.
239,		note [b] *for* Mary *read* St. Mary.
245,	18,	I read ——, *should be* I read Carriffa.—The work referred to is probably Carlo Carafa's work entitled "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata sub summis PP. Gregorio XV. et Urbano VIII. regnante Aug. et piis^mo^ Imp. Ferdinando II. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1639." 8vo.
290,		foot-note, *delete the words* "who had married Brodie's mother, and"
306,		*delete the foot-note* [a] *and substitute* Joseph Brodie was a younger brother of the Laird's. His first wife, Christian Baillie of Jerviswood, died in 1661, as noted at p. 606. His second wife, Isabel Dundas, is the person who is here referred to; she survived her husband as we find from his confirmed testament, 16th February, 1682.
308,	3,	"the brue hous:" at page 279 it is called "the bakhous."
313,		foot-note [a] *for* 6 May, 1673, *read* 1671.
354,	30,	*for* Achinedden *read* Achmedden.
382,	29,	*for* Balbegue *read* Balbegno.
398,	4,	*after* daughter, *insert* a comma instead of a full point.
401,	8,	*for* Drum, *read* Drum[mond]: the person meant is Lieutenant General William Drummond.
413,	8,	*for* Chines *read* Chives.
414,	31,	*for* Tho. Chines, [one] of Moortoun's sons," *read* "Tho. Chives of Moortoun's son." Thomas Chives of Moortoun was the father: his son here mentioned was Alexander, as appears from the following entry by Brodie in the table of contents annexed to the volume: "21 June, 1679. My grand-daughter Mari Dumbar was married to Alr. Chives of Mortoun."
417,		foot-note [b] *for* Archibald, &c., *read* William Forbes of Putachie, eldest son of, &c.
419,	30,	*for* Staton *read* Seaton.
440,	34,	*for* "I was chalenged by ——," *read* "I was chalenged by Siddie." Kenneth M'Kenzie of Siddie is the person intended.
494,	1,	and p. 497, line 9, *for* Eagelsham *read* Eagelshaw.

THE
DIARY
OF
ALEXANDER BRODIE
of *Brodie*, Eſq;

Who was one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice in 1650 and 1658 (an Office he accepted the laſt Time after much Reſiſtance and Reluctance) and a Gentleman of ſhining Piety.

CONTAINING

His devout Exerciſes in reference to the State of his own Soul, of his Family, and the Church of God: His Conferences with Meſſieurs *Leighton*, *Blair*, *Durham*, *Rutherfoord*, *Douglas*, *Hutchiſon*, Lord *Wariſtoun*, Sir *John Chieſly*, &c., concerning the Differences between the Proteſters and Reſolutioners, *&c.* His pious Care in the Management of his Family, in educating the Youth about him, and engaging himſelf with his Friends and Neighbours to Stedfaſtneſs in the Ways of God. With ſeveral remarkable Occurrences in thoſe Times, and ſerious Reflexions upon them.

Taken from his own MANUSCRIPT.

Edinburgh, Printed by *T. Lumiſden* and *J. Robertſon*, and ſold by the Bookſellers in *London*, *Edinburgh*, *Glaſgow* and *Aberdeen*. M. DCC. XL.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THE Author of the following Diary descended from an ancient and honourable family in the County of Murray, in the North of Scotland. He lived in times of great trouble and confusion. In 1648, his native country was divided into two parties, very violent in their opposition one to the other. The strict Presbyterians, headed by the Marquis of Argyll, were utterly against having anything to do with the Cavaliers in Duke Hamilton's expedition. The Hamiltonian party were in effect for restoring the King without any terms, though they pretended a great veneration for the Covenant. These were, by the other, afterwards called Malignants or Engagers. There were some indifferent to either side. After Dunbar fight, the Scots were divided, and split into many parties and factions. The ruling party was that which was for the King and Kirk: though these were again subdivided into Resolutioners and Protesters. The Resolutioners were so called from their adhering to those resolutions which were past by the Committee of Estates and the Commissioners of the Kirk, that those who had made defection, or had hitherto been too backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance; and then, after such profession made, might, in the present extremity, be admitted to defend and serve their country. Against these Resolutions some of those two bodies protested; who, together with those who adhered to them, were called the Protesters. They alledged that to take in men of known enmity to the cause, was a sort of betraying it, because it was putting it in their power to betray it: that to admit them to a profession of repentance was a profanation and mocking of God; for that it was manifest they were willing to comply with those terms, though against their conscience, only that they might get into the army: and that they could not expect the blessing of God upon an army so constituted. These proceedings gave rise to another faction, which

prevailed chiefly in the Western counties, where a great many met, and formed an association apart, as well against the King and the defection in the Kirk-party, as against the English army of Sectaries. These were called Remonstrators, from their publishing a remonstrance against all the proceedings in the late treaty with Charles II. when, as they said, it was visible by the Commission he granted to Montrose, and when he took the Covenant they had reason to believe he did it with a resolution not to maintain it; since, in his whole deportment and private conversation, he discovered a secret enmity to the work of God. They imputed the shameful defeat at Dunbar to their prevaricating in these things; and concluded, that therefore, according to the declaration of Kirk and State, August 13th, 1650, they disclaimed all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, both old and new, and that they could not own him nor his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt them and the enemy, against whom they were to hazard their lives. It seems the Protesters, several of them at least, fell in afterwards with such sentiments as these. For in the conference betwixt them and my Lord Brodie (under June 3rd, 1653) which is truly curious, 'tis plain, that as they were for taking none to defend the nation but good men, and such as were of their own principles, so they would have no King but one of that character. Our excellent author has manifestly the better of them at that argument, and shews that their scheme, how desirable soever, was far from being feasible. There was another party in the North, who were purely for the King, without any regard to the Kirk.

Thus were the Scots divided among themselves, and their animosities grew higher and higher, till they became a prey to Cromwell, who kept them in absolute subjection; and, as that excellent person (Mr. Leighton) had foreseen, their Kirk-judicatories, which they were so eager to maintain, were dissolved. These things were to the good Lord Brodie (for so he is still named) subjects of many sad and serious thoughts, and made him earnest in prayer to God, that he might be directed what part to act or take amidst these differences and confusions of the time.

The different opinions which then prevailed concerning Toleration and the Magistrate's power *circa sacra*, led him to enquire into those two difficult subjects. On the former, he had read with great care Edwards and Rutherfoord, from both which authors he made excerptions, which are written out with his own hand in his Diary-book. In one place he seems doubtful how far toleration was to be extended; and, in another, seems to be of opinion that only those Independents were to be tolerated that held the fundamental truths in the Confession of Faith. As to the magistrate's power over the ministers of the Church, he thought the Civil magistrate might, at least, take away the stipend from such as were immoral, and banish them the kingdom.

Neither the English Government, nor their worship, was to his mind. He saw too into the unevenness of the conduct of some of the chief ministers of the Church of Scotland; yet he had not the weakness to be prejudiced against religion on that account, but entertained a deep concern for them when threatened with any thing that was straitning, as particularly with being silenced if they continued to pray for the King.

Before Scotland was reduced by the English, our author had been considered as a person of great abilities; for he was one of the Commissioners sent by the Scottish Parliament into Holland to treat with King Charles II. in 1649 and 1650, in the latter of which years he was made one of the Senators of the College of Justice, being thirty-three years old.

My Lord Brodie was averse to Cromwell's usurpation, and observed and lamented very gross corruptions both in Church and State, as great as before. So that when Cromwell sent him a letter or citation, which he received 17th June, 1653, to come to London July 4th, that year, he sat the summons, and did not enter again upon the Session till 1658, the year in which Cromwell died, and even then after much resistance and reluctance. It required no small degrees of resolution to be able, for so long a time, to withstand the temptation from the terror of sequestration on the one hand, and promises of favour and the solicitation of friends on the other. It appears there past several letters betwixt him and Provost Jaffray on that subject. The inclinations, and affections, and passions, are difficult to be overcome. In some temptations they are particularly violent, and sometimes successful against the best resolutions. That the temptation here was very strong, is evident from Cromwell's being dreaded, not only by the inhabitants of Britain whom he had subdued, but in general by all the world. Cardinal Mazarine, Prime Minister of France, durst not deny him anything, and would change countenance when he heard him named, so that it past into a proverb in France that Mazarine was not so much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell. No wonder then that my Lord Brodie should call Cromwell's letter, commanding him to accept of employment under him, the Goliath, the strongest and greatest temptation; and that, after a refusal of about five year's continuance, he should yield at last. Cromwell is much commended for seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, more particularly for the Courts of Law, and his insisting so much on Brodie's accepting a Judge's place in the Court of Session, is an evidence, if there were no other, of the capacity and integrity of the latter.

I'm sorry the Journal of this excellent person should appear in public under the disadvantage of being imperfect; for it is plain from this that he wrote another Diary-book. I hope, whoever is possessed of it, if it be extant, will not deny the public so valuable a present. It would, in all probability, shed light upon some passages of that dark period

of our history, and no doubt let us further into the Author's life and character. However, from what we have, which fell very accidentally into my hands, we may venture to describe our Author's piety, recommending it as an example to others for their imitation, in the following manner.

By a careful observing of the tendencies of his constitution, he discovered what temptations needed most to be provided against. He was of a sweet and gentle disposition, of a natural easiness of temper, which, as it has its disadvantages in exposing to danger from the impressions of ill company, so it gave this truly good man no small advantage for recommending religion to those with whom he conversed. He was well beloved and well spoke of by every body; and even this set him on his guard.

As he studied his own temper, and which way that most naturally and readily carried him, so he was careful in reviewing his state and actions, whether the one was gracious, and the other done from right principles and to good ends. He frequently contemplated the establishing motives of Christianity, and, by that means, made sure of the goodness of his state; and by prayer, and frequent reviews of the grounds of his faith, confirmed his hope in the Gospel.

He was easily and suitably affected with his own Spiritual concerns, had his senses exercised and ready to discern both good and evil, and was quick at discerning duty and danger, wants and distempers, the way in which he ought to go, and the temptations in his way. His heart would smite him upon recollecting a rash and passionate expression or a proud thought, and favoured no known sin, and connived at the omission of no plain duty.

He made it his business to acquaint himself with the Word of God, and paid a ready and reverential subjection to the Divine authority in it, captivating every thought to the obedience of Christ. He was afraid of doing any thing which he doubted to be disagreeable to the Word of God, and was impressed suitably to the several parts of truth proposed to him out of it. This particularliy appears from his recording the substance of some of Mr. Hutchison's sermons he had heard, and his own meditations on several passages of Scripture, which are truly ravishing, such as those on Isa. viii. 12, x. 5. xxiv. 18, &c., on Psal. xxxii. 8, lxxviii. 40, and Prov. xxviii. 20. His Meditations on the English destroying his planting, in the way of those of the pious Bishop Hall and Sir Robert Boyle, are also very edifying. He compared his heart and life with the Word of God, as one suspicious that he may have offended, and yet truly desirous not to offend.

Like David, he was jealous of more sin in himself than he particularly knew. The remains of sin dwelling in him, though he had hopes that no sin had the dominion, gave him no small uneasiness. The law in the members warring against the law in the mind.

the flesh lusting against the spirit," often occasioned such a complaint as that of the Apostle, "O wretched man that I am," &c. Even suspicion of guilt would carry him to the Mercy-seat to supplicate mercy. He durst not indulge himself in any thing he apprehended displeasing to God, though ever so common, or passing among men for a trifle: "abstained from the very appearance of evil;" "watched and prayed that he might not enter into temptation;" was careful "not to make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof," "and kept his heart with all diligence."

He was desirous to understand the voice of God in his providences, and endeavoured that his own temper and behaviour might comport with the providences he was under whether prosperous or afflictive. Under favourable Providences, he was afraid of abusing Divine mercies, lest he should grow secure and forgetful of his dependence on God, or his Spirit become vain and worldly, or he should put the evil day far from him, or give in to any criminal indulgence of his appetites, or be lifted up with pride. He entertained an awful fear at the apprehension of God's judgments, even when they were at a distance; and much more when God's hand was visibly stretched out, or when there were many moral signs that God was making a way for his anger. Then the particular prospect of calamities approaching excited him to prepare suitably to meet his God.

All that he had was sincerely consecrated to the honour of God; and every thing in his conduct that might occasion the name of God to be blasphemed, he guarded against, as willing to hazard his own honour or interest, or life itself, if God might but be glorified. He chiefly lamented the dishonour done to God by sin in himself and others, and mourned for the abominations done in the land, which he could not help, but was ready to bear testimony against in all proper ways. Indeed, with relation to the honour of God, we have an expression in his Diary, which by some may be thought liable to exception: For checking himself for what he said in discourse with the Millenaries, "That if Christ were to leave the Father, and to dwell personally on the Earth, he would not come with him to get a Kingdom here;" I say, animadverting upon this, he says, "He would quit his own glory and salvation, and condescend to glorify Christ, were it to go to hell." It seems very harsh to suppose that God could receive glory from the damnation of a righteous and good man: I therefore think my Lord Brodie's expression is to be taken figuratively, otherwise it cannot be defended. Moses's desire of being blotted out of the Book of Life, amounts only to a submission to a temporal sudden death, that his nation might be saved from a temporal sudden ruin. And Paul's wish of being accursed from Christ, is plainly an hyperbolical expression of his great affection to his countrymen the Jews, and his zeal for their salvation; which was so great, that, if it had been a thing reasonable and lawful, he could have wished the greatest evil to himself for their sakes. And therefore it is observable he does not

deliver himself in the form of a positive and absolute wish, but expresses his great passion by a figure, "I could wish;" which we are not to take as a strict and precise declaration of his mind.

Some may be apt, though with less reason, to find fault with another passage of the Diary, where he records the harassing of his own and Leathin's Ground by the English as the accomplishment of a dream he had had sometime before. 'Tis very certain, from the joint testimony of Scripture, reason, and experience, that in the multitude of dreams (as well as of words) there are divers vanities; yet I don't think the observation of them is wholly to be neglected by a wise man: they may be either indications of wickedness lurking in the mind on the one hand, or of the effectual operation of the Grace of God on the other. But which is more to the present purpose, and of instances whereof all history, ancient and modern, is full, to men, especially good men, they are many times premonitions of something uncommon that is to befal them; and, when compared with the event, are signal proofs of the Divine Providence and Government over all things.

Another thing some may be apt to quarrel is, an expression of my Lord Brodie's on occasion of Glencairn and his forces approaching, which put him to a great plunge whether he should stay at home, or retire South or North. Being in these circumstances, he prays That God would give forth and signify his will whether he should stay or remove, as David said of Keilah "Will they give him up or not?" But Scripture phrases, 'tis well known, may be used in prayer, when the full and literal meaning of them is not always intended to be expressed. All that my Lord Brodie seems to have meant is, that God would be pleased to direct him by His Providence what course to take in the present strait; a petition which no man that believes a particular Providence needs scruple to put to God Almighty.

But, notwithstanding of any imperfections, from which the best of men in this life are not exeemed, we have in this good man's Diary a pattern of humility and self-denial; of zeal for God's glory, and compassion to souls; of contempt of this world, and Heavenly-mindedness; of patience under suffering, and resignation to the will of God, to whom he prayed fervently in all difficulties, and whom he trusted in all dangers.

Like the Father of the Faithful, he commanded his children and his household after him to fear and serve the Lord; and found the good success of his religious care in the happy effects of it upon his son and Successor, who proved also a Gentleman of distinguished piety.

Nor were his endeavours this way confined to those of his own family, but extended to all he had occasion to converse with, particularly his friends and neighbours, and the youth under his eye. He was sensible that the neglect of the education of young people was

attended with most pernicious effects, and therefore exerted himself to have it removed, as a chief cause of the growth of wickedness, there being few that are not religiously and virtuously trained up by their parents that ever do well afterwards. He observed the gross neglect of this and other family duties; and, for remedying it, projected to have all debarred from the Sacrament that did not worship God in their families. How happy were it for our young people of both sexes, that they were under the discipline of so good a father and so good a master! How happy for Society, as well as individuals, that there were many of his rank that had these things as much at heart as he had!

In him was verified the saying of the Apostle, "That godliness has the promises of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come." Amidst all the troubles and confusions of the times, he was preserved safe and untouched; and by the blessing of God upon his lawful industry, he made a considerable addition to his paternal estate. If his example were more studied and followed, we should not see so many families come to ruin; the natural effect of their luxury and intemperance, and the just judgment of God upon them for their oppression and impiety.

I would not have the reader to imagine that the following Book could only be the production of a mind cast in the Presbyterian mould: for the Diary of Doctor John Forbes of Corse,[a] published by Doctor Garden, together with the other writings of that author, who was no Presbyterian, and suffered much for his Opposition to the Covenant, runs in the very same strain.

But, after all that has been said, I am sensible there are those who would account it a hainous reproach to be called enemies to religion, who yet cannot hear of dejections and elevations of the mind in devotion, without branding them with a mark of Enthusiasm: But I doubt such persons would be greatly puzzled to put a tolerable meaning upon a great part of the Book of Psalms, not to mention other places of Scripture, without allowing such exercises of the soul; yet some have turned these into ridicule, as mere mechanism and bodily exercise. I will not deny but there may be counterfeits in this as well as in other cases, and that the workings in melancholy in some may be mistaken, either by themselves or others, for the exercises of religion. Care likewise ought to be taken that occasion be given by none that pretend to devotion for the following censure of a great and good man:—"Some," says he, "put all religion in the affections, in rapturous heats and extatick devotion; and all they aim at is, to pray with passion, and think of heaven with

[a] This refers to "Joh. Forbesii à Corse Vitæ Interioris, sive Exercitiorum Spiritualium Commentaria," 1624—1647, published by Dr. George Garden, in Vol. ii. p. 92—245, of the "Opera Omnia" of Dr. Forbes, at Amsterdam, 1703, 2 Vols. folio.

pleasure, and to be affected with those kind and melting expressions wherewith they accost their Saviour, till they perswade themselves that they are mightily in love with Him, and from thence assume a great confidence of their salvation, which they esteem the chief of Christian Graces. Thus," continues he, "are these things which have any resemblance of piety, and at the best are but means of obtaining it, or particular exercises of it, frequently mistaken for the whole of religion; nay, sometimes wickedness and vice pretend to that name." Perhaps in this he has a fling at the principles of the Calvinists, and their manner of conceiving of the work of grace in the souls of men; but at the same time he takes notice of a dangerous mistake which some of them may be apt to fall into. This may appear from what the Lord Brodie writes of himself (under August 4th, 1652):—"The Lord discovered a deep deceit of heart to him, that there was and might be more affection to God in a duty of prayer, than there was holiness in the conversation; and therefore Grace may not be assured by some holy affections in prayer."

In publishing of this Diary, care has been taken to keep strictly to the Author's own words, only the syllabication is altered; such of them as now obsolete, are explained by terms that are more modern; and such as could only be guessed at, which are but few, put in a different character. Nothing that could be read, so as to make a full sentence, is omitted. Some alteration has been made of the order of some passages in the Journal, according to that of time; only some short notes are put all together in the beginning, as they ly in the Author's manuscript.

I thought the publication of it would not be unacceptable to piously disposed minds, especially at a time when our unhappy differences are growing to a height; that, among other things, we may learn from this good man's example how we ought to be affected with and how to demean ourselves in the midst of them. I might enlarge on this head, if the subject were not disagreeable. I shall only put the reader in mind of the fatal issue of the divisions that prevailed in the African Churches, who preserved their liberty longer than most others. The breach was made by Donatius and his followers, upon so inconsiderable a point as, Whether Cecilian and his Ordainers had denied the Faith in the last Persecution, or not? It grew to that height, that almost in every town of Africa there were divided Assemblies and separating Bishops upon that account: And this wound was not healed but with the utter ruin of those Churches. I pray God this may not be the fate of the Church of Scotland!

[*Edinburgh*, 1740.]

DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE.

M.DC.LII.—M.DC.LIV.

DIARY OF ALEX. BRODIE OF BRODIE.

DAVID, the elder son to Alexander Brodie of that Ilk, my grandfather, was born in the year 1558, lived seventy-four years, and died in May, 1627.

David Brodie his son, my father, was born in the year 1586, and died in the forty-sixth year of his age, 22nd September, 1632.

I Alexander, his son, was born on the 25th July, 1617. I was sent into England in anno 1628, being little more than ten years old, and returned in anno 1632, in which my father, of precious memory, deceased.

I was married the 28th October, 1635. My dearest wife[a] deceased the 12th August, 1640, when [I] was twenty-three years old.

I went into Holland twice for the King, in anno 1649 and 1650.

I was entred on the Session the same year, 1650; and again, after much resistance and reluctancy, I took the place on me in January, 1658. Let the Lord turn it to his glory, mine, and his people's good.

Grissel Brodie, my daughter, was born on 2nd October, 1636.

James, my only son, was born 15th September, 1637.

William Brodie, my uncle, died in September, 1650.

The early harvest [was] in the year 1652. All [was] shorn and in'd within the last of August, or thereby.[b]

[a] Elizabeth Innes, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, and widow of John Urquhart of Craigstoun.

[b] "In Julij, 1652, the cornes being new rype, much of them was shorne; and, in the beginning of August, het harvest . . . This harvest, 1652, was such as never man can remember the lyke, all the corne being gottin in without rayne, and lang befoir the usuall tyme. The lyke harvest was in our nychtbour natioun of England." (Diary of John Nicoll, pp. 98, 100, 101. Edin. 1836.)

The English came to Murray and crossed Spey 1st December, 1651.

Glencairn and the Highlanders begun their Insurrection 10th August, 1653, and Lorn with them and Seafort. Oh, the works of God are strange, marvellous and upright! They burnt Leathen's land 20th January, 1654.

The late harvest and great inundation of water was 1653.

Die Sabbati, 11th September, 1563.—A great speat.

30th October.—A great storm of snow and frost. Grangehill's corns and some others were out. Earl Seafort declared for the King, and Kenmure.

August, 1659.—He[a] swore to disclaim the King and his race, and for the Commonwealth.

11th December, 1655.—A great storm of wind and snow, which did much harm.

My daughter was married,[b] 7th September, 1654.

My grandchild, Katharine Dunbar, was born on the 7th August, 1655.

I made journey to Roseneath on the 14th of that same month.

Mr. John Brodie[c] died 7th January, 1655.

The beloved Mr. Joseph[d] died 27th October, 1656.

My grandchild, Florence [Dunbar] was born on the day of 1656.

I desire to note it among the remarkable passages of the Lord's providences towards me, that, in my passage to Edinburgh, 6th December, 1657, the horse, falling in the water of Uric in the evening, where the water was so deep, the frost so great, the difficulty so insuperable, that yet, 1. That same did not befal myself, for I was near to it, and why might he not have reserved it for me? 2. That the boy who was at the same time on the ice, and had that same horse in his hand, yet he was safe. 3, That the beast also was safe; and being on a Sabbath-day, and I travelling, it was a matter that might give offence. Further, I looked on it as holding forth some danger to me in the taking employment on me,

[a] The author of the Diary.

[b] Grissel Brodie to Sir Robert Dunbar of Grangehill.

[c] Mr. John Brodie was Parson of Aldearn, and Dean of Murray, in 1624, under Episcopacy; continuing Minister of Aldearn, under Presbytery, till his death in 1655. (Shaw's History of the Province of Moray.) He was the uncle of the author of the Diary.

[d] Mr. Joseph Brodie, another uncle of the author of the Diary. He was instituted as Minister of Keith, 27th June, 1631. He was present at the General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638; and was translated to Forres in December, 1646.

that I should meet with exercise in it. Oh, keep both from superstition, ignorance and inadvertency! That same voyage I entred again on the Session,[a] but with much reluctancy.

My sickness, ague, and great defluctions were this year, 1657.

The welbeloved Laird of Innes, my dear father-in-law, did take his Cancer in the Month of January, 1656.

A great flood of rain was this year, and began about the 1st of September, 1658. The Inundations were so great, that there has not been seen greater here this age.

13th September, 1658.—I did begin my Harvest.

3rd September, 1658. Oliver, Lord Protector, died; and on the same day of the month was Dunbar foughten, 1650, and Worcester, in 1651.

17th November, 1658.—The old Laird of Innes,[b] my father [in-law] died; and let his memory and name be had in sweet and everlasting remembrance. He was buried upon the 19th of November.

7th May, 1659.—Richard's Parliament was broken, and the Commonwealth introduced again.

July, 1659.—The King's party did appear for him under General-Major Massie, and others.

28th of July.—My son was married with Lady Mary Ker;[c] and, on the 31st July, 1659, she did subscribe her covenant to and with God, and became his, and gave up herself to him.

In July, this year, and August, were great floods and inundations of water, which did threaten much prejudice to the land, and to my own poor people.

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[a] As one of the Lords of Session.

[b] Sir Robert Innes of Innes, the first baronet, and (according to the computation of the family historian), the twenty-fourth Laird of his house: a man of extraordinary virtue and reputation. He married Lady Grizzel Stewart, daughter of James, Earl of Murray.

[c] James Brodie, only son of the Laird of Brodie, married Lady Mary, the fifth of nine daughters, of William third Earl of Lothian, and Anne Countess of Lothian, in her own right.

25th April, 1652.—He desired to be humbled under, and observe the just cause of scandal and stumbling that we give to brethern, by tolerating in our societies gross external wickedness, profanity, ignorance, atheism, formality; and a body of congregations, professors, members and officers of our churches, admitted to all ordinances, which may give them a loathing of us; as well as their tolerating, in their civil societies, men of corrupt minds against the truth, and spiritnal wickedness, and heresies and errors unpunished. Oh, when will the Lord remove the one couse of stumbling and the other! Oh that our Magistrates did more, and our ministers also, for reforming, purging, and taking away sin from among us; and that their ministers and magistrates also did more for taking away and purging out of wickedness. Lord, open the way. If magistrates did more among us, ministers would not need to do so much about external, superficial, formal satisfaction, and penalties and repentance, as we do. The cause for which the Lord has swept away our rulers, [was] because they ruled not for the Lord; his glory was not dear to them. We tolerated Popery, and joined with idolaters; maintained and countenanced superstition, will-worship, formality; and we willingly followed after the commandment. Much profanity, wickedness, unpunished and practised. And will he deal better with us, if we follow the like ways? For this cause we refused to close with him, and admit him to government.

28th April.—Observe, that as arguments for toleration do infer and conclude a forbearance to the grossest blasphemies and errors, so the arguments against tolerating of gross errors, do conclude against the toleration of all consequential errors.

3rd May.—A day of humiliation. 1, That the Lord would fit and furnish him for suffering, if it please him to call me to it; and that I may not be letten take any wrong door to go out at, or decline it. 2, That the Lord [would] fit [him] for the participation of the Lord's table, whereto he desires to approach, for renewing his communion with the Lo d, and for getting some increase of light and strength; that he may be more rooted in Jesus Christ, and in the truth, and abide in him, and [be] secured thro' his grace against all snares and temptations, and be made partaker of Christ and all his benefits. 3, That the frothiness, levity, and unmortifiedness of his

spirit may be purged and subdued; and the carnal-mindedness, unbelief, unsoundness, hypocrisy, formality, leaning to natural wisdom, may be helped and remedied. 4, And that he may know and be taught the Lord's mind in the present Dispensation.

And

[*Here is a Blank much like what follows.*]

morally bound to all the substantials of government, many whereof are common with us and Indedependents, against the government of Anabaptists, Familists, and Papists, and others, who do maintain that there is no need of Ordinances, or a distinct office of ministry, or church-officers: for I conceive the word Gospel-way may include all, and be extended to all, if the magistrate so please, for he makes himself the judge. 2, I do expressly understand thereby the association of church-officers, ordination by the hands of the Presbytery; for albeit I did agree to the constituting of members and officers, according to the Independent way; yet I conceive it necessary, and of Divine institution, that these churches should, as the Apostle says of the Spirit of the Prophets, be subject to the Prophets; and, if any congregation of ten or twelve should deny the faith, or the one half of them, so that the other could not take order with the defection, or that one were consured or excommunicated by one of these congregations wrongfully, for not consenting with them in the evil, I do hold a subordination necessary, and a moral truth, without which it should appear there were no remedy left us of the Lord for redressing any such case; which were a great defect, and a derogation from his wisdom to think. Nor do I think non-communion, withdrawing fellowship from such a congregation, sufficient to suppress heresy, or rectify the injury done to the wronged member of a congregation, who otherwise hath not so much as way for appeal, or to have his sentence tried again; but must live under it all his days, without subordination and the authority of synods and councils, for many cases which may occur.

Now, the word Gospel-way will admit of Papal Government and Prelacy, and these errors that the corrupt mind of man hath not lighted upon, no less than all those which are already broached; for, who does not pre-

tend that their way is the Gospel-way? and Erastianism, that think the whole censure of scandals, debarring fram communion, belongs to the Civil Magistrate, and that church-officers have no authority but to preach, &c. And it is hard, if a synod and convention of the most godly, and wise, and grave church-officers, ministers, and elders, be denied something of that which a congregation of seven or eight do assume; and, if it be a foundation, and ground of anti-christianism, spiritual tyranny in them, which is exercised ordinarily by a few. He is not to teach him that knows far more, and is more able to instruct. Truth is one; and one Gospel-way to which we are morally bound. Nay, it will not be so effectual a remedy as remaining and purging. That he would try at what distance he stands with spiritual wickedness and error. Try whether, if the King had employed malignant profane men, [and] forfeited the precious godly men in Scotland; whether would he have consented to restore him to his government? Try whether, instead of the few errors then broached under Episcopacy, there be not a thousand now; for then were we feared to be spoiled of the truth, now we are not. Papists admitted and tolerated: the most profane and wildest men employed: malign deputies of shires get leave to plant kirks, and restore these profane formal ministers that were deposed. Can you rejoice in this? Is all this done by a law and authority? None like to be the object of their prosecution, but those that fear the Lord and hate evil. They go for the best who go the farthest length with them. Anabaptists would have no Magistracy. 1, The effects of gathered congregations. 2, The qualifications of a church-member; or, if simply being born in Scottish or English air, give a right to Baptism and to Church membership? 3, Whether a Magistrate for scandal may not remove a Minister from preaching, viz., for drunkenness, laziness; or take away the stipend at least, and give it to a better minister? *Responde*—Congregations should chuse their ministers. Magistrates *de facto* may take away the stipends, and banish men out of their land. *Quere*—What the power of the congregation is in exercise of discipline, chusing members, admitting to fellowship, ordination, &c.?

23rd May.—1, To consider the abuses and oppressions committed by sheriffs, how to be remedied. 2, How to restrain their unjust gain, and how to improve their power and office most for God. Lord, for light and strength, not to partake of other men's sins! 3, To have the laws in

Scotland ratified and established, and judges to judge by them. Lord, if thou leadest me to any endeavour of duty in reforming abuses in judicatories, give strength and grace to discern snares, and that he [I] consent not to evil.

16th May.—He desired to be humbled under the want of love to the Lord Jesus: that love sets him not on work to duty, but natural conscience. 2, He goes about duties in his own strength and natural ability, and not humbly and in the grace of Christ. 3, He hath no delight in his service; as indeed, where there is no love, there can be no delight. 4, He thirst not for his glory, and the salvation of others, and gaining them to Christ. 5, Much ignorance, vanity, presumption, and inconsiderateness in his writing. Oh Lord, for pardon and grace in Jesus Christ! 6, Unsettledness and indifferency, no love and zeal for the truth; wavering, unsettled.

30th May.—He desired to be further humbled under these, and under a secret declining and decay of communion with the Lord, and that his heart is estranged from the Lord, and he rests in a mere formality of some outward performances, without zeal, or life, or power, or clear distinct knowledge. So under the Lord's hiding his face from the people through the land, especially from the most precious of his servants in the ministry, who as yet are under a cloud, and know not his mind, are detained and kept under with division, darkness, prejudice, snares, secret pride, formality, unhumbledness. There is meikle wrath on the spirits of men; while they that think they see, see not. Oh, the gross inbreaking of idolatry, blasphemy, superstition, heresy, and all manner of wickedness! And little growth is there of piety or godliness through the land. He desires to be humbled under the objections which Major-General Deans[a] made to me against coercion. Whose conscience should the magistrate follow in restraining or punishing? as presently in the matter of our difference about the Assembly; while each party pretends to the word of God for his warrant, Independents and Presbyterians also; who shall be judge in these cases? Lord! grant light to answer, or stoop. He said to the Major-

[a] Major-General Deane or Deans was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament of England for settling matters in this country, in January, 1652. There appear to have been two persons of the name in Scotland at this time. The one was commander of a regiment of foot; the other admiral of the fleet. See note on 8th June, 1653.

General, that these who agreed with us in the fundamentals of Christian religion, and Confession of Faith, should be forborn; these who denied and differed in the fundamentals, and the Confession of Faith, and held doctrines contrary, ought not to be tolerated; particularly, simple Independents or Anabaptists holding nothing contrary to the Confession of Faith, except in the matter of Infant-baptism or Government. He sees not the consequences of yielding to this Toleration, nor yet all the consequences of refusing.

20th June.—This day he desires solemnly to set himself to seek the Lord, and to be humbled under the continuing anger of God, which doth as yet burn. There is no end or measure of our dissensions and differences; our darkness is increasing, and we are all in danger to be scattered one from another: therefore to seek that the Lord would return and cause his face to shine upon us. We are stumbling and like to break our neck; that he would prevent, and make up our breach, and open to us the way he would have us to walk in, and find out an overture to unite the hearts of his people in and for himself. Oh Lord, look on our present confusions, anent the civil government, anent the late Assembly, anent present duties, purging of our societies, ministry, elderships, admission to ordinances and church-fellowship, associations! In particular, he desires to deal with the Lord for a blessing on the meeting betwixt him and his brother James, that it may not be a means to insnare and intangle either of us by other, but for discovery of corruption, darkness, mistakes, and for clearing our minds, and bringing us to the acknowledgment of the truth in Jesus, and to be confirmed in the faith and love thereof to his praise; that we be not shaken, nor removed, nor blinded.

21st June, 1652.—Memorandum with Mr. Jaffray, to consider my last letter, and correct an expression in it anent church-members, their qualifications, and restrict it to admission to the sacraments 2, To see how far he agrees with me in these things I write of. 3, To show that, since my last, my mind is much alienated with General Dean's discourse; therefore, to enquire how can we consent or submit to rulers of such principles. 4, To ask anent the General Assembly, and the others. 5, What overtures of peace or agreement are fallen upon, for these in the west, and others with the English, or among ourselves. 6, To consider their paper and propositions, how far we agree and can close. 7, What way they settle the government, seals, and justice, the feudary elections in burgh and

shire? 8, Walter Cochran. 9, The money which we rest to the men of Campvere, how to be relieved?

To see the Acts, and borrow the book. 1, What he takes to be the causes of the Lord's departure? 2, What he takes to be the present signs of it? 3, What is incumbent, and the special duty of the time, (beside seeking of him) and what neglected duty is he calling us unto? 4, What corruptions in worship and ordinances does he observe? 5, What takes he to be the causes of the bitter differences and divisions which are sprung up among the godly in the land, nay, in both the lands?

20th July, 1652.—He heard the English had raised on the 20th of July, the General Assembly,[a] and the Protesters within some few days after. He beseeches the Lord for light to understand that great providence, and believed in the name of the Lord Jesus for an advantage and good out of that matter; were it, by taking away the assembly and the protesting meeting, to make up a work of peace and union among his people. His heart was not duly affected with it; and, therefore, he sought the Lord for grace to understand this, and to have a right effect of it on his heart.

Young Leathin[b] lost Mr. David Dick[son's][c] letter, which was sent to me; help me to know that. Lord, help him to some scripture-ground for every interpretation of thy providences.

August, 1652.—His soul desired to be humbled under the Lord's desertion, and under his procuring of it, by earthly-mindedness and too much care and seriousness in nourishing these worldly thoughts, and taking delight in them, and fancying a happiness in enjoying worldly greatness, and much of the creature, and considers not how much he is deceived and beguiled in that thought. For little matter of delight or comfort is in them, but vexation: 'tis his blessing only that adds no sorrow. Lord, mortify these thoughts, and guard the heart by thy grace against this violent prevailing temptation, which is so near to him, and hath at this time occasion to insnare and undo his soul. Let the heart and mind be kept free and unpolluted unto thee thro' Jesus Christ, and let the love be unto thee alone, and to no Creature. Oh that I could take up, in his

[a] This paragraph has, no doubt, been misplaced, as it was the 20th of July, 1653, that the General Assembly was forcibly dissolved by Cromwell's orders. See Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii, p. 225.

[b] Brodie, younger of Lethen.

[c] Mr. David Dick or Dickson, minister of Irvine, and Professor of Divinity, first at Glasgow, and then at Edinburgh.

strength, resolutions against this temptation from hence-forward! Lord, I desire to be humbled under my unsensibleness of thy anger against the land, and against thy Church and people that are under great darkness and distraction and divisions, and not taking up thy mind, nor the land's sin and guiltiness, which hath kindled this anger; nor do I take up my own or thy people's duty: but I am secure and at ease. Oh Lord, pity and help me to look in into this, and grant light and understanding according to thy word, to discern what thou art about, and what thou art calling us unto! Help him, Oh Lord, to be more exercised in and about these things, and less about other things! Grant him the spirit of his calling, that he may be rightly affected with the signs of thy anger against the land, and against us thy people, and against himself and his family, and these in whom he has near relation, in whom he is smitten and spoken unto.

12th September.—This day many of the congregations of the land are humbling themselves before the Lord; and he desires to join with them, and that his soul may be throughly and duly humbled under his own and the land's guiltiness, and under his rods and judgments lying on himself and on the land. 1, Thy hand hath been, and is yet stretched out against people and rulers; and who among us doth lay it to heart? All are asleep and secure; nay, and every one laying the blame on others, and none taking with their own guilt as the cause of the provocation. 2, Much fainting, remissness, and falling off from seeking the Lord; formality, hypocrisy, spiritual pride and conceitedness; every one preferring themselves to others. 3, Much blindness and dulness, none taking up the voice of the rod. 4, Much incorrigibleness, slighting of the word, undervaluing the Gospel.

7th November, 1652.—Under the sense and apprehension of the Lord's desertion and departure from him, he desired to be humbled, and to seek his face again, and [that he] would return. Causes of this desertion. 1, Unmortified covetousness, earthliness, and inordinate desires after riches and estate in the world. 2, Other secret lusts nourished, such as self-conceit, pride, carnality, and following earthly wisdom, man-pleasing, grieving his Spirit thro' incautious walking. 3, For family-sins unmourned for, the sins of the land unmourned for, the sins of children, and the wrath of God on himself and others, not humbled for it. 4, Not

affected with the judgments on the land, nor of God's dishonour; seeking in these times of trial rather to save himself than to be innocent, and preserve himself from pollution, guiltiness, and snares. Oh that he could this day cry loud unto the Lord with strong cries and tears, and that he may be heard in that which he fears!

20th March, 1653.—I observed the Lord's crossing stopping providence, laying impediments in his way, hindering his south-going about young—especially while they that grow up in their stead in the very instant are discovering—to have the wrath removed, and to be put on work to search the cause, and to mourn for the sin more than for the punishment or the smart: that the removing these seems to be from the evil to come; I say, to come upon us of this family, and upon this [land and people.]

There seems no less than in the removing of his dear wife, who was his chief earthly comfort, and did forerun much calamity and judgment and wo, which did befal on his father, children, and the family. Lord! help to consider the taking away of such.

I observed the taking away of Mr. William Strachan,[a] that good man, and a vehement promoter of the Assembly, and opposer of Independency. Oh Lord, order this to good; not that evil or error should break in the more, or formality prevail; but that it be an advantage, and no hinderance to the truth and godliness. And observed some strengthening confirming providences and comfort, after my refusal of employment from the English.

The Earl of Murray died 4th March, 1653, when he had sold and bargained for a great part of his estate Time his son did fall sick, and could not come to his burial, which was on the 22nd March.

I observed the death of the Prince of Orange,[b] and it seemed to be as the cutting off the King's right-hand; and the ruin of his affairs in Scotland and England did immediately follow thereupon. It seemed to hold forth something in reference to the king's family, that a princess brought forth a posthumous son, and gave some ground of expectation in process of time.

[a] Mr. William Strachan, minister of Methlic, presbytery of Ellon, and afterwards of Old Aberdeen.

[b] William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, (who married Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles the First,) died 6th November, 1650, aged 24. His only son, William Henry, was a posthumous child, born nine days after his father's premature death. This young Prince of Orange, by his marriage, in 1677, with Mary, eldest daughter of James, Duke of York, at the revolution, ascended the English Throne as King William the Third.

That prince was removed in the midst of his days, full of great hopes,—and they frustrate.

I have called to mind the sad desolate condition of Germany, and the churches there, both of old and at present, which seems to represent much of our condition in these lands. It will be no marvel that he scatter, humble, and abase us, as he hath done those who professed the truth in that land; their covenant was laid aside also.

21st March.—The Lady Duffus[a] died, being married on the 13th of January; so she lived two months and little more in wedlock. This was a new impediment in my journey; at the Earl's burial[b] we got advertisement to go to hers.

2d March, 1653. A public day of Humiliation, wherein all the congregations of the land desired to mourn and lament after him, who hides his face from us, and lets out his wrath; as appears not only in our sufferings, but in our darkness and differences, and unconvincedness of the causes of his anger. That the land hath rested in a bare profession of religion, not walking answerably to it, but dishonouring our profession by the overflowing of profanity, ungodliness, pride, violence, formality, unhumbledness, contempt and lothing of the gospel, hypocrisy, faction, partiality, oppressiont unjustice, deceit To seek his peace to the land, and to ourselves; and tha, he would turn away his anger, and dispel our cloud and darkness; and, albeit he humble and smite, yet that he would not do it in wrath, nor take away his love and kindness from us. That he would sanctify our troubles, until we see an issue, and make known his mind; that we may not perversely go away from him when he smites us, but be convinced and brought home. That he would behold our confusions, and order them to good; teach us how to walk under them, and not start aside [even] albeit it might get us deliverance; that we may not study to preserve ourselves, or please men, but the Lord. That he would establish the beauty and order of his house, without formality, or spiritual tyranny, or confusion, or jangling; that error may be restrained, born down, and driven out of the land. That he would raise up faithful magistrates; we may [be] kept from setting up rulers by ourselves, without him; and that, in his setting up, he do it not

[a] Lady Duffus: Alexander Sutherland of Duffus, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Duffus, 8th December, 1650, was three times married. His second wife here mentioned was the youngest daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, and consequently sister-in-law to the Laird of Brodie.

[b] James, Earl of Murray: see p. 25.

in wrath, but there may be mercy to his people in these revolutions and changes.

This day his soul desired, as to be humbled under the land's sin, guiltiness, and danger, to seek the Lord in their belief; so to be humbled under his own unclearness, unstableness, and unthankfulness, and carnality, and earthliness; and to beseech the Lord to sanctify his rods, for purging and taking away sin, and for preventing him also. Oh Lord, rid out of snares, especially presumption, covetousness, undertaking, stumbling at the Lord's dealing, unsoundness, earthly cares, affections, delights; and would turn away the wrath that appears in these rods which the Lord is shaking, both in taking away and removing his sifters from evil to come on the Land and us.

17th April, 1653.—"Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his grace or might: put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evil day, and having done all to stand, &c." Resolve in the Lord's strength from this day forward to seek him for himself. That he never lost by it; believing was never out of his way: by this thou wouldst seem to be alluring him. O Lord, then how inexcusable is he! but if thou hadst made every act of believing to produce an affliction and a cross, yet believing had been his duty, and the least; but meikle more when thou seemest to hire him, and to pay him for it. Lord, help me to examine if this be sound! Thy word says, thou shall not be confounded; and for thy own cause thou wilt not have any do an act of service to thee for nought, nor wilt thou be in their common. Oh help me to try more, and confirm me in believing, albeit I should not see a present making good of promises, or a reward.

A. Lord, teach me try how long my obedience or tenderness will last, even when cross and strait and hazard is over, that he may seem to be out of their reach.

D. People may attain to a great deal of outward performance of duties, and flourishing profession; and yet the heart not be right in God's sight.

Oh Lord, this doctrine discovers the appearance of the devil in his heart! Meikle unsoundness indeed is there under his fair large profession. This is

a day for humiliation and supplication, and for believing in Christ Jesus, both for repentance, remission, and sanctification. Thou lovest truth in the innermost parts: let him be filled with that which thou lovest! There is a promise for this end, he will build on it another heart, another heart. Tho' a heart go on in a course without contradiction, it does not argue uprightness. Lord, does not this speak to my heart, in reference to profession, love to the Lord, and his cause and his people, in these times? Here will be his snare, and sin, and judgment, if thou preventest not, and purgest not, and redeemest not, and savest me. Save; for he is thy servant. he desires to be humbled, and to believe in thy name, for inward thorow sanctification, sanctification in his particular trials. 1, A heart touched for the straits, and not for the cause of the straits: sin is not the burden, but affliction. 2, Every fit of repentance or feeling is not a changed renewed heart. 3, When the principle of our earnestness is not right; when it arises from self-love and revenge, or fear of calamity to come, and not out of delight in God, and anger at ourselves for grieving him.

D. It is mercy that our duty is laid on by way of a covenant; he might have laid it on simply, and out of his absolute sovereignty.

D. A sincere heart will find not only a necessity to confess and mourn, but to bind and lay obligations on itself.

A sincere heart will be convinced much of their own unsteadfastness. They cannot trust themselves without an engagement, nor when they have engaged and sworn. Men that lay by our solemn covenants will find themselves in a wrong close one day; no article must be laid by. Oh for grace to discern, and walk tenderly in this matter, and not to credit his own jealousies, suspicions, doubts! My heart has been fast and loose with God; Oh Lord, let it be so no more!

Observe, God [doth] not so much look what we are in the present state, or fit of repentance or mourning, as what we are in the substantial duties of covenanted absolute obedience; the one will sooner mis-lippen us than the other. If substantial duties are neglected or slighted, it is a shrewd suspicion, be the repentance what it will, that it is not right. Lord, discover thyself in these duties of the time, and every substantial duty, and help me on in Christ Jesus! Eye the reward in duties, but not as a covenant of works. Hang not the weight of our well-being on the duty, but on Christ by faith.

D. The Lord doth not so much take notice of a people not coming under the covenant, or total barrenness, as he doth of their unstedfastness in it and want of uprightness, and sin, and duty.

D. Men, when trials are over, are ready to lay by their weapons, and to become more loose than when they were in the strait. Lord help me to try, mourn, and return!

The Lord lets trials ly on, and rids us not ever when we cry; because he sees that his people are not so siccard [stedfast] to him, as they would bide [abide] by him if they wanted these trials. Let us have much to do with God, beside particular difficulties. Let the love of, and delight in himself, set us on to seek him, when we want straits or difficulties. Self-denial, joined with faith, helps much to perseverance. When we want difficulties to exercise, then be exercised in seeking the light of his countenance and his favour, and to be satisfied and delighted in him, tho' we wanted trouble. Oh Lord! for grace to sanctify thy name in the faith and application of thy Word. This day some complain of a dead, some of [a faint] heart, some of a flinty heart: but, Oh Lord! beside the great measure of all these, Oh what a deceitfulness, unsoundness, wavering, doubleness, unstedfastness, disobedience, formality, deceitfulness. Hearts are unchangeable and incurable if thou employest not thy power and thy grace.

Observe, the death of good Mr. Ephraim Melvil,[a] a loss much to be lamented and not slighted. The taking away a man so precious at such a time and in such a way, Lord help me to understand. The taking away of Mr. James Fleming,[a] and Mr. Rollock[a] in Perth.

Observe, the kything [appearing] of the grace of God in children and young ones so eminently; the persecution in Ireland of godly men and ministers by Anabaptists. If this be not a ground for me to forbear and keep distance, what is?

This evening he prayed for the setting up of the Lord's work in the dead

[a] Mr. Ephraim Melvill, minister of Linlithgow. In his Diary, April, 1653, Lamont says, "Mr. James Flymen, Mr. Jhone Oswell, and Mr. Ephraim Melven, thrie ministers in Louthian, depairted out of this life."—(p. 54.) Fleming was minister of St. Bathens or Yester (see Lamont, p. 33); and Oswald of Pencaitland, in East Lothian. Mr. Alexander Rollock, who was educated at the University of Edinburgh (A.M. in 1633) became one of the ministers of St. Johnston or Perth. According to Lamont, (who calls him Rogge and Rogue for Rook, a not uncommon contraction of his name) he was silenced by the English garrison there, for praying for the King, in December, 1651, and died at Perth, 17th October, 1652. (Diary, p. 49.)

north country; and that a good minister at Oldearn, and a family at Leathin might be a means for this end; and that he might not close with these that were the instruments of his people's persecution.

On 20th April, 1653, General Cromwel dissolved that Parliament. Lord, ere he gather, let him first be prepared and furnished, that he may not inconsiderately or rashly interprete, apply, or pass judgment on any of the Lord's works, or on other men. Meikle [much] of the righteousness of God in it. How much confusion appears in the Lord's depriving us of all rulers or governors is evident. Oh! pray that the Lord would make us understand and take up these great works of his, that we may adore them. Guard against the temptations that may arise from this, either allurement, or threatning, or force: fair temptations are most dangerous.

1st May.—1, He did set the 1st May apart a day of solemn humiliation in the cause foresaid, that he may understand and not stumble at his dealing. "By the word of thy lips that I may be kept from the paths of the destroyers, and upholden in thy paths," Psal. xvii. 4, 5. "Concerning the works of men," &c. 2, To be humbled under the darkness of his mind in the matter of the protestation and publick resolutions, that difference of judgment may be removed. 3, That the exhortations from Waristoun, and his letters, and the prayers of His people, may be heard in this; that in thy name may be his glory, and that he may not either think shame, shrink, or run from thee by carnal policy, reasoning, study to preserve and save himself, or avoid reproach of men; that with all boldness he may bear thee witness, even in that very cause which they maintain, so far as thou allowest; that secret ignorance, prejudices, slackness, reasonings, may be removed, and he may be clearly taught by the word and thy spirit. He spreads their letters, papers, and prayers, and quotations before thee; let him not resist, but discern thy Spirit, and wholly yield up himself to it. Lord! save him from swaying to any way or party on that ground of favour or good-liking to himself. He desires to chuse that way which thou approvest, albeit it lead me to cross and contradict these that would shew me most favour. Let me not fail by that compass, it will beguile my soul if thou preventest not.

1st May.—His ordinary, Isa. viii. 2. "The Lord spake unto me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people." It was the way that most of them went, common, usual. Lord,

a strong hand is needful to keep from such ways; not a word only, but thy hand! Such is the duty, such is the sin and snare, that he is seeking to be instructed in this day, either anent complying with English Sectaries or Scottish Malignants, the body of the land. Oh Lord! what shall he say to this? It is one of the particulars of the day. "Say not, A confederacy, to all to whom this people say, A confederacy." They were ready to contract and join with any body that seemed able to help them, and not to the Lord.

"There was more cause of fear (says Musculus) "ab ecclesia malignantium Jehudæ, quam ab Assyriis, Syris vel Israelitis, professis piorum hostibus;" from the Church of the Malignants of Judah, than from the Assyrians, Syrians, or Israelites, the avowed enemies of the godly."

They cannot sanctify the Lord in their hearts, that in time of danger run to the arm of flesh, fear the power of men, love this word or the things in it, or that go to his enemies for protection. Blindness makes stumbling, not only when a people directly contradict and reject the Lord; but when with false reasoning they will not hear his words, but have their consciences tied to false teachers.

After he went to the Sanctuary it was his complaint that the Lord hid his face from him: he asked at himself, What if the Lord should not hear him this day? The consequent would be desertion, and to be given up to delusion, mistake, snares, carnal ways, resisting the Holy Ghost, and perdition in the end; to be hardned in sin, and so to add one sin to another. Oh, forbid, forbid, good Lord! Hast thou so oft prevented, and wilt thou not prevent, and deliver this once? What pleasure hast thou in his death? Wandering and miscarrying is his death. Albeit the Lord this day would condescend to clear him anent the one and the other, and tell him what he should chuse, and what he should refuse; yet that would not suffice, nor do his turn. Oh Lord! remember in the morning what thou didst to thy Prophet. Thou didst not only speak, but with a strong hand thou taughtst and instructedst: but his heart tells him he would refuse, and oppose, and resist, and reason against this strong hand. Lord, he cannot answer that objection, if thy grace be not sufficient and effectual enough. Oh, there is more in this than can be spoken or believed! Oh, the refractoriness of a carnal unbelieving heart, who can express it? It were mercy indeed to be delivered from such a plague.

It is the very purpose of this day, to be humbled under the sense and fear of such a plague, and to deprecate it. He is now, as it were, between two milstones; let not the one or the other fall upon him. If he be deceived, let the Lord deceive him, if he may [so] speak with reverence Thou requirest meikle [much] at his hands; and this is the day in which he desires to clear what he rests, and to renew surety, and transact with thee, and give thee a new bond. It is owing to thee, put whose name thou willest in the band. He desires not be loose, but to be tied and bound and engaged to the particular duty on the terms of thy covenant of grace. He will in thy light, and thy strength, and thy name, desire to give up himself to thee this day, and to follow thee in the very way that thou shalt point out to be thine, thine, thine; and to renounce the way of man, be what it will. As for the works of men, by the words of thy mouth, thou wilt preserve me from the paths of the destroyer. He is (thou knowest) an empty, unstable, unsound creature; impotent, blind, carnal. It were thy shortest work to destroy him, as a withered, rotten, useless stick, that no use could be made of. Lord, cast not away; it is mercy and wonder indeed, and no reason can be given for it, not to cast away such a one as he is: let it be to thy glory! Discover idols and corruptions that have been hid and secret; and when thou loosest corruptions, let them not be his death, but purge them out, and rid of them for thy name's sake: for discovering and convincing will not do the turn. Oh make the heart perfect in thy statutes unto the end!

Mr. Hutchison, on Hosea vii.—Men that begin to decline will not get the mediocrity of declining kept that they think. Good motions cannot be kept in with all our care and watchfulness, and are soon extinguished; but evil are still burning, and cannot be extinguished. An ill-ordered Church will soon make a tottering estate and Civil Government. They devoured their judges, and their kings are fallen. Sedition, tumult, mutations, couping [overturning] of rulers, arise from burning lusts. It is great stupidity, under such confusions, not to seek to the Lord. Lord! help me to make application, that I never begin to decline; for, alas! I will not get a mediocrity kept, but depart farther and farther from thee, until I perish: therefore prevent and guard against the first motion. Alas, Lord! I cannot discern nor foresee evil; I am not stedfast for thee, and valiant.

The disorders in Church have made England reel and Scotland also.

O! settle the ark of thy strength among us, and then we shall be a settled estate. Pity, Lord! while these lands have devoured their judges, and couped [overturned] them; so that we are in such confusion that we know not what to do. Lord! were our first mutations from lusts? And are these from our lusts? Resolve him, and let him not be stupid in these things; but that he may in the midst of these seek to God aright, and with all his heart.

Afternoon.—He desired to look on the doctrine of the compassion, as the fountain whence all our good does spring. His compassion led him not only to forgive the sins of the godly, but of the nation also, so far as not to destroy, but turn away his anger. Though he had condemned, and said, I will cast thee off, it hinders not from pleading his compassion. Lord! I am undone then; and the weapons that serve to condemn us at justice bar, plead for us at this. Sin, innumerable evils compass me, my sin is very great. Oh strange argument!

Lord! thou hast laid out thy compassions this day, that he might lay himself, and his sores, and wants, and miseries at thy door; compassion can cure all when there is no worthiness. That the Lord would, out of his compassion, forgive and heal and lead him. He is full of sores and filthiness, and botches and boils; his wisdom and policy, and complying with all men, is a running sore. Oh Lord! for thy compassion dry it up. He is a reeling, unstable, staggering, unsettled, luke-warm creature. Nor, for thy compassion, forgive and heal, warm, stablish and enlighten, and draw, and he shall follow. He is double-hearted, unsound, naught, faithless: Lord, purge, and fill with believing. He is perverse and blind, and ready to miscarry and go wrong through the corrupt affections in him, self-love, darkness in his judgment, fear to confess thee, or hazard himself, or his estate and peace.

This day he confesses the filthiness of these sins; Oh Lord! out of thy compassion wash and make him clean, create a new heart, enlighten, confirm, convince, and draw. He will believe on this attribute of thine, this excellent attribute; and, were he cast away, he would look to it.

Remember, Lord, the work of his Spirit this day, the work that he has tabled before thee this day. Oh hear, and let the words of thy lips preserve him from every evil way. The design of the heart is not to presume or put himself in high duties, but to pray that his heart give thee not the slip,

when thou callest him to confess thee in a solemn difficult duty, whether upon the one hand or the other. Lord, put to thy seal that thou hast heard him, and heard them that seek unto thee for him, and that his soul may thrive. That this day there may be some assurance that nothing shall prevail so far with him, no temptation, as to make him refuse to part with his life, estate, family, friends, reason, credit, for thee. Lord, is his heart right in seeking? Oh, if it were, thy heart would be toward him to grant it! it is just that he seeks; it becomes not a beggar to boast and extort his answer. Lord! mercy, compassion, thy faithfulness. O thy love and thy glory, and the new Covenant is the ground of his supplication and his confidence; may he say, Thou wilt hear! Oh good news! His soul shall bless thy name for ever and ever. He dare not question but thou wilt forgive and hear. Ere he come to glory and his journey's end, he will spend much of thy free grace; what in pardoning, what in preventing, what in convincing, what in enlightning, what in strengthning and confirming, and upholding; what in watering, and making him to grow; what in growth of sanctification, knowledge, faith, experience, patience, mortification, uprightness, stedfastness, watchfulness, humiliation, fruitfulness, resolution, self denial, discerning of snares and avoiding them; what for the public, what for the private, what for the family; what against snares on the right hand and on the left. Oh Lord! he can conceive thy grace to be above and beyond his needs and wants. Lord, forgive; Lord, let him see the sufficiency of it! But, alas! he is already off of his feet; familiarity with men, and affairs and engagements in employments, are like to ruin him. Lord prevent, and take him from the temptations, or the temptations from him, and let not nature and wisdom miscarry him; prevent what he fears.

3rd May.—He desired to come under a daily observation and recording of the Lord's providences and of his own ways. Oh Lord! teach him how to go about this matter aright!

2nd May.—He went to Dalkeith to see Colonel Lilburn.[a] His heart trembled, remembred Daniel, his refusing to eat of the King's meat; lest this and the like familiarity should be a snare to him, he prayed to be kept free, and to have his heart established with grace.

[a] Colonel Robert Lilburne, as Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Scotland, like his successor, General Monck, had his residence in the house or castle of Dalkeith.

Mr. Mosley came in at night and supped with him; as that man's heart is to thee, Lord, so do him good in the inward man, in discovering snares that he is in, and in delivering and ridding him, for thy name's sake.

This day, 3rd May, he went down to Leith anent my fees, and did meet with neither of them, by which the Lord seems either to disappoint, or to make me more indifferent in the seeking or getting them.

4th May.—The ordinary morning, Isa. x. 5, &c., where he observes man's corruption, and the Lord's challenge to be about this, assuming and ascribing success, wealth, &c. to themselves, and not unto the Lord. It is no new thing for the Lord to leave or give up his people unto the hands of tyrannous and vile men; while their end is to spoil and devour, his end is to humble his people, and to take away dross, and to prepare them for deliverance. The time of deliverance is when the Lord hath done his work upon Mount Zion, and no sooner. Oh Lord, when will thy visitation produce this on the spirits of thy people in these lands! It is true, because of success men do perfer their cause to ours, as if their way were more pleasing to thee. Lord! vindicate thy holiness. Let not his heart rejoice in the day of thy people's suffering, albeit himself were free of suffering. Lord, sanctify to my soul all the ways of thy providence in external things, whether private or public, crosses or comforts, losses or gain: that his rejoicing may be in thee, and not in creatures, or in any abundance. Let no outward things be a snare to him.

5th May.—This day Mr. Mosley[a] came and took me out. We read, and made observations on the Testimony which the Protestors gave him, and prayed, debated on toleration, and their nourishing of error. He told me, Lilburn said, He would see, if the Assembly sat again, by what authority they sat.

15th May.—After I came from Duddistoun, his soul was cast down under this, that he did not give unto the Lord the glory due to his name, in his professing and confessing of him, in his worshipping and drawing near to him in holy services, in his employments and cares, which took up his heart, and spirit, and thoughts, to the grieving of the Lord's Spirit, and the interrupting his communion with him, and exposing him unto, and

[a] Edward Mosely, Esq., was one of the English Commissioners appointed for the administration of justice in civil matters, 18th May, 1652, the ordinary Judges in the Court of Session having been superseded.

involving him in many snares. He desired to be cast down under the facileness and plausibleness of his nature, by which he labours to please men more than God; whence it comes that the wicked speak good of him. Woe be to you when all men speak good of you; for strict sincere walking cannot consist with the good-liking of carnal godless men; for he would desire to hate and be hated, if it were for and in the Lord, rather than to purchase their liking with the Lord's dislike and displeasure.

He desired to be cast down under his unsensibleness and unburdenedness with the estate of the Lord's people and his sanctuary, which he lays not to heart; his own darkness, unconvincedness, self-approving, contentedness, with an easy condition to himself, not caring how it goes with the Lord and his glory. This day he is to beg from the Lord to be helped through his grace in Jesus Christ against this temptation, and that a spirit of discerning and light, and a spirit of tenderness, zeal, and his fear, and of a sound mind, may be poured out upon him, for right considering and laying to heart the condition of the Lord's people, and his dealing, and his glory. It is not enough to see, and confess, and apprehend, but to have the heart duly and deeply affected with it, and to be strengthned by his mighty power with grace in the inward man to do what he calls to.

Lord! keep him from leaning to his own understanding; but fill with the saving knowledge and understanding of thy law. Stir up, and grant this spirit of strength, not only to confess, be convinced, determine, and offer, but by thy effectual grace to be born through, that he fail not nor faint not, or come not short in a real sincere endeavour and aim at every duty, not at one only, but to have respect to every command of thine.

He desires to mark and note the matters which should burden and affect his spirit.

1. The Land's sin and provocations, which brought on the wrath both upon Prince and People. Meikle [much] unacknowledged, unrepented-of guiltiness in the King and his family; and not that only, but much corruption, defection, uncleanness amongst us also, even among us, Lord.

2. The judgments which have befallen, whereof many are spiritual, such as darkness, disappointment, the Lord's turning away from us, the confusion on the land, on the spirits of his people in the matters of religion and government, both civil and ecclesiastical. We are compassed with manifold snares on every hand, and there is an outbreaking of wickedness

by the allowance of these governors, as hateful and abominable, and dishonourable to God, as any or all the evils which he did deliver us from; albeit, as to injury against the persons of his people, there be more freedom.

3. Impurity in our societies, fellowship, and administration of spiritual ordinances and discipline; where we have almost nothing but formality and a vizard.

4. The general corruption of all estates, and a tendency to defection, loosness and the favouring of iniquity.

5. Our differences, bitterness, implacableness to one another, unconvincedness, and not taking with guiltiness, no mourning for sin in the land, unstableness in the truth, following our own spirits; and no understanding to discern and try the truth and the spirits, but following and mingling in every purpose much of our own spirit.

6. It would be enquired into, why our ministry and watchmen and their assemblies are thus? Why his people should be thus scattered and driven and broken in judgment?

7. He desires to be humbled under the Land's and his own base, sinful, corrupt creeping under and committing whoredom with the present power that for the time rules, without respect to the Lord, as if our sentence were not from him. This was the sin of us and our fathers, in following willingly after the sinful command of rulers; immoderate seeking their face, and lothness to contradict, oppose, or testify against them. Oh that there were a spirit of courage and wisdom poured out on us, that we might be valiant for the Lord and for the truth! Let thy word abide in me, Oh Lord! This is my humble only suit. And rid my soul out of snares; this is the trouble and wo which he fears. He desires to mourn for this, that men have not done for reforming and purging the house of the Lord what they ought to have done, but letten his pleasant garden turn into a wilderness and confusion, and a place of dragons and wild beasts. Wilt thou not arise for this, and put on thy zeal? Wilt thou not raise up the instruments? Lord! he is like to stumble at the differences of thy people, and to count the zeal of all men for God to be wrong, and therefore to fall in a temper of indifferency and coldness. And desiring to avoid contention, Oh, Lord! he will let the truth go, and dispense with duties, and condemn duties. And this is a grevious snare and a fearful danger, not seen, not seen; and this day he desires to be prevented.

Many, many fears is he under, and many snares, and meikle [much] guiltiness. This day he desires to look unto thee in Christ Jesus, and to believe in his name for mercy, pardon, sanctification, wisdom, prevention; let him not be confounded. And through the Covenant, that is in all things well ordered and sure, even in all things, to look for help in all these cases, and other cases beside, which are known to thee. Let him not be disappointed, not put to shame, for he trusts in thee. Lord! his soul will not pass by nor dispense with any one particular this day; but desires through the blood of the Covenant that is everlasting [to] be answered through his name, and born through. Let not false reasoning and appearance deceive and draw away the heart; for thy law do I love, in thy laws I delight, according to the inward man.

——————————— Mr. G. H.[a] (L.) "Apostasy from God is a plague and judgment enough in itself, though there were no punishment following it. It raises an ill report of God, as if he were not good to his own, or worth the keeping, but to be fled from as from an enemy. 'What evil have your fathers found in me?'" Oh Lord! I flee from thee in many things, and know it not; or I am blinded, and will not know. Lord correct, he had never a fault to thee, and therefore is the more inexcusable, if he flee from thee, from his life and from his light, and from his guide and from his father. Any cause, though never so deeply contrived, though never so wise, which leads from the Lord, is but silliness and folly. Lord! print this on my heart, and convince the land of sin, and my soul of sin and silliness and folly. Silly dove! simplicity cannot bear us out in that which is evil; if it be not seasoned with holy wisdom, it cannot but insnare and mislead us. Lord! guard and pity my poor soul then.

Success should be rightly and wisely construed. When we construct providence or judgment wrong, to confirm us in an evil way, it is to speak lies against the Lord, and to father wickedness upon him, for he takes no pleasure in any thing that is evil. Much of this kind of lying and misconstruing seems to be among us. "I have redeemed them, and they have lied against me." Carnal confidence, or leaning to creatures, and misknowing the Lord, is a great degree of apostasy. They will never mourn for the sins of the Church or of their own soul, that see not the heinousness of them beyond the sins of any other. Oh that I could take up sin

[a] Probably Mr. George Hutcheson.

rightly, and every thing that aggravates it, and be duly burdened with it. It is right with God, when men walk out of the way, to make their own way a snare to them.

(A.) We poor creatures are commanded by our affections and passions, they are not at our command; but the Holy One doth exercise all his attributes at his own will, they are at his command; they are not passions nor perturbations in his mind, though they transport us. Were my affections and faculties at thy command, I would not seek them at mine: but when I would hate, I cannot; when I would love, I cannot; when I would grieve, I cannot; when I would desire, I cannot when I would. It is the better for us, that all's as He wills. And we need not marvel why He hides, and does not manifest love sometimes, for He knows the prejudice which it might do to us. The Lord will never let forth more anger than may consist with the good pleasure of his will, and his fidelity, and covenant, and love to his people, or that may hinder his sympathy with their sufferings. Goodness and compassion appears [as] in forbearing to strike, so in moderating when he strikes, and laying less on us than we deserve. He suffers their manners. They are cruel to themselves, that put the Lord to strike; he smites not willingly. Not observing his oft preventing mercy in holding off wrath, is great unthankfulness to God, and a provocation to strike.

Use. To these that have not been smitten in the common calamity, see that immunity from the stroke be not the saddest stroke. Turning away anger, and the manifestation of it, may prove the pouring out of greatest anger. Let us not so much grumble at that which is upon us, as wonder that there is not more inflicted on us. We oft sin in not shewing forth our thankfulness in acknowledging the mercy in our afflictions, whilst we complain. When afflictions are a-dealing, let us not refuse to take our share with the Lord's people, though oft they get the first, yet never the sorest. Join with whom we will, they shall taste more of the dregs than his Church shall do.

22nd May.—His soul desired to seek the Lord, and to be cast down under the loosness of his spirit, and unfavouriness in this week that's past, especially his unwatchfulness, carnal-mindedness, formality in drawing near to thee. Others are this day renewing the seals of their assurance, peace, and communion, with the Lord of his ordinance, and getting strength and

grace renewed while he is sitting still. Let them come good speed, and let my drought and barrenness be helped in the Lord Jesus! Let my soul live, and be prepared to receive more of that life that is hid with Christ in God, and be purged more of all superfluity and naughtiness, that it may live by faith!

This forenoon he read the 32nd Psalm, 8, 9. "I will instruct thee, and teach thee in the way that thou shalt go; I will guide thee with mine eye. Be not ye like the horse, or like the mule, that have no understanding, &c." Lord, this does describe the very condition of my heart; I am like a brute creature that has no understanding. May he not pray that thy admonition, "be not," may be a command? "Be not thou," thou shalt not be as the horse. May he not pray and believe in thy name for making good the promise to me, even to me also, "that thou wilt instruct and teach me the way that I should go, and guide me by thine eye?" He desires to have the faith of this promise in his heart, and to exercise the faith of it, and [that] I may not let it go. He waits on thee; thou art his rock, his strength, his house of defence. Thou wilt know my soul in adversity; and for thy name's sake lead me and guide me.

Oh Lord, print on my heart Psalm xxxi. 6, to hate these that regard lying vanities; my nature is not bent to hate evil with that indignation that he should. "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down into the pit? In thy favour is life. Let me dwell in thy temple, there every one speaks of thy glory." "Thou wilt keep me alive, that I go not down into the pit. Let me not be ashamed, for I have called upon thee." Oh Lord! meikle sweetness in these Psalms: teach me to draw it forth, that I may be prevented.

Hosea vii.—This day he heard that many things might fall in, that we are apt to rest upon in the matter of repentance; as conviction, legal work of terror, some external duties: that there may [be] meikle din and praying with little substance. "They cried, but not [to] the Lord with their heart." When our cry arose only from self, and fear of our external calamity, we were no better than brute beasts; howl'd like dogs. There is no right turning to God, but when he is taken up to be the most high God. Nothing will so surely or suddenly bring on judgment, as defending ourselves in sin, and not taking with our sin, and the punishment of it. Our repentance must not be like a deceitful bow. Prayer and an orderly conversation must be joined together, or else it is rebellion against him.

Psalm lxxviii. 39.—We oft partake of the fruit of his compassion, and know it not; therefore we would not taste and see his compassion in any thing. The choicest of men are frail and nothing, flesh; and as the wind it passeth away and returns not again. "Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?" Uncontentedness with our estate, and lifting up ourselves against God, shews we know not our original. Tho' man be frail and nothing, yet, alas! I esteem over meikle of man, even more than of God; for I fear and am over loth to offend him. We should not complain on our condition here as hard: when we are under cross, we think we were well if this were over; and yet we may change our cross, but not our condition. Let us not build much on outward comforts; they will not last nor continue. Changes will trouble us the less, that we resolve with them before-hand, and think not on building tabernacles to ourselves here. Men are atheists in the point of their own frail mortal condition here, and atheists in the point of eternity.

Evidences that we know not ourselves how frail we are. 1. If we be not evermore in mercy's common. To one that knows his own nothingness, the Lord's mercy is never tasteless; he finds it in approaching to God, and then cries out he abhors himself; in deliverances and benefits, he is less than the least of his mercies. 2. When we expect or dream of contentment below in the creatures. He that knows himself, cannot be beguiled of the world, or disappointed; he is prepared for the worst it can do, and is not allured nor taken with the best of creatures. 3. Boldness to sin, an evidence we know not ourselves. (1) Meddling with God's truth and worship may seem a cleanly sin, &c. (2) To fall in sin, which the word preached does often challenge. 4. Pride and insolence under prosperity. They at times think themselves God, or not in the common condition of men, but singular. Make them know themselves to be but men. 5. They think never to meet with eternity, and never to part with the present world. Lord, discover this, and purge away my dross!

23rd May, 1653.—I have resolved and determined, in the Lord's strength, to eschew and avoid employments under Cromwell; I say, 'Tis in the Lord's strength.

24th May.—I spoke with Mr. Leighton[a]; he did shew me, that the composing of our differences was not a harder task than the finding out the Lord's mind by them, both the procuring and final cause. He thought holiness, the love of God and our brethren, was the chief duty God was calling us unto, and sobriety and forbearance to one another. He knew not if it were not from his natural temper, or something of the English air; but he thought it was the safest to incline *in mitiorem partem.* Much persecution was there upon our imposing upon one another, as if we were infallible, allowing none that differed from ourselves in the least measure. He thought the Lord would break that which we would so fain hold up, our Judicatories; he had observed so much of our own spirit in them these many years past, that he had lothed them for the most part, and wearied of them. I said indeed, I thought that our Judicatories these three or four years were much deserted, and without that presence of God in them which sometimes was observed. Our differences were [the cause]. That the Lord might not be traced in his way, and that none may come after him; therefore he darkens our mind. Now, oh Lord! guard my heart against that which I incline unto, even indulgency and counting light of errors and heresies! and, oh Lord! guard also, upon the other hand, against that blind spirit of sinful untenderness! help him to be making a right use of all thy works of judgment and mercy, and to be thorowly acquainted with thy will, and the duty which thou callest me unto.

Mr. Leighton said, These differences should make the hope of heaven the sweeter. I said, 'Tis true; yet so as not to weary here, or be hasty. He said, It was the more venial extreme, if any were venial, and better than any love of the world. I said, One grain of the world's love was more burdensom and worse than a hundred grains of untimeous desires after heaven. He said, Deferred hope breaks the heart. He said, If the saints knew the advantages and final causes of their differences and trials, they would rather trials. And indeed, I think the sweet fruit of a sanctified trial is to see mercy in it for correcting our quarrelling, and advantage; which would make us love the Lord better, and so say, "In faithfulness thou hast afflicted me, and, it was good for me, &c." Tho' we may not love the

[a] Robert Leighton, minister of Newbattle, was admitted by the English to be Principal of the University of Edinburgh, 17th January, 1653. He held this office till his promotion to the See of Dumblane, in 1662.

sin, yet we may admire and love and adore him that can extract good to us, and glory to himself, out of our very infirmities and sin.

25th, at night.—It was the night that the Protesters and the Assemblies Commission came to town.

27th May.—Mr. Blair,[a] Mr. James Durham, and I, went to the Protesters in Waristoun's chamber, and exhorted them to ways of peace and union. Mr. Rutherford retorted, That he had heard much of peace with men, but would like better to hear of a peace with God, and taking with sin, that his wrath may be turn'd away; without which, a patch'd peace would be little effectual.

Waristoun[b] said, He hoped to see the day that all England and Scotland should yet take with their sin in defection and departing from the Lord; and could not but exoner himself to us, that he thought either they were right of the Assembly or the Protestation, and that the truth was on the one side or the other; and therefore the neutrals were as far wrong as any of them: and therefore exhorted us to consider.

Mr. James Durham said, That many in the west were weary of these contentions, and would fain be at the shore.

Mr. Robert Blair said to me, he had as much enlargement and sense of presence of God, and joy and ravishment in his undertaking the journey to New England,[c] as ever he had, or any man had; yet he found, ere the journey was half done, that it was not the Lord's mind, but was forced to return and quit it; and found a more clear warrant that it was not the Lord's mind that he should go, but rather that he should stay at home.

28th.—I went to Lilburn to speak anent the cess of the shire, and obtained nothing,—viz. Colonel Tomkins, Deniz Bond, Alderman Ellan, Bradshaw, and the Lord Gray of Burlie, Alderman Estwick, Sheriff of London, and Sir John Lenthal, keeper of the White Lion prison; the exceeding growth of their wealth; pursuers lying in prison and faring well and enjoying their estates, and their creditors starving; this was to be redrest.

[a] The ministers here mentioned are all well known. Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrews; James Durham, one of the ministers of Glasgow; and Samuel Rutherfurd, one of the ministers, and principal Professor of Divinity in the New College of St. Andrews.

[b] Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston.

[c] An account of the incidents connected with this intended voyage to America, in 1636, is given by Blair in his Autobiography. (Wodrow Society edition, p. 134, &c.)

28th.—We had a meeting with the brethren of the Protestation, and spent an afternoon in jangling without any fruit.

We met with Mr. Douglas[a] and Mr. Hutchison in the morning, and ound there was much heat and prejudice in his spirit; under the colour of godliness, there was much knavery among them. And he had defended some of these young men in Linlithgow Presbytery, because he thought they had good in them; but, &c. Oh Lord! his soul desires to mourn under this distemper which he sees on the spirits of men, and these dear to thee.

29th May.—He desired to deal with his own heart, to be sensible of this judgment, and to enquire from what root it sprang, and to beseech the Lord to pluck it up. This day he read Waristoun's paper about Soul-covevanting with God, and desired to yield up his spirit and soul, mind, conscience, and affections to the Lord, to be his in a perpetual covenant and donation thro' Jesus Christ, as being not his own, but his, and therefore should (as he desires grace to do it) live to the Lord.

[L.] Upon Hosea viii. Lecture. Mr. Hutchison. [They] pretend, "Thou art our God, we have known thee:" these pretences will not bear out. It is a woful thing when the Lord refutes these pretences and delusions by rejecting our prayers. Oh Lord, help me to know when refusing prayer is a refuting of pretended interest in thee! Shall thy poor people in Scotland take thy refusing of their prayers as a refutation of their faith and interest in thy name? Oh Lord, forbid! A real interest in God, is a sure consolation in time of trouble.

D. Tho' we were not under covenant with God, or would retract our promise, yet that frees us not from obligation and ties; for we are bound to him by a law.

D. Profession and Practice must be joined together; for it suffices not to say, My God, we have known thee, while we cast off the thing that is good.

D. No obligation or tie can bind them them that have no principle of grace. They had a covenant and a law; yet, &c.

Cross dispensations should not discourage those the Lord minds good-will to; and prosperous dispensations should not make them secure that walk in a wrong way, displeasing to him. Oh! for faith and discerning to apply this to these of England, and to these things that are [in] difference among thy people in Scotland! for we neither desire to speak good or ill to ourselves or others of our own kind, but by thee and thy word. The more grace, and

[a] Robert Douglas and George Hutchison, two of the ministers of Edinburgh.

the more doing in religion, Christ gets the more ado. It is good, whatever befal us, that we be drawing nearer God, and eschewing evil; let men say what they will, the best way in the world, and the best for us, is to follow the Lord still. Resting on a standing interest in God, and a convinced mind of sin and duty, doth beguile many in the taking up of their own estate. Our good and the Lord's glory are so linked together, that we cannot cast off our obedience, but be sure we refuse and forsake our own mercy. We have reason to suspect all our councils and ways and affections, for, if we be left, we would chuse that which is not good to ourselves, but ruin.

Psalm lxxviii. v. 40.—God's compassion takes from our very frailty a strong and forcible moving argument to spare, and to do us good: praise, praise, praise. This must be made use of with much submission, humbleness, wonder, love, and thankfulness. 2. This belongs to them that fear him: it is his prerogative-royal to reprive from justice a convict and condemn'd creature: none but he that is above justice can do this.

When we have no other defence, frailty may be a ground of not giving over dependence upon God. As if he should say, What should I win [gain] by destroying them? I would but miss my great purpose of gathering and saving a people and church to myself; for there is not one of them better than another in this. 2. Or, as if he should say, It is natural to man to sin, and therefore I must destroy them all, if I should go upon this ground to punish and undo them when they sin against me. "I have seen his ways, and will heal him:" oh such sweet arguings! 3. Frail, sinful, silly creature is below me, that I should strive or contend with such a worm; it is a small vassalage to me to destroy a flea, a dead dog, as he said to the king of Israel; dry stubble, says Job; or a leaf of a tree, a shadow. 4. As if he said, Poor man in his best estate has misery enough; tho' I should not suddenly destroy him, his day will soon come. They are short and full of sorrow; why should I crush him then? 5. By this I will give a proof that I am God, and not like them. They are like themselves, witless, frail, sinful; and I must be like myself, without spot, forgiving iniquity, bearing with poor creatures; and so I get more glory than if I destroyed them: "for my name's sake I will refrain."

Use.—You see that man's preservation is of free grace: many billows

go over his head, and one would soon ruine poor man, if he did let out all his anger. 2. These that have not another argument to plead with God, but their sinful, helpless condition and frailty, despair not; use that same argument well, and it may prevail. Be not discouraged, it is a forcible argument with God, if we have an interest in the covenant of grace; for we must not look to ourselves what we are; but at the same time we must look to God what he is. Oh, that we knew these two things aright! Even when they cry down themselves and abhor themselves most, he casts none away for their low base condition in their own eyes. There is no such hindrance as a conceit of any things in ourselves. 'Tis pride that would hinder us from being in his common.

D. Whatever compassion we meet with; in particular, of sparing, pardoning, delivering, providing: let us ever have an eye to eternity. Our breath ere long will go out, and not return; eternity will try the reality of our grace.

D. Nothing so much exalts compassion, as his overcoming the sinfulness and provocations of the creature. 1. Considering that pure justice is put to silence. 2. Nothing betwixt the sinner and utter misery, but his mere compassion: were this taken up aright, we would not quarrel with him as a cruel enemy, albeit it far'd not with us as we desire; but we would rather admire and wonder that we are thus spar'd, and that he forgives as he does. This forgiveness is a great high mercy, but we prize it not; for who rejoices in the faith of it, and delights himself in God and in the hope of glory? We have not seen the desert of sin; and therefore we quarrel, when we should adore and admire and sanctify and love his name in our hearts. Let us daily take a view of sin and frailty, that we may, without formality or flattery, say, how great are thy compassions! or else I were undone, undone. This would keep our spirits from distemper.

This evening his soul found something of the vertue of the covenant, encouraging and confirming in the faith of these things he prayed for; and he renewed his acknowledgements and engagements to the Lord. He found, in the trial of his interest in the Lord, that there was no question of the interest and covenant-right to him, in regard to his frequent, renewed, reiterated promises, dedication and oblation of himself, and all that he is, to the Lord; if there were any question or unclearness, it was in the Lord's being and becoming his, even his God. He could not say but he had

grounds to believe the Lord's condescension, and consent to it also from his word, by which he has tied himself, and from some small experience. Oh Lord confirm my soul more and more in the faith of this, that he may believe perfectly without staggering, and be established, and receive the effect of thy promise and covenant, according to thy truth and mercy, and plentiful compassion in Christ Jesus, "in whom all the promises are yea and amen!" I desire to "open the mouth wide, that thou mayest fill it."

On [Mark]s, afternoon, of a soul that had found the Lord's compassion in pardoning. 1. They loved the Lord meikle. 2. Prized pardon meikle. 3. Wondered at his compassion meikle. 4. Lothed themselves meikle. 5. Saw their own vileness more than ever. 6. Mourned, and watched, and repented, [and] feared him, because of his goodness.

1st June, 1653.—My brother Waristoun told me of James Nisbet, and the Lord's wonderful dispensations to him; what sensible appearances of God he finds in his labour about ordinary employments. Confirmations against the English, and complying with them. "If thy eye be single, the whole body is full of light." Against his praying in that godless family; he enquired into a calling and warrant for every thing he undertook. He shewed him Colonel Kerr's [a] letters relating to providential concurrence of the word preach'd, Rom. iv. 9, and word read, 1 Chron. xvii. 23, 24, 25, and what witness was born to his spirit, that his people in Scotland were approven of him as Philadelphia.

Waristoun. That they were about the duty of soul-covenanting with God. 2. And ministers enquiring domatim into the soul's condition of their people. Alas! so should masters into the condition of their families and children. James Nisbet farther assured him, that the Lord would [yet] set up judges among us from ourselves.

2d June.—The Malignants and the Governor of Linlithgow [a] did beat and abuse the Presbytery of Linlithgow. They came to me, and desired me to go with them to Colonel Lilburn. [b] Albeit, in the case of difference, I was not clear; yet thinking it was their Lord they suffered for, I did go: but met not with Lilburn; only delivered the errand to Mr. Clark, and he did promise to write to the Governor of Linlithgow, that they might be admitted to live peaceably, and exercise their calling. Lord, teach me what may be learned out of this providence, and all that I have met with in it.

[a] Colonel Gilbert Ker, Governor of Linlithgow, and one of the Protestors.

[b] Colonel Robert Lilburne: see p. 34.

3d June, 1653.—Mr. Rutherfoord and Sir John Chiesley [a] were sent to me from the brethren for the Protestation.

Mr. Rutherfoord said, they were come to lay claim to me in the Lord's name, and desired me to appear for the way wherein the Lord had led us and blest us for many years.

I answered, That I behoved to say with shame, that I was never forward nor foremost in any thing that was good; and, if in any thing I was dark, I could not be truly humbled under it, until the cloud past over.

Mr. Rutherfoord, &c. spoke to the Association and the sinfulness of it, and that the Word did not hold out a difference betwixt conjunction and association in defensive and offensive war; that what was unlawful in the one, was unlawful in the other. Israel for self-defence might not take idolaters, &c.

I answered, and acknowledged, That in that I differed; for I could not find any word or warrant from God to bind up the hands of men from their own defence, when their liberties, life, estate, and dearest natural interests, were invaded.

Rutherfoord. Light of nature is no rule for a christian man; he has something dearer to him than these. When religion and the people of God could not be preserved but with the loss of men's natural interests, the one must give place to the other; otherwise excommunicate men, and papists and idolaters could not be debarred.

Sir John Chiesley. All men admit, that some, even in these cases, should be restrained, and will not admit of all.

B[rodie]. I answered, I could not condescend what cautions [and] limitations were necessary upon this law of nature; but the hazard or consequence to the work or people of God, might not be a ground to debar from a natural and moral duty.

Rutherfoord. The debarring these and such men is a moral duty, opposite to that light of nature, of self-defence.

Sir John Chiesley. Who dare say, that we may with a safe conscience set up wicked persecutors to the helm?

B. I do acknowledge, it is a perpetual and eternal truth and duty, for us to labour to set up the best of men as rulers over us. But where either

[a] Sir John Chiesley of Kerswell, who took an active share in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, was a zealous Protestor.

there are not such men, or where we have not the physical power and calling to set them up, as among heathens, or the generality of a corrupt people or land; there it were our duty to vote and endeavour to chuse the best of the society; but, where we cannot carry it, I hold myself bound to chuse and aim at the best; but to reverence and submit to the ordinance of government, albeit Providence in the call or election should set up wicked men unfit and unworthy to govern. I would consent, if I lived among pagans, to chuse a pagan ruler, where I could attain no christian ruler, rather than live without government, and so living among wicked men.

Sir John Chiesley and Mr. Rutherfoord assented to the case of pagans, but were not clear with me in the rest.

I said, Wherein the Commission of the Kirk did vary from this rule and duty, in consenting to the choice of wicked men, or in taking away the restraints which held out wicked men, they sinned. How far their hand was in this, I knew not. Next, I said, I was dissatisfied with the bulk of publick proceedings. The scum of men were gotten up to places of government, and, had they prospered, we might have looked for sore days to the work and people of God in both these lands, for most of them had enmity at all appearance of godliness. Nay, to set up these again by French, Dutch, Irish, &c. I durst not consent to it, nor desire it of God, but rather beseech him not to grant men their lust or desire in this; for, if matters be ill now, it would be worse.

Rutherfoord said, that was all they desired. I said, The Commission of the Kirk, and some of their chief members, did disavow the proceedings of Parliament in this.

Rutherfoord. What did they against it? Did they shew the Lord's mind in it? I said, They declare that they did. Rutherfoord prayed to be kept from closing with malignants or the present power. Who would go under a house when it was falling? So many testimonies of their ruin and thy anger against them; and shall we involve ourselves in their sin, and so partake of their judgment? God forbid. He prayed the Lord to declare who sought him in truth and singleness of heart; to be kept from joining with Lutherans, &c.

After prayer, I said, As to the business you spoke of to me, I shall say this; albeit I differ and come not up to see so clearly in these things as other men, it is my burden; yet my heart is with you, I shall be loth to be

upon a contrary side; I must wait. And, in the mean time, not for my cause, but for the Lord's name that's call'd on me, be instant with him on my behalf, that I may be to his praise in my generation, and may not deny his name or truth.

Sir John Chiesley. It would much rejoice us that you would write to them, and testify what you said to us, that you dislike the bulk of proceedings.

Rutherfoord. Tho' you differ in some things, as there is [difference] among ourselves anent, 1st, The nullity of the Assembly; 2dly, Defence, &c. Yet, if you be satisfied in the chief things, it were a great honour to the Lord to witness for one truth of his.

B. I answered, God willing, with the first occasion, I shall declare all that I have spoken to you, both to any of your number, and to these of the Assembly.

Sir John said, He had been much press'd to seek the Lord in my behalf, and he looked the Lord would do me good.

I answered, It was my chief and only desire that my tongue, heart, hand, pen, life, and all, might be to his glory: I did count it my greatest honour; but I knew not if ever he would honour me to be for him all my days.

When they went away, I bowed down before the Lord, and confessed for the wrongs I had done to him, it were just with him never any more to do me good, or honour me to honour him: I desired light and strength that I might not deny him I spread the case before him, and thanked him that he had sent them to me. I desired he would either clear me that it was not his truth which they maintained and press'd, or else save me from denying him in that truth. If he thought not fit to hear me in either, I sought grace to bear forgiveness of my ignorance, and wisdom from above to order my conversation aright; not carnal, politick, time-serving, self-saving wisdom; oh that were to give over to the devil. But spiritual understanding to abide in his truth, and that his truth might abide in me; and that I be not forsaken, but be brought through in the strength and grace of Jesus Christ

4th June.—Swintoun[a] desired me to dine with him. He told me, That he thought Presbyterians in England apprehended a disadvantage in this change; and that one motive was (as the General[b] said to him) a fear of a

[a] Alexander Swintoun of Swintoun. [b] Lilburne.

design to introduce Presbytery. As to the Peoples liberty and freedom to elect, he thought there would be little in that, till they were fitter for it. And people would offend less [i. e. be less offended] that a supreme power should rule over them, and to want their liberty, rather than to have a liberty restricted with such qualifications debarring three parts of the people; and there would be less favour, emulation, heart-burning, &c.

5th June, the Lord's day.—He desired to know what should be the express, particular, solemn errand of the day, wherewith to come before the Lord. Anent Association To that objection, that by putting power in the hands of wicked men, we gave them occasion to overturn the work and cause of God, and to persecute the people of God.

Answer. That was but a consequence: if it was a moral duty to defend themselves, they should not be prohibited to exercise that duty for the land, and for their own dearest natural interests. 2. Were a wicked man our son, our brother, nay, a stranger, pursued by a company of robbers, whether were it good arguing, he is a wicked man, he must not defend himself nor draw a sword; nay, I will not help nor relieve him, nor endeavour to do it, because he has done, and may do, meikle mischief, if he escape? I suppose the same of a mad man. If he be in danger, shall we not help him? If we be in a society where there are forty wicked men and two godly, and all punished alike, shall we not permit the forty men to defend themselves? Must not the two godly undertake to defend themselves and the forty?

Next it came in my thought, my poor distracted brother: for his wickedness, I may not neglect any means for his recovery, albeit I have little hope that ever he shall do good, if he were recovered.

Next the condition of Protestants in Germany and France; shall they not join in common defence of their country with Papists, Lutherans? Have they ever refused to join in armies on this account, for opposing the Turk or other common enemies; or in a land where the twentieth part is not Protestant or Christian, and nineteen parts Idolaters? Yet dare I not, till the Lord enlighten more, justify the taking Papists in the army or idolaters in the land, where the constitution and government settled is Reformed and Protestant. The cause is otherwise where the government is as yet constitute Popish. Israel's case. (Vide June 12.) It may be a matter to exercise christian prudence, how far to make use of the body of the land in a common invasion; but that there is a prohibition to the con-

trary, appears not. Oh for light in this, and for grace to avoid a snare, that he be not letten [suffered to] reason himself into a pit that he sees not! Let not his lips open to justify or defend iniquity! Let not his understanding be that [so] far darkned or blinded thro' ignorance or corrupt affections, or carnal reasoning! Oh for grace and light this day!

Forenoon, Psalm xlv. 7. Psalm xl. 4.—"Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil, &c. and respecteth not the proud, and such as turn aside to lies." Oh Lord! I desire to examine my love and hatred. Is this a cause of thy pouring of the oil on thy Son? Lord! pour of this same oil on his poor member, that believes in him for righteousness, sanctification, and strength, to hate and refuse evil, and to discern it, and to know, chuse, love, and embrace that which is good; and "not respect the proud, nor, &c."

Psalm xliv. 3.—But 1, Thy right hand. 2, Thy arm. 3, The light of thy countenance. 4, Because thou hadst a favour to them. May not my soul make use of these instruments and these arguments for their spiritual deliverance and conflict, and for the salvation and deliverance of thy people? No other reason can be given, but because thou hast a favour to them. We have nothing to boast of, all boasting is ceased, neither any thing to lean to but thy right hand, thy arm, the light of thy countenance.

Lecture, Hosea viii. 4.—"They have set up kings, but not by me; rulers, but I knew it not." Oh that great truth! The Lord may determine and permit many things to come to pass, which man brings sinfully to pass; as this defection from the house of David in the days of Jeroboam. Prediction and providence cannot justify a person or a people in [a] wrong way; only to the rule, the word, and the testimony. Devils may boast of providence in all the success which they get. Changes in civil government oft involve the actors in sin and much guiltiness. Changes in civil government ordinarily, as a consequence, draws corruption in worship after it, the one to maintain the other. Corrupting the worship of God is a fearful sin, and of itself sufficient to ruine a people or a person. The holiness or quality of the person will not excuse error; an angel cannot warrant it; sin prescribes not. God reckons with Israel for the corrupt sinful foundation of their civil government many years after. A way of corrupt and false worship shall lead men in a strait that incline to it. That policy or security which is founded on a sinful ground, to the hurt of religion, or in unrighteousness,

shall prove little to their comfort that take it. Lord, teach me the application of these truths at this time, that in the faith of thy word he may get his steps ordered aright, nay, and his thoughts as well as his ways, without mistaking! What is he, that he should not mistake? Every man vanity, how shall he not mistake? Can man, unclean as he is, be without sin and ignorance? Oh no! Teach me to walk humbly under darkness, and to depend on thee for his light, that he stumble not to thy dishonour. Flexibleness, natural goodness, dutifulness, pliableness, want of edge against evil, is like to be his snare and burial, the very grave of his soul. "Thou wilt deliver from the grave, and his eyes from tears, and his feet from falling."

Sermon.—Suddenness adds much to the aggravation of sin. Alas! after mercy, and after correction, how apt at all times has my heart been to decline, and to provoke and forget thee (I may say) in a moment. This is my shame. It is a fearful thing when no dispensation can do a people or a person's turn, neither prosperity, nor trouble, nor trials, nor kindness, nor severity. The sight of the Lamb, who is the most blest sight to his people, shall be the most terrible and blackest sight to the reprobate It is a great exprobration, when the Lord says, "What have I done unto thee? What iniquity found your fathers in me?" &c. Especially mercy shewn in a strait. Better they had perished and consumed in the strait, than unthankfully abuse a mercy. Oh, oh!

Now for remedy. 1, Put the most desperate case in his hand. 2, Seek not only to be freed of the plague and judgment of a declining heart, but most earnestly seek to have the evil heart taken away, and that seed of unbelief and unstedfastness.

A gracious penitent heart [soul] does not look at the present failing, but all the sores open; he looks with a mourning heart at all the slips and passages of unthankfulness throughout his life. 1, Men oft forbear sin, not out of hatred or grace, but because the occasion or temptation is withdrawn: as soon as the spark meets with the flax, again it burns. 2, Men see not the sinfulness of sin; sin and wrath are to them but a contemplation. Affliction is a candle to shew sin; but it is not well if we have not another clearer candle. 3d Cause of apostasy, when men mourn for the act or outbreaking, but not for the root and fountain of sin. 4, Spiritual pride, arising from an endeavour at humiliation and repentance. 5th, Cause of apostasy is, idle-

ness, want of work to hold our spirits in exercise, and giving Christ meikle to do.

Frequent sinning imports, 1, That no bands can hold or secure them. 2, This says, dispensations will do their turn. 3, New sins waken all the old sores, like the digging of unripe graves; it makes them all bleed. 4, It hardens more. Have high thoughts of God's compassions; for they never found them, nor have right to them, that have low thoughts of them. A man may find proofs of God's compassions, and yet find a sad sentence from him. He had compassion on them oft, forty years, and at last "swore they should not enter into his rest."

June 5th, 1653.—Lord! this is a time when many are falling away from thee into error, into loosness, into some kind of apostasy or other; and others are saying, "It is in vain to serve God," his servers are so broken, divided, ashamed; therefore he counts it is his duty to cleave the faster to thee, and to determine and resolve, in thy strength, never to depart, never to turn aside, nor lust after another idol, or a false god, or a false way, that thy ways may be in his heart; whatever danger they may bring me unto, yet they shall be his choice and his wisdom, before all the world. This, and not carnal, self-saving craft, and time-serving, is the wisdom which he craves; but, Oh Lord, how far is he from it? For thou seest how corrupt, unsound, fleshly, double, vain, his heart is, and how soon he will turn away, if thou preventest him not. Go from thee when he will, he will never do so well; he will never meet with the like of thee. Oh! the deceit lies in the particulars, there's the snare. No man will take with defection, till thou convincest. Much of this is requisite in the Land among thy people, and great defect of it in his heart. Lord! loose the heart from love of himself and creatures, and unite it unto thee, that he may fear thy name. In thy light let him see light, even the light of life. Thou art the way, and the life, and the light, and the truth; and all this, all this, even to my poor soul.

7th June.—Waristoun said, I would either come a step nearer them, or step further from them to defection Lord! he sees this evil ready to break out; prevent, prevent, prevent, thro' thy truth and covenant, that he be not forsaken or turn aside. No better will come of him, if thou upholdest not. Let him see in persons what to love and what to hate, and in ways of men, that he may chuse the good and hate the evil, and not halt sinfully. Lord!

deliver from sinful politick moderation; that, whether wisdom or natural goodness, all may be sanctified to the Lord, to the Lord, or else it is cursed.

[Isa. xxiv. 18, to the end, seems to hold forth our times, and reeling, and confusions. The earth is broken and dissolved, and moved exceedingly, reels to and fro like a drunkard, or like a cottage, &c. He is punishing the host of the high ones that are on high, and things of the earth upon the earth. They are gathered together as prisoners in the pit. Oh the promise that follows, that it may be fulfilled! The Lord "may reign in Mount Sion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously." Lord! he desires to be humbled under his present distance from thee. Oh that he had as much diligence, foreseeing, and care, to avoid spiritual snares, as helps to compass business! Then should he by no earnestness grieve thy spirit, and make haste to other things.]

8th June.—I hear of Major-General Dean's death by sea [a]

12th June.—At Kirk of Clatt.[b] The Lord did put it in his heart this day to be exercised in acknowledging the sinfulness of his natural temper, in want of fervour for the Lord and his glory, and want of zeal and hatred against sin; that it is not abominable, hateful, lothsome, detestable enough to him; that he can agree and comport with any wickedness or wicked men. This moderation is not of the Lord, springs not from holiness; but is contrary to it, and will cut the throat of holiness, and turn all religion to nature. And the next step will be to hate those that are zealous and fervent for the Lord's glory, and in hating of every wickedness and evil, for he must necessarily condemn these that are not of his own temper. Hence it is that the world, wicked men, speak good of him and love him, because he testifies not against their wickedness, complies with them, lets them live in their sin. Wo, wo, wo to such a temper, when all men speak good of him; it is not for nought, it is a dear, dear bought approbation. Let me be hated, persecuted, torn in pieces by the world and wicked men,

[a] Major-General Richard Deans was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. He was slain with a cannon ball by the first broadside in the celebrated engagement with the Dutch fleet, on the 2nd of June, 1653. (Cromwelliana, p. 124, 125.) In a contemporary letter, the other officer of the same name, and probably his brother, is thus mentioned on 23rd June that year, 1653:—"Our regiment, with Major-General Deans, lyth near Inverury, 10 or 12 miles from Aberdeen, toward the hills, &c." (Letters of Roundhead Officers, p. 60.)

[b] The Kirk of Clatt, in the Presbytery of Alford, Aberdeenshire.

ere I sinfully keep silence at, consent unto, approve or comply with, any wickedness! Oh that he may be at the staff's end with [a due distance from] everything that thou hatest, to hate it perfectly, not to regard these that turn aside to vanity! Striving at civility and humanity may, if the Lord prevent not, cost him the loss of thy favour, peril his own soul, and cast him into the pit of death.

This day he is to set himself against this temptation, and to beseech the Lord, thro' the covenant of grace, that he be not overcome. Reason will sway much in favour of the temptation; Lord, subdue it! Let him be unreasonable to man-ward, when reason is against thee and his duty! Teach him to apply Christ for kindling and blowing upon his own fire, that the affections may be his wholly, sincerely, totally, indivisibly, absolutely, solely his, without reversion. Thou, Oh Lord, broughtest to hand and leddest him upon Mr. Love's sermons this day anent a zealous christian, "The Violent take it by Force."[a] He thanks, and blesses, and adores, and worships thee, and desires to believe in thy name for grace, thou art his all-sufficient Lord God. Print the differences, marks, cautions, instructions, uses, reproofs, and every truth of this day upon his spirit deeply; that they being mingled with faith, he may change his mind, and he be transformed, and the word be not ineffectual. Oh grant, grant in Jesus Christ!

June 12th.—He had thoughts for justifying Association. The land is incorporated and associated, by divine and human laws, into one politick body and ecclesiastick. 2, Otherwise we must dissolve all bands of communion with them, as with Infidels. 3, Association consists not only in personal presence and assistance, but in contributing of men, money, and other things, &c. So that we must not take their men, nor money, nor arms, &c. 4, It were a favour to these men to exeem them; and no favour to other men to be burdened, and they eased. (Vide 5th June.)

12th June.—This was a day at the Kirk of Clatt, coming from Druninour,[b] in which he was exercised with much violent temptation of lusts, covetousness, ambition, with much strength and force. In the close of the day, the Lord seemed to visit him, and incline towards him, in dis-

[a] Christopher Love: "The Zealous Christian taking Heaven by holy Violence"; in several sermons. Lond. 1653, small 8vo. The author, a minister in London, was a celebrated Presbyterian divine; but, having been concerned in a plot against Cromwell, he was executed on Tower Hill, 22d August, 1651. See Baillie's Letters and Journals.

[b] Druminour or Druminer, an old seat of Lord Forbes.

solving his soul into desires and affections after his name, his so precious name, that then was more fragrant and sweet to him than roses or any costly ointment or perfume. The Sabbath-day's purpose and suit was set on foot, that he might discern and hate perfectly every appearance of evil. He was cast down under his natural lothness to displease men, or undertake difficile, imitating duties. This arose either from policy, natural discretion, or care to preserve himself; and Satan was in all these, if grace did not season and sway. Let his soul be led forth in zeal for the Lord, and for his glory, and for his truth, and for his people, and on his side. The granting this would decide the doubts of Civil government, Association, church-government My soul desired that there might not be one grain of his own wisdom or natural affection in these, but to love or hate perfectly, as the Lord loves. Oh that the Lord would subscribe, and say Amen!

14th June.—I came to Brodie; and on the 15th my [soul] was humbled under the carnal and fleshly affections.

17th June.—He looked on that poor woman Elspet Fraser, and saw her great pain and sickness, and desired to be humbled under it, and to be instructed by it, and that the rod might be sanctified both to the poor creature and to us; and that he would take off or mitigate the pain, or bear her up and strengthen her under it. This day, Oh the desertion and deadness in his approaching to God, and in reading! He read Psalm lxxviii. but it was all locked up, and he prayed and mourned deeply before the Lord.

17th June.—He got Oliver Cromwell's letter, or rather a citation and summons to come to London.

4th July.—Oh Lord! he has met with the lion and the bear before, but this is the Goliath; the strongest and greatest temptation is last. Upon the getting of it, he did communicate it unto Mr. W. Falconer, Mr. Joseph and Mr. John Brodies, Nic. Guthrie, Janet Brodie my sister, and David Brodie; and desired them to set themselves apart for solemn seeking of the Lord on my behalf, for the Saturday and Sabbath-day following; and to deal with the Lord that this citation may not be a snare to him, but that he might be led out of the temptation. He is not a man of courage, but faint, and

* Mr. William Falconar, minister of Dyk and Moy, Morayshire, was settled in 1628. His presentation, signed by Charles, Earl of Dunfermelyne, and George, Earl of Wintoun, his tutor, is in the Editor's possession, dated in July, 1628. He survived till June, 1674.

feeble, and unstedfast, wavering, unclear-sighted, and impure. Now, by the covenant in Christ Jesus, he seeks to be holden up, and [that] the Lord his God thro' Jesus Christ may be forthcoming to him for light and strength and discerning, and courage and faith in his name: he will wait to see what God the Lord will say. My soul desired to search whether his performing of duties did arise from the knowledge and love of Christ, or from natural conscience; and if mortification of lusts of the eye, or the flesh, or pride of life, did spring from this fountain, or from natural light. Oh help to examine this deeply, that in thy light he may see light, and be transformed into thy image from glory to glory; and tho' he cannot bear witness of himself, yet he desires to bless, praise, exalt, and magnify thy precious name for ever and ever. It is good and precious, and he has found it so.

But now his soul desires to return to trace after the Lord's steps in the letter or citation from Cromwell. 1, He remarks, that this comes to him immediately after he had set himself to seek discerning grace, and keen affections of hatred against all that he hates perfectly, and after his humiliation under the sense of the sinfulness and impurity of natural gentleness and goodness. This seem'd to be some antidote against this temptation; but, Lord, help him yet better to try and examine. 2, He observed the report of the great victory by sea obtained at such a time, and what that imported as to us, in accepting or rejecting employments. Lord, clear thy providences. 3, He took his former resolutions and determinations against employments into consideration, and on what grounds he had so resolved; and fix'd his determination. 4, It appear'd that the condition of his family and daughter did prohibit him from employment, and call'd him to a private life. So did the frame of his spirit; for it appeared that he would surely be blasted, and corrupt and wither, if he lost communion with the Lord, and followed great employments. He is naturally a venturous, undertaking creature; and he knows much undertaking arises from presumption, and goes before destruction. 5, There is less hazard to refuse and eschew employment, than to embrace; less fear and appearance of snare and evil. In the one, there is certain snare and danger of sinning grossly and foully, and falling away and withering; in the other, in refusing, there appears no sin; whatever prejudice it may bring upon his outward man, that's the worst, and not to be put in a balance with the other, as it seems to him. But yet he looks to thee, to thee, to thee. His soul desired to be exposed to the

cruellest death that man can inflict, rather than partake with wicked men in any wicked way. Lord! save from wrong application of any truth, or any general word of thine.

18th day.—In prayer; Albeit that the foundation of the government were unquestionable and to his mind, yet could he not accept such a great employment, which his soul lothes; much less can he accept it now, when he is not satisfied with the grounds of their proceedings, especially in the matter of worship which is corrupted, and in the matters of government, wherein he, at best, is but dark and doubtful.

19th June, the Lord's day.—He continued to abase himself, and to ly low before the Lord, and desired to pour out his soul before him. Oh, my fear, my fear is, that he hide his face, and put away the wretched creature from him in displeasure! Oh, frame the heart to seek aright, thou that usest to hear, and be merciful, not for, but before thy children seek! The mouth is opened wide, albeit he cannot utter much. Be thou found of him in the secret, and in the sanctuary; and grant him the heritage of them that fear thee. This day he heard the Parable of the Tares open'd. Oh, my soul cannot tell the fearful judgment of a dead ineffectual ministry! Oh, there is not one word in my heart, nor can I speak nor put forth a thought, or one word, more than a man that's dumb, or hath been long dead! Lord! unlock, loose his heart, open and enlarge thy hand. What shall come of the errand of the day, if thy mouth be thus sealed and closed, and his heart also?

20th day.—He read Psalm cxix. 126, 127, 128, and Mr. Dick on this.[a]

22d August, 1650.—D. They cannot love the law of God, that hate not every false way. Now, these of England do not hate but defend many false ways, and especially in his pure worship. This is to make void his law.

26th June.—He read Hudson of the Church visible catholic.[b] He seemed to be convinced of that as truth, and that the church was one, and universal. Officers, members, excommunication, discipline, laws, communion, fellowship, seals, sacraments, covenant, are common to all the churches and all christians: *ergo* the church is one. Particular congregations are members

[a] A brief Explication of the Psalms, by Dickson, published at London, 1653, &c., 3 vols., small 8vo.

[b] Samuel Hudson, minister in New England, minister at Capell, in Suffolk, published "The Essence and Unitie of the Church Catholick visible, and the Ministry thereof, in regard of particular Churches, discussed." Lond. 1645, 4to. Also, "A Vindication of the Essence and Unity, &c." Lond. 1650, 4to.; The same, second edition, Lond. 1658, 4to.

of this church universal, and a part of it. Particular congregations dispensed excommunication in name of all the church, and secluded not from their own congregation only, but from external communion with all that profess the name of Christ in any congregation in the world. For conveniency, it were fit that a congregation should take the concurrence of other congregations. Now, my soul seem'd to be confirm'd in this truth, but could not walk in it, nor could he warrant himself against error and falling to the other hand. Lord! he looks to thee for strength, that he may discern falshood, mistake, and error from truth; and that his understanding, no less than his affections, may be kept pure and clear; and this he desires to make the exercise of this day, and to join it to that of former days, wherein he was humbled under the want of lively affections to the Lord, in hating evil perfectly, and in embracing and chusing that which is good, fervently, and not coldly. This was the temptation which he feared; now, therefore, he desires to set himself to seek the Lord for this, that he may be filled with right understanding, and a spirit of discerning, to know and take up truth in simplicity, and duty in its proper place and relation, and sin, error, snare, in their own colour and nature, and be duly and throughly for the one in the Lord, and against the other also in him.

This day I was called to the burial of Pat. Campbell's wife, and had cause to be humbled under the darkness and deadness of his spirit, and the many profane, unsavory thoughts of this day, which could not but hinder the ascending and coming up of his prayers, which this day were of great importance. But how is his spirit clog'd, and thy spirit quench'd and griev'd! Lord, return.

1st July, 1653.—My Son (after acknowledgment and conviction of meikle unfaithfulness and unsoundness, and hollow-heartedness in following the Lord, according to his engagement and covenant) did, after confession to the Lord's glory, seek mercy, and renew the covenant betwixt the Lord and his soul. This is written in my first Diary book, likeas it is in my Son's Diary [a] which he is to begin.

2d July.—I received a letter from Tarbat,[b] desiring me to interpose for his liberation.

[a] David Brodie seems to have inherited his father's disposition in writing his experiences. Several volumes of his Diary are preserved, and will elsewhere be more fully noticed.

[b] Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, Bart. In 1654, he was succeeded by his son, Sir George, created Viscount of Tarbat in 1681, and Earl of Cromarty in 1703.

3d July, on the Lord's day.—I desired to be directed in that matter, that meddling in these matters might be no snare to my soul. 2, That the Lord would pity the proneness of his heart to comply with any men that had the power. This arises from much, much unsoundness, and want of due regard to the Lord in his heart; and from too much regard to men, and want of hatred against evil, which was the sin lately acknowledged, and as yet that he is complaining upon, and waiting for strength against it thro' the Covenant.

3, This day he purposes in his heart to mourn for his unstedfastness, and the sinful inclinations of his heart to the English employments, which are like to cost the Lord and his soul very dear; therefore that he may be prevented, and, for that effect, that it may please his good God to turn away that snare which he fears of a new invitation to London. Lord! lead not into temptation, but deliver from evil; for the kingdom, power, and glory, is thine. He forsees it will undo him; and thou dost it, if it come to pass, to humble, if not to ruin him. Look 20th March, the end.

Alas! Lord, the opinion that he and others have sinfully of him, is the provocation that stirs up thy jealousy to break them to pieces: put sin out of the play, and let him be broken. Lord! is there nothing else to break him with, but sin? Is he of that metal, that one of a hundred weights of thine cannot grind him into powder, but that thy name must be polluted by him, and thro' him also by others?

4. Lord! he desires to be cast down, and afflicted under the unsoundness and doubleness of his heart, the carnality and earthliness of his very wisdom, being unsavoury and without salt, sinful, politick, crafty, selfish, unbelieving, impure, distrustful, presumptuous, not savouring nor discerning the things of God.

5. He desires to be humbled under the want of a due sense of the case of thy people; that he takes not up wherein their burden lies and should ly; neither takes he up their and his own present duty, and what should be our affliction and our exercise, and what is the snare, temptation, and mind of God to us in this time. Thro' undiscerning and unsensibleness, he is like to go far wrong in his judgment and affections and practice. Lord! prevent, thro' thy rich all sufficient and manifold Grace in Jesus Christ: it is one and a chief covenanted mercy.

6. Lord! opinion and conceit of his own wisdom and abilities, and self-

confidence in venturing upon and undertaking employment, is one grievous sin, snare and judgment, which he is desiring to mourn under; that almost he would seek that Thou shouldst take away his life.

7. Lord! beside all these, and the covetous and corrupt mind that is in him, and the corrupt suspicious motions of his heart, which he can never set forth, number, resist, nor overcome in his own strength; there is one sin he desires to confess before the Lord, That yesternight, in discourse concerning the Millenaries, he said, If Christ were to leave the Father and to dwell on Earth, he would not come with him and get a kingdom here: whereas it had been his duty rather to say, Whatever be of that opinion, that, if the Lord Jesus, personally or mystically, call'd him to suffer death or prison or banishment for them, he should quit his own glory and salvation, and condescend to glorify Him, were it to go to hell for him, forby [besides] to live on Earth: Lord! forgive this great sin. He resolved to right the Lord before as many as heard him deny him and refuse him: but that's not enough.

8. One thing he has on his spirit this day, and must be on it many days, and is to be added to the rest of the particulars which he is pursuing, and making supplication for before the Lord, to wit,————————. He can say nothing of the particular; but he desires to be kept from sinning against the Lord, his own soul, and the soul of the poor——, the souls of others, and that he or his may not be for wo to others, that God should be dishonoured, a family where he might be worshipped may not be broken in pieces thro' him. He looks in one respect to thy Providence, how far Thou art pleased to bring things to pass, and worships Thee: 'Tis time he sought a sign, but it was a sign for good; that they that hate him, and spoke evil of him for thy cause, might be ashamed, when Thou, Lord, hast helped and comforted him. Lord! he cannot plead cleanness in this business, but pleads pardon of first and following guiltiness. Order, order his thoughts and his heart aright, to be humbled, subject and obedient; order and change the heart of the poor————————. Now, Lord, he can only sit down and mourn: all these might be a subject for many day's exercise; and so let it be.

9. He desired to add the particulars of the 12th June at Clatt, and 26th June. To have the heart set against all sort of evil, and to have a perfect hatred and averseness from it, and all tendency and appearance of evil; that he might not venture on the borders of it, but be guarded, guarded that his feet slip not. Next, for this end, as 26th June, that he may have the heart

purified, and be filled with spiritual understanding, which is the eye of the soul, the spirit of a sound mind. Oh, meikle impurity and darkness here, which makes meikle, meikle work! But incline thine ear, for he is poor and needy. My son's first Covenant, and my offering him up to God, was registered in my first Diary Book, 13th January, 1651. But my first oblation was as soon as he was born, even before his baptism; and then at the Lord's solemn ordinance of Baptism, where he received his mark and seal upon him, to be his.

Anent taking Employments: I desire to look over the exercise and dealing of the Lord with his Spirit in the year 1652, from the 5th of January in my Diary of the first Book.

10th July, at Innes.—In which he desired to be humbled for the apparent breaking-in of corruption upon his inclinations, and was almost overcome, and his feet well near slipt, in thinking well of Employments, albeit several Providences seemed to withstand it, and especially that————. He did set himself to seek, that he might not be led into temptation, but be delivered from evil, and kept from the occasion of snares or falling; and that the Lord (if it seemed good to him) would turn away the————; for he fears that might be a woful journey to him, if the Lord prevent not. Not mine, but Thy will, Oh Father, be done!

He spread Mr. Jaffray's[a] letter before the Lord, and found it could not stand with former resolutions. He is not the man which others vainly imagine him to be; nay, nor indeed comes he up to his profession. If the Lord would uphold, his soul would, or rather should, chuse to suffer at the hands of men, than to fall into the snare and temptation of public employments.

11th July.—He heard of Mr. W. Falconar's preaching against these that left his kirk to hear any other, and W. Lard's complaint that he was not edified by his sermons. This, and the ineffectualness of the Gospel, was matter of humiliation to him, and of supplication. He desired to be directed whether to write to Mr. William Falconar or not.

17th July.—His soul was under much desertion and deadness; and that, to his apprehension, arose from grieving the Lord's Spirit by immoderate

[a] Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen for several years, and one of the Scottish Commissioners to King Charles the Second, was afterwards a Member of Cromwell's Parliament. His Diary was published, Lond. 1833, 8vo.

care. He also desired to be cast down under the security which he felt, without sense of sin, duty, or danger at present. Oh Lord! it is not well for him when he has nothing for Thee to do, and when he has no sense, nor takes up what it is which Thou givest him to do. Discover and quicken, for Thy name's sake. Lord! he desires to mourn under his insensibleness of his own condition, and under insensibleness of the condition of the Kirk: he is blind and undiscerning in both these. Alas! the judgment which we feel and apprehend is spiritual, and not felt nor perceived by most in the land. These differences among Thy people do produce alienation, not only from one another, but even from Thee. Upon the one hand, there is likely to be a breaking-in of error, spiritual pride, contempt of others, disorder and confusion: upon the other hand, there is like to be a breaking-in of profanity, malignancy, looseness, and a corrupt, carnal ministry; hatred of godliness in the exactness, and power and practice of it; a conjunction of wicked men against the godly up and down the land. And, alas that in this several of the Lord's servants, dear to him, should be involved! The zeal of the Assembly and of ——— drives to this. L[ord]! himself knows not what to do; his eyes are toward Thee this day. Forgive, prevent and shew mercy, for Thy great name! This day it did fall him to read Gualther on Rom. xiii. 1, &c.

23d July, Saturday at night.—He was troubled and abased under the foul, covetous, earthly thoughts which did break in upon him in time of the Evening Sacrifice: he besought the Lord to drive them away. He perceived it was unclean lusts, unsatiable desires, carnal affections; and abhorred himself. He purposed to be humbled in the day following under these thoughts, and the distemper that his mind and spirit was under. He desired to mourn under the prevalency of these filthy thoughts; and this day to employ the Lord Jesus for pardon, and for grace, not only against the unseasonableness of them, but against the iniquity, sinfulness, and pollution of them, warring against thy spirit; but also he beseeches the Lord for inward grace and strength against consenting or delighting in any of these motions and projects of earthly designs, settling and enlarging of his outward estate, and desire of greatness, or being rich in this world. These burning lusts fight against thy spirit, and arise from discontentedness, unmortifiedness, confidence in the creature, sinful placing of happiness or contentment in these outward things, want of faith in God, not seeing

sweetness and fulness and all-sufficiency in Jesus Christ, not content with him for a portion. Oh Lord! correct and pardon, subdue and heal, and cleanse, for thy name's sake. Lord! he looks up to thee in the faith of thine answer to former supplications put up to thee against the temptations of publick Employment, and, if it may be thy will, against any call or voyage to London. Thou knowest his mould; and if thou preventest his sin and snare, and thy dishonour, and in ridding his soul out of these temptations, thou shalt be his God, and he shall erect an altar to the living God, in testimony that his answer and safety is from him. When thou hast done and granted one suit, it is but the laying the foundation for another, for an after-mercy. Oh, there is such a connection of thy grace and mercy, and they are so linked one to another, that, granting one, there is a necessity of more, nay, of every grace. Lord, fill with the fulness of God!

This day he observed that he was at much distance from the Lord in secret, and knew not what it meant, that there should be any freedom in publick, and straitned[ness] in secret: this he desires to search, 1, If it note not out unsoundness and want of sincerity in performances. 2, Craighall[a] was so ere he was left in the present temptation.

Afternoon.—He desired to be humbled under the vanity, unreasonableness, and boundleness [and] disorderliness of his unsatiable lusts. When he had attained to all that he presently projects, Oh that the heart could stay there! It is as far from rest and contentment as at the first hour, when he had nothing. He besought the Lord against this evil again and again, and as he had discovered the evil of it, so with his whole heart he intreats the Lord to discover and lead the soul to the cure and remedy of this folly, madness, distemper and fury. He had never so much need of the power of the Lord Jesus, and to make use of him, as in this case. Let him not return into this prison! His heart projects for his ——— Alas! it is alike as for himself. His sickness is very great; Lord heal, for it is very great! This may be the work and exercise of many days: Oh, let him not be overcome! But if there be any power, strength, communion or vertue in Jesus Christ, let it forth, let it forth, and command deliverance to

[a] Sir John Hope, eldest son of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate, was appointed a Secretary of the College of Justice, 27th July, 1632. He acted as President of the English Commissioners for the Administration of Justice, in May, 1652, but died on the 28th April, 1654.

his poor, pursued, silly soul, even for thy Name, and thy Covenant, and thy Promise' sake in Jesus Christ.

26th.—He got the Provost's letter, shewing they collected from my letter that I would come and take Employment. This did humble, and my soul desired to be cast down under it. He got Waristoun's letter and papers against it. These he spread before the Lord, and besought him thro' the Lord Jesus, in whose name he believed, for direction, light, strength, stability, and counsel, as well as for pardon, that he might be rid of this temptation; and desired to find another ground from the word to settle his resolution on, and that it may not stand on his own bare inclination. First the parable which Jotham uttered to the men of Sechem, Judges ix. 7. Then the word in Psal. xvii. 4, 5. "Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips, I have kept me from the paths of the destroyer. Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not."

27th July.—I wrote back to the Provost, and, with all the fervency of my heart, I assured him I would not take any Employment on me, and that I laid aside all thoughts of coming to London; and I resolved on all the hazards that could befal me ere I ran myself on that rock.

29th.—I transcribed Waristoun's tractate anent the Engagement and taking Employment from the English. In which my soul desired to be humbled under my coldness, and want of that zeal for the Lord Jesus which I find in others. I loved, but could [not] get my understanding and light brought up to that tenet, That a christian man ought not to consent to any government or governor, which may prejudge the interest of Christ. It appeared to me, that duty lay in this, to vote, promove and chuse the best of our society, so far as we could, according to our calling. But albeit some, nay, most of them were carnal, nay, wicked men; I durst not withhold my consent from them, they being lawfully chosen according to the law of the society and land whereof we are members. Oh that my coldness and want of zeal may be no ingredient in this, to blind my mind, and to make this a temptation! Warm my heart with thy fire, and make my light hot and fervent for thee! To trust government by giving consent to these of the English, he called Theocide, Ecclesicide; I thought those expressions harsh, but held my peace, and was cast down before Him. It was put in my thought to go in and visit a sick woman, that I might have that occasion to speak a word for the Lord; but I did not obey, for which

my heart was smitten. Oh so fearful a thing as it is to refuse or disobey the Lord's Spirit in a motion to any duty! He desired to be cast down under this, and to go back next day.

30th July.—He found covetousness getting ground in his heart, unsatiable desires of lands and riches, the desire of acquiring————, and many waste [vain] projects, and impatiency, and want of contentedness, albeit he had that which might satisfy and well content him; and he found it was not ten hundred times what he possesses that could content and stay his mind from impious, greedy, unsatiable lusts and desires. Therefore, Lord, answer him not according to his lusts, by in Thy mercy! The love of other things will soon turn and eat out the love of God out of his soul, and drive the Lord away. What avails prayer as long as these lusts remain? Lord, purge out and mortify, and help him to believe in Christ Jesus for sanctification and strength, and in him to resolve and fight against this evil! He finds the effect of it in this, that he scarce can allow meat and fish, and beer and victual, upon his family and upon the poor. Lord, pity! What will it turn unto, if Thou preventest him not? Discover the evil and danger of these and many other soul-slaying corruptions, which he is not aware of.

31st July.—His soul desired to be further cast down under the same evils, especially the inordinate desires of his heart; which ten worlds, and that which might be a competency to ten thousand persons, cannot satisfy his lusts, but he would lust more. The stronger these become, surely his affections and desires after the Lord and his Christ do become the colder and weaker and fainter. Let his soul be afflicted under the distemper that it is in, of immoderate love to the world and creatures, and destitute of unfeigned fervent love and zeal for and after the Lord. He reads with little delight, and is overcharged with violent corruptions in time of duties, grieving Thy Spirit thro' remisness, loosness, inordinateness; where-through there is a fearful decay creeping on, and he is like to be cutted off from among the living. Now, Father! prevent and restore, repair the breaches, and cause him to recover strength, before he go hence, and be seen no more. All the snares, sin, burden, guilt, and several dangers that ten thousand are lying under and mourning for; all these are, alas! albeit unfelt, lying upon him alone. It is true, sins and snares, and dangers and temptations, spiritual decay, guilt, wiles of Satan, deceitfulness of heart, spiritual wickedness, are hid from his eyes; and his barrenness and unthankfulness, unbelieving, un-

soundness, unstedfastness; but they are not hid from Thee. May he, in Christ Jesus, seek to have the sin, danger, duty and remedy, to be discovered this day. This is the work of the day; but it is like to fail in the how [to be in vain], for want of deep and serious consideration, and for want of faith in Christ for life, and repentance, and renewing grace. He looks to His name, and to His temple, and to His holy hill: let his eyes fail and sink in his head, but let them look to Him, and never turn away. He sets all the temptations before Thy face, and before his own this day. Now, Lord! consider if he be for them, if he may be against any one; were it against the temptation to covetousness and immoderate desires, or were it against the temptation to employments or time-serving; or against the temptation of following carnal reason, self-love, indifferency and lukewarmness in things concerning thee: were it the grossest sin, forby [besides] the subtilest sin, he could not withstand nor hold out, nor discern evil from good, nor resist, nor hate, and flee from and abhor the most manifest evil. Lord, now pity such a case! Oh for faith in Christ, for sanctification, and strength, and direction, and renewed light and life from him, or else he perishes!

This day, afternoon, he desired to be cast down under the deadness and lifelesness of the ministry, and the misapplication of it in some things also, and under his unfruitfulness and barrenness. In the meditation of the reprobate incorrigible estate——"Before the children could do good or evil (he said) Jacob have I loved, Esau have I hated." Yet, Lord, there is guiltiness——Alas! he cannot tell what ails him.——He is feared at every shaking of a leaf——shall kill him like Cain; so that every temptation, every bait, every allurement, every danger, threatning, doubtful case, every false reasoning and perswasion of men, draw him off his feet. Lord, prevent. But the Lord Jesus is hid from him, and he cannot stand or be established out of him; if he be hid, his soul may give over and renounce salvation, and safety and defence. And is he not hid from thee, oh my soul? Is he not unapplied? Is he unbeautiful, un-made use of, lying by? Then, Lord, I shall not marvel that I perish. I cannot, I cannot, I cannot get seen through this condition. Had he the strength, and resolution, and firmness, and sanctification of an angel; Lord, it is unable to bear him through; it cannot do his turn; he cannot be content, nor rest on it. Once the Lord Jesus was known to be the All in All: that I may never unknow, nor forget, nor unlearn that, is my soul's desire this day. Therefore will

his soul wait, breathe, look, pant, and desire to believe; and, in the meantime, renounce all confidence, hope or comfort out of him, and shall desire never to be at rest until he appear. May his soul say, Return? Can he say that he is gone, or that he was never here? Oh that his eyes may not fail! After prayer, it appeared to him that his natural corruption was so strong, and so contrary to the wisdom of God, that he saw not so much difficulty and impossibility in the salvation, and sanctification, and establishing any soul in the earth, as himself. He compared his nature——and found there was more crookedness, craft, man-pleasing, servile time-serving and baseness of spirit in him, and inclination to follow any thing that had power, sinful complying, fearfulness, and want of courage and stedfastness for the Lord and his truth. There was that [so] much following, and addictedness to carnal wisdom, and his own deceitful, fleshly counsels and will, that he did resist the will and Spirit of God, and could not perceive nor be subject to it; but was apt to stumble at it, and to deny the Lord Jesus, and turn enemy or neutral, to the shame of the Gospel: so that no [Devils] nor any man on earth had so much foul strong corruption in him, as my soul has; or that needed so much sanctification, prevention, renewing, strengthening, upholding, inlightning, convincing, overpowering and overmastering grace to incline the will, and to inform the judgment, and to open the understanding, and to waken and purify the conscience, and to set and keep the affections right: Not one like him in all the earth. And if upon a small, dim, dark view, this appears, and that in regard of one branch of his inclination; oh if he saw all, and had a full view of the uncleanness, unbelief, putrifiedness of his corrupt infected nature, defiled, blinded, overgone with covetousness, vanity, immoderate carnal desires, distrust of God, idolatry, error, pride, hypocrisy, will-worship, formality, superstition, ungodliness, impenitency, deceit, security; without knowledge, or love to the Lord and his Christ! If he saw all his Gospel sins, and sins against the law, against mercies, covenants, judgment and corrections, in reference to the public and the family, and the secret relations and walkings; then what would he say or think of himself? In the close, he read and prayed and believed upon the xci. Psalm, and sought that, instead of the thing promised, he might get that which the promise was made upon: "Because he has set his love upon me," Oh that I could get my love set on thee! and it would be deliverance and reward, and he would take it as the fulfil-

ling and accomplishing of all thy promises to himself: it would content him.

1st August, 1652 [1653.]—This day (in his ordinary) he read Ambrose, his Cautions and Directions for denying self and abilities, natural parts of wisdom, discretion, learning, gifts of prayer, utterance, preaching, common gifts, of mortification also; and he read in him the rules for self-denial in worldly profit, great estate, riches, and earthly, fading, uncertain, imaginary, deceiving, false contentment, which my heart promises to itself in these things, and in heaping up riches, as if happiness consisted in them. He asked at his soul if this could consist with the Covenant, and the giving up of himself and his contentments, desires, profits, parts, and all that he has or is, to Jesus Christ. Thou makest him find something of the evil, vanity and vexation here; and he thanks thee for it. But, if his heart go on, will they not as utterly separate betwixt his soul and thee, and part the Lord and him, as adultery will divorce; open, shameless, renew'd adultery, and leaving the husband's house, company and society, and hating it, and going after and living with another, will infer and procure a necessary divorce? All that was read or said, was seasonable and pertinent, and belonged to him; only no moral perswasion of man, no half-conviction can incline, and overcome the lust of an evil heart, that is [hug'd.] Oh that he may know the power of thy Grace, as well as the end of that light which has appear'd, that he may deny all these, deny self and wisdom, policy, craft, discretion, servile base man-pleasing, and seeking their favour that are in power! Oh, help to deny himself in these, in these; and to take up resolutions to be more, nay, thoroughly for the Lord, and to be against all that's against him, persons or things; to hate all perfectly that he hates, and to cleave to the ways, persons, and courses that are for him, cost what they like! Oh, remember the prayers at Clatt and since, that thou wouldst set the heart against, edge the affections against, complying with any evil or appearance of evil! Fill with discerning and zeal, that he may not care for men, nor self nor safety; but may offer up all to and for the Lord. Oh that he would loose the heart from all else, and honour his poor, unclean creature, that has denied him, and is in danger of denying him! Oh that he may be honoured to confess his name, to the hazard and pouring out of his life! Oh for light, conviction, strength, encouragement in Jesus Christ! Oh Lord, his heart has to do with his devil; all men speak good

of him: Wo to you then, says the Lord. He has made this his aim, at least it has been a strong dreadful temptation: he has been loth to incur the ill report and opinion of men, or to displease them; but has been for pleasing all men, complying with all men, fawning upon these that have had power, were it the devil, to bow to him. Oh this monstrous idolatry! Lord, pity, and help him to renounce, and to deny, and cast out this devil. Oh for discerning! Oh for strength and uprightness, and to be emptied of secret, devilish self! Also, Lord, he has to do with temptations of covetousness and earthly projects, which are very violent, and become very strong. Thy outward benefits, in thy increasing his external condition, are like to be wrong improved, and cost his soul dear. Lord, if he has found favour in thy sight, prevent him; for he is brought very low. These, these are the sins, the lusts, the idols which he desires to slay before the Lord: Where is the knife? Where is the fire to burn them? They are readier to burn him and kill him, than he is to kill them. Lord, these, or his soul, must be presently killed and undone: Break in therefore forcibly and effectually; let him see where deliverance and safety is, for it is hid. It is not to be rid of these thoughts, but it is to have them slain and plucked up by the root, that they may never spring again, nor live, nor prevail, so as they have done. If thou wouldst call and draw, he would count it mercy to be taken from the strong temptation, if thou wilt not take them from him.

1st August, 1653.—This day he entred after the reading Waristoun's Tractate about the Engagement and taking Employments. He began to examine that great question, Whether we might consent to governors that were enemies to Christ, or to any that would secure religion and the Lord's interest? He doubted; and did set down some questions and considerations hereanent, in which he besought the Lord to take away all the darkness, misunderstanding, carnality of his reason, which seemed to contradict, or not to close with this. He desired to be taught by his Word and Spirit; and that his tongue may rather cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his hand wither, and his [eyes] rot out of his head, ere he spoke, writ, consented to any sin, or unlawful act or tenet: this seems so dangerous, that his flesh shakes to enquire into it, or to defend anything in the contrary.

2d August —Reading Ambrose,[a] his Self-denial, p. 131, he warns us to

[a] Isaac Ambrose, an English Calvinist divine, whose works have always been highly esteemed, and often reprinted. He was born in 1592, and died in 1674.

resist fleshly impediments, as distinctions which a carnal heart will furnish plentifully for saving the estate or life, or eschewing the Cross. Some make a fair shew in the flesh, and constrain to circumcision, lest they should suffer persecution for the Cross of Christ.

Persuasions.	
As, 1. Yield a little to the time.	Answer to them all, "Get thee behind me, Satan."
2. Save thyself and thine.	
3. Art thou wiser than such and such.	

Oh Lord! deliver my soul from intangling, insnaring distinctions, which subtil carnal wit and reason may suggest.

4th August.—I read Ambrose about observing, right construing and laying up Providences and Experiences; and found it experimentally a sweet, useful duty; and besought the Lord to be led to it, and that it might be sanctified. On the day before, he remarked much sensible profit by reading and conferring upon the Word, and found by it, help in prayer, doubts loosed, spiritual dangers discovered. He beseeches the Lord to confirm this mercy, and the blessing of the Word to his soul. In the worship, as he was seeking some increase of sanctification, he feared corruption in the very petition, that self-love and self-estimation and adorning might be mixed with it; and therefore desired to make the Lord Jesus his sanctification, and the end why he seeks it, not for himself, but to the Lord. The Lord discovered another deep deceit of heart to him; that there was and might be more affection to God in a duty of prayer, than there was holiness in the conversation; and therefore Grace may not be assured by some holy affections in prayer; for he found nothing answerable in his conversation. Lord! as thou discoverest this deceit, so heal it; that he may not receive the Grace of God in vain. Oh, the strength of corruption all this while, especially of his carnal wisdom and reasoning, which he is more led by than by thy Spirit, or faith in thy Word and name. He found that never any soul had had more experiences of the folly of carnal, corrupt ways, and of uneven and unrighteous courses. He found by experience many times how good the Lord was, and how good a thing to serve him; yet these experiences wrought not faith, and such a ready obedience and giving up of himself to the Lord and his service absolutely, and to walk in the faith of his experienced tried word thoroughly, as he ought to do; but, for all that he has

found, is more apt to follow carnal, unbelieving, crooked, wrong ways, that he is sure to have no profit in, but will be ashamed of. Oh for faith, whereby to overcome the World! or else he will be overcome of the World.

4th August, 1653.—This day I went to Leathin; and, in the managing of business betwixt the father and his son,* he met with much infirmity, in himself especially; both sin, impatiency, and anger, which arises from inward pride; for the humble spirit is ever lowly and meek, and will see more wrong and disorder in his own nature than in any other, and will spend itself more in grief for sin, than in anger that every body's disposition is not according to his humour; particularly on occasion of some unreasonableness, he said, He wished his tongue to fall out if he should open his mouth in such a business again, and being too peremptory in refusing to stay supper. Oh Lord! this is an iniquity and evil which he has used oft to fall into; therefore he desires to mourn and be cast down under it, and desires to note this his own shame, and to record it, and beseeches the Lord for strength in Jesus Christ to mortify and overcome this corruption; for much is thy Spirit grieved by it. He believes in the name of Jesus for Grace against it, and in his name desires to be brought under an humble resolution and determination against it, thro' faith in the Lord Jesus; that he may learn more moderation and meekness in the matters of men, and more zeal and fire according to knowledge in the matters of God, and may discern where his glory requires it. In prayer he was convinced of much sin and guilt in matters of public government; self-seeking, partiality, unsoundness, fearfulness to offend men, pride, conceit. Oh Lord! humble and purge.

5th August.—Against E. Glencairn and Balcarras. This day came Captain Deal and his troop, and quartered on my land in their march: they destroyed the young oak and birk which I had sown and planted in the little park. Now this was, in my estimation, a very great cross; and desiring to search into it, what reproof or instruction it had in it, I besought the Lord to discover if this were his mind. 1, To reprove my too much care of my planting and young tender trees, and my too little care of the desolation of his church, ordinances, and people, which were his delight. 2, It reproved my taking too much pleasure in these outward comforts, and therefore would have that mortified. 3, It reproved my not laying

* Alexander Brodie of Leathen, and his son.

to heart the case of his vineyard, which was far more beautiful and delightsome than his fading grass. 4, He thanked the Lord that had in wisdom chosen to humble him by a cross from him, [rather] than to leave him to fall into snares through them; and in his heart counted the cross a greater mercy than the highest preferment or benefit that he could attain by them. 5, By this he desired to be warned and fitted for any harder trial that is to come on him, upon his earthly comforts; that he may be prepared to forego house, estate, lands, mother, children, ease, life, credit, friends, for thy name. 6, Albeit he could not say that this was suffering for the Lord, yet it was suffering in him and by him, and desired to bless his beloved name. 7, He prayed that his spirit may be kept from bitterness or vindictiveness, and from misinterpreting the providence; but that the prayer at Clatt oft renewed may be heard, and his soul may be kept in life, at a due lively defiance of hatred, and dislike, and indignation, and zeal against evil and all appearance of evil, and in love with every thing that's good, both persons, and actions, and courses; and to be kept from sinful, politick, carnal indifferency: that his soul may discern betwixt that, upon the one hand, which is carnal zeal and carnal compliance; and the zeal of God according to knowledge and holy moderation, upon the other.

He received Mr. James Guthrie's[a] letter anent Colonel Ker, and prayed the Lord for a free spirit. He writ to him that he hoped, upon grounds of conscience and religion, he had refused the employment. Oh Lord! help him to build sure in that matter. 8, He desired to know in this day of trial if the Lord were not pointing at the unseasonableness of my earthly delight, when his church and people were under a trial.

7th August.—Sabbath morning. He could see no light, nor find any life. 1, Could find no sense of any sin burdening; 2, Nor any sense of want; 3, Nor any sense of danger spiritual; 4, Nor any thirst for the Lord Jesus; 5, Nor any fear of snares; but a heart overwhelmed with stupidity, carnality, loosness, unbelief, security, deadness, distance with the Lord, uncleanness, unstableness, earthliness. Oh Lord! help him, under all this, to get the eye directed toward thee in Jesus Christ for life, and that in more abundance.

[a] Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, and one of the leading members of the Protesters. He was the author of the treatise, "The Causes of God's Wrath," in 1653, for which, after the Restoration, he was tried and executed, in June, 1661.

9th August.—In prayer he besought the Lord to raise up nourish[ing] fathers to his Kirk; and, in the meantime, that himself and his people may be kept from taking with wrong fathers, and mistaking stepfathers for fathers, even albeit they gave never so many favours to allure us to call them fathers that are not. If his body was the temple of the Holy Ghost, was not his spirit much more [so]? Therefore that it may be, as a temple, kept pure and undefiled to him; the mind free from error and darkness, the affections from looseness and disorder, the conscience from deadness or blindness, the will from perversness, sinful facileness, and unstableness; but that he may be filled with the fulness of God.

10th August.—This morning, having heard from John Forbes that there was a proclamation against praying for the King, his soul bowed down under the trouble that was like to come upon ministers, and resolved to beseech the Lord earnestly in this matter, to give his servants a right understanding and the spirit of a sound mind, and to myself in particular. 2, Next, that this be not a snare to them, nor any impediment to the preaching of the Gospel. 3, That the Lord would remove the cup, if it seemed good to him, and that by what means should be most acceptable; and, if he would not, then to sanctify it to them, that it be not a stumbling-block, but that their sufferings may be approven as for and to him. He desired also to spread that business before the Lord, which he————————.

This day he read Gualter[a] on 1 Cor. v., who thinks that *Traditio Sathanæ* was extraordinary, whether bodily punishment, or on his mind by apostolick power inflicted; and he thinks it was not excommunication. He is against secluding from the Communion any that confess their fault, and profess repentance. He is against Ruling Elders or *Senatus Ecclesiasticos* taking government on them, and power to seclude or censure Magistrates; and says, It belongs to the Christian Magistrate. At his City [Zurich] the Zurichers did by their civil law seclude from [the] Sacrament vitious or scandalous persons, and did compel these to communicate who neglected it. Form of discipline cannot be uniform and universal. Lord, my soul was humbled under this, how much the good man differed from the truth which we profess; and besought the Lord to pity his Church in these poor lands, which is in danger to be shaken and destroyed presently.

[a] Rudolph Gualtherus of Zurich, an eminent Swiss divine of the 16th century, and author of various Commentaries on the Scriptures and other works.

12th August.—Colonel Morgan marched west against the L. Balcarras, and E. Glencairn, and Glengary. He worshipped the Lord, in the consideration of the many commotions and insurrections that this poor land was subject unto; a city of tumults. Lord! he cannot seek a blessing on them; but submitted them to thy wisdom and goodness, to order the event to the good of thy people. He was told of his Son's irreverence and incogitancy in time of prayer and divine worship. His soul desired to be humbled under it, and to beseech the Lord in that matter on his behalf for pardon and grace.

13th August, 1653.—This day he heard of the Highlanders being within six miles of Inverness. Leathin came to advise with him what to do. His soul did spread before the Lord his own and the land's perplexity That which might be his greatest burden was, that he saw not the Lord; it was not with him as in times of former suffering and trial. He had something which, as sin, he avoided, and comfort in submission, acting or suffering; but, alas! he finds no act nor operation of the Lord's Spirit and his own conscience; but reason-natural working and trying what may be safest. This is the ground of most perplexity; and why should he not hide his face while it is thus? Lord, this day he desired, and did of new offer up and resign his body, mind and spirit to thee; and besought thee to lay thy sweet law, and command, and yoke upon his heart. It was the only sole desire of the heart, that he may be kept in thy way, to discern and hate every evil, and any appearance thereof; and that there may be a willing heart in him to do or suffer in and for thee, and not to seek safety and self-preservat on, and to decline the Cross, and shift it by any indirect crooked by-way; but to be born through, and be accepted of thee, and established thro' Jesus Christ; and that thy love may be as a fountain of refreshing water at his heart, and may make every duty, albeit never so costly or painful, to be delightsom and sweet to me, and preferable to goods, house, children, liberty, and life itself; but, Lord! I am far from this. He besought the Lord to be fitted for the storms coming on; and, for this end, he desired to separate himself for seeking the Lord in the day following. He hath been his refuge and strong tower; and will thou not be so still,

[a] Colonel, afterwards Major-General, Thomas Morgan, who distinguished himself at the siege of Dunkirk, and in the wars in France and Flanders against the Spaniards, in the years 1657 and 1658. His Memoirs were printed at Glasgow, 1752, 12mo.

that trouble drive him not further from thee, nor make him stumble?

He received another letter from Provost Jaffray, desiring me to go up. He desired also to spread this before the Lord. He heard of the new sea-fight, and victory over the Hollanders; and besought the Lord to sanctify that providence, and to give us the right use of it. He read Ambrose, anent admitting or joining with scandalous in the Lord's Supper: and was exercised under the darkness of his mind, and blindness and untenderness in practice and affection in this point; and besought the Lord to clear the mind and purge the affections, and to quicken him, and fill with zeal and a sound mind.

14th August.—This was a day of humiliation for the causes foresaid. In this day he desired to put away all his very lawful delights, and to ly in the dust before the Lord for the extraordinary disorder in his heart, that in very duties he is without love to the Lord: they are not from love; and love would make him more fruitful, and abound in all patience more, and make duty more savoury and lively. "Cursed be they that love not the Lord Jesus." As also, that in his resolutions anent the present trials which are lying on the land, or coming on, he finds not the heart walking upon strict grounds of conscience, holding by a rule, making the Lord and his Word the guide; but is led by carnal natural reason, upon grounds of natural wisdom, self-love, and for eschewing danger. Oh cursed, woful temper! Oh heavy judgment! Oh, what can follow but judgment? Alas! he can neither resolve nor pray against this sore woful sin and evil. Lord! that his will, affections, counsel, resolution, may be pointed out, and ruled absolutely by the Word! Whence arises this evil? Whether that he knows not thy will distinctly, or that he smothers and suppresses, flights, resists, bears it down, and will not be subject to it? Is it from want of light, or want of desire, or from want of sincerity, or from want of strength? This is that he desires the Lord to help, or else all will be destroyed, and his soul undone, and thou will lose all thy labour, and the creature is and will be cutted from the Lord Jesus, even as from salvation, so from being a subject of his kingdom, which is more loss than the loss of his salvation. Lord! publish and proclaim thy law in his heart! So use Kings to do in time of insurrection and invasion. Oh let him hear the voice and sound of it, and he shall not be doubtful or indifferent any longer, but shall be zealous and obey! Let the one be a pledge of the other!

This day he desired to lay before the Lord the case of his people, and to have a right view and sense of it on his own heart. Oh, the end of this day's drawing near to thee is, that he may receive the Lord Jesus in his heart as a King and Sovereign, as well as a Saviour: It is, that he may have the sense of his love; and the effect thereof may be this, that the poor creature, as he hath formally given up, so he may actually and effectually, really and thorowly be in, for, and to the Lord, in all the powers of the soul and mind within, in all his actions and thoughts, words, ways and enterprizes; that he may know him, nay, and none but him, and may be dead to all things else, and they to him. Oh, these things that are coming would require this! If thou hast a house or place in the land or in his heart, that thou wouldst lay in furnishing and arms, fortify and maintain that which is thine. Should the King be angry that he be wakened by his poor subjects, who desire to live under him, to fight and die for him, to hold out and resist for him, to renounce and deny obedience and service to any but him? Hearing of invasion, they tell him he knows how to defend, and manage the war better than we. Will he let his poor dove, his bride, his little ones, his temple, his heritage, fall into an enemy's hands and be lost? Will he sleep and keep silence? Oh, far be it from thee! Teach him what and how to ask!

21st August.—He observed he was much straitned and deserted in worship when there were strangers present; which he took to arise from either the Lord's preventing vain-glory, or puffing up of his heart, or punishing unsavoury, graceless discourse and communication; and his soul desired to be cast down and afflicted under it, that he would help him to find out the cause and root of it. Oh L[ord]! Oh how little effect it seemed to have! Yet keep him from wearying, or ceasing from his duty. Lord! for these many days his soul has seemed to him to be without any sealed instruction. At present he feels much formality, deadness, loosness of spirit; and he desires to beseech the Lord in this matter, and to know the duty of this day. He read Gualter on 1 Cor. x., "Let him that stands take heed lest he fall." This is a sin incident to these that have received some knowledge, and have taken up resolutions and [a] profession, and think not to lay it down again. Oh the need that my unsound heart has to consider, be humbled, and believe in the Lord Jesus, and watch continually against these temptations; that I grow not remiss, careless, secure, indifferent, carnal, self-confident, insensi-

ble, or forgetful of spiritual snares or dangers; that the judgment go not wrong, the affections cool not, deadness overtake not, and creep in upon the conscience! Oh so unstable a creature as he is!

This day the Lord by providence led his eye to read and his heart to consider that of Prov. xxviii. 20. "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent." And his soul was humbled within him, and he sought the Lord to give him the faith of this word, that he may be delivered from this sin and snare of hasting to be rich. The skill of thy hand can, through Jesus Christ, set the heart so far from the desire of these things, as not to become touched with, or consent to, that temptation; a sight of the vanity of these things, and a sight of better, would soon cool and quench the heat of his lust after so poor an object: but alas that they do not appear so little worth in his eye as they are indeed! The possession of them cannot make him or his children happy. "Shall not be innocent." Sin and snare are inseparable from this evil desire of making haste to be rich. Lord! in this is not one sin punished with another? Hastiness to be rich and immoderate desires of the world are punished with a giving up to other gross sins, of unrighteousness, oppression, unevenness, uncharitableness, crookedness, deceit, falshood, unjustice, rigour to tenants, straitned[ness] to the poor. Oh this is the punishment of covetousness, one sin with another! So the covetous person cannot be innocent. Lord! he adored thee this day in the reading of Job xxii. 23, where grace is promised as a reward of turning to the Almighty. Oh sweet reward! "If thou return to the Almighty, thou shalt be built up, and thou shalt put away iniquity far from thy tabernacle. For then shalt thou have thy delight in the Almighty, and shalt lift up thy face to God: thou shalt pray, and he shall hear; and thou shalt pay thy vows." Oh Lord! he desires to believe in thy name for the making good this word; he believes on it, and desires to feed on the hony of it. Oh what encouragement it affords to a poor soul that cannot get his delight in the Almighty, and cannot get iniquity far removed from his tabernacle, and cannot get his vows performed and his prayer heard! Lord! this is not the manner of men to make thy very command their exceeding great reward: Oh that I may preach thy truth and faithfulness, and I shall declare it unto the congregation!

24th.—The L. of Foulis[a] told me that the English had loss at their last victory, where Trump[b] was killed. Holland were preparing for the war again. The King was sick, and no life expected. My soul desired to be humbled and cast down under all this, and desired to understand. "Whoso is wise shall understand these things," Hos. xiv. 9. He heard the Ministers of Edinburgh were resolved to suffer, ere they desisted to pray for the King. Oh Lord! the desire of his soul is towards thee on the behalf of thy people, and of our ministers, and of his own heart; that we may be guided by thy spirit, and that is one, and be delivered and rid out of these differences and contradictions which arise from our own spirits.

25th.—He had a meeting with John Forbes and Thomas Chivish anent his———

27th.—I was at Findhorn-water, and there he heard John Forsyth, &c. He found himself oft impatient to be denied or contradicted by these that are under him, or to have his commands slighted or disobeyed; and he storms proudly, passionately at it. Oh Lord! with how much more reason mayst thou be angry at the disobeying of thy pure and perfect will, at the slighting of thy commands? Hast not thou more reason to require obedience to thy commands, than he has to his? Would he punish disobedience; and mayst not thou much more punish it when thou art disobeyed? Oh Lord! abate his pride and impatiency, and turn his anger against the disobedience that's done to thy laws, and the dishonour that's done to thee; and to bear more patiently any disobedience done to his [own] commands, which are oft with little reason or consideration, and for his own good, without respect to the good of others; but thine are ever for the good of these that obey.

28th.—Being the Sabbath, he read 1 Cor. xii., and there did see the Lord's manifold wisdom in the variety of gifts; that it should be for union and love, and edification of one another, and not for separation and taking us from one another.

29th.—I read that excellent 1 Cor. xii. the similitude and allusion of the head and members, and ilk member with another; shadowing forth, as our

[a] Sir Hector Monro of Foulis having died in 1651, aged 17, was succeeded in the baronetcy and property by his cousin, Robert Monro of Obisdale, who died in 1668. An account of this ancient family is contained in Douglase's Baronage of Scotland, p. 79—86.

[b] Admiral Van Tromp, was slain 31st July, 1653.

communion and relation with Christ our head, so one with another. We could not live well without the poorest member; nay, these that are poorest or greater sinners have their own usefulness: he hath not made all the members' eye, or ear, or head. Oh that this were learned among us this day, while we are broken one from another, as if we had no relation one with another! There was never a generation wherein the Lord bestowed and poured forth more gifts; but, Oh! the abuse of them is great, unto pride, contempt of one another, separation, envy. Oh that the Lord would pour out of his spirit of sobriety and a sound mind on his people! Help me to strengthen the things that are ready to decay and die, and to hold fast.

September 4th, 1653.—A Presb. fast. Sabbath. 1, To acknowledge our own particular sins, and the sins of the land; for that end to search himself and to enquire at the Lord. 2, To be humbled under the manifest signs of his anger, in our bitter divisions and differences, and our darkness. 3, The appearances of new commotions and insurrections. 4, Unseasonableness of the weather. 5, Invasions by sea and land threatned. 6, Danger of religion by violence, and by creeping in of error, corruption in doctrine and worship, seducers, heresies. While matters are thus, while the lion rores, shall we not tremble? Is it time to be still? Shall we not meet the Lord, and beseech him for these things, and turn away his wrath? Oh let him forgive, and shew mercy for his own name's sake. He heard the King was sick; that Holland had a great fleet at sea, and the English were entred [in] much preparation for war. Oh that his people may be fitted for these times, and the trials that thou art bringing upon the earth! "Who is wise, shall understand these things; prudent, and he shall know them: for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressor shall fall therein." The text Isa. lviii. 5, 6. He was smitten that in this day of fast he loosed not the bonds of wickedness, broke not the heavy yoke, gave not his bread to the hungry, clothed not the naked, and took them not into his house, but was wholly addicted to himself; particularly, the price seemed too great this year. He besought the Lord to mortify the heart, and make way for the challenge, that it may not be the blunt, and ita eternity challenge. He sought a heart enlarged to trust the Lord much, and to be more apt and ready to distribute and to do good; to sow more liberally: want of faith in God is the cause of his spar-

ingness. He resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to lay up the challenge, and to shew more mercy, and walk more tenderly; in particular, to extend mercy to the poor people under him, John Jenkin, John Fumister, William Alves, the poor widow in West-field, or any other that the Lord should lead him unto: but take thou all the praise; for, in a manner, it is thy forced work; thou wringest this from him. Now, Lord! guard; make him willing, prevent and hear him. And let the prayers of this day from the people come before thee: rid them out of their strait and distress; and lead us to our duty, that we deny thee not in these times, and may not be for ourselves, but for the Lord; and all in Jesus Christ.

10th September.—He believed and prayed on that word, Job v. 24, and the rest of the chapter: "That thy tabernacle shall be in peace; and thou shalt visit thy habitation, and shalt not sin." His soul was affected with the private family distractions, and cares, and disquiets, and he found that they arose from his corruptions, addictedness to the world, niggardliness, distrust, want of a provident governing faculty; he desired that the Lord would send his word, and heal him, even the word of direction and command, and the word of his truth and faithfulness, according to his promise, to heal the distemper and disease and evil of his corruption, which was the fountain of his anxiety. He was also cast down under publick distress and confusion, and the extraordinary burdens of the land; and in this he besought the Lord that the favour which we have had, or the trouble which we may feel and be brought unto by these men, may not darken or pre-judge his mind or understanding, or make his spirit bitter, and so raise misjudging: that his heart may be staid on God, and then will the Lord keep him in his perfect peace. He was humbled under his darkness; yet could not complain but that he was hitherto kept. But, alas! Lord, if he have no other security but his own determinations against employments, and to suffer ere he embrace, these are weak, and will afford little strength when a temptation comes; for he finds his judgment may be brangled with reasoning, and his purpose with trials of sequestration or favour. Lord, his mind is staid on thee; for there is no other help left him, and he has received a sentence of death in himself, and almost despairs of life. He is under sad apprehensions of judgment to these poor lands, both from our differences among the godly. 2, From the sin of these that rule. 3, And from the like case of the Lord's churches in Germany and beyond sea, before they

were destroyed. 4, From the Lord's hiding his face from his poor people, and from his servants the ministers. 5, From the stedfastness of all parties to their own way, 6, These are like to be the last times. Lord, keep his soul from distrust, or rashness, or unbelief. Heal the distempers in his spirit, and in the spirits of thy people in the land; and shew us what our distemper is, and what a right frame is; and let me and thine in the land be fitted for suffering, if that shall be our lot, as indeed it is given me to expect, that we may not be forsaken. After prayer again upon that passage, 2 Cor. i. 9, 10, the Lord discovered his natural sin of carnal confidence, and the necessity which the Lord found to beat it down. His spirit is undertaking, and apt to undergo greater things than he is able; therefore it is meet he should be humbled, and that [he] have ilk day a sentence of death in himself, that he might not trust in himself, but in God, which raises the dead. Oh firm ground of faith! He believed and prayed that the good Lord would not use his servants worse than man would do his. He will not bid them go on an employment that may be their ruin. He will never leave his business undone.

Object.—But they will go without his bidding.

R. Then will the Lord as a father pull him back. If they be climbing trees, or venturing on rocks, he will reprove and reclaim. If he would do so to a servant, much more to a son that fears him. He prayed for his family, and to be letten build a tabernacle in it for the Lord. This was his choice and desire; but he submits to the will of God. His will, and not mine, be done. Oh the rich treasures that are in thy word! If his soul could retain, use, and live by them, as thou pourest them in. Let them not be lost.

11th September, the Lord's Day.—He wrestled with much deadness and corruption. In the evening, the great rain, which did, like a deluge, overflow the land, especially at the Greiship,[a] that did bear down the piers and defences made against it, which we thought very strong; and at the same time the English were requiring straw and corn to be carried twenty miles from beyond Elgine to Calder. Much corn was destroyed. He desired to look into this Providence, and to be humbled: it did represent to him the general flood of corruption and sin that was upon the land; much ignorance

[a] Greiship or Grieshope, now Greeshop, a property in the parish and neighbourhood of Forres, which belonged, at that time, to the Laird of Brodie.

of God, formality, uncleanness, secret wickedness, unbelief, and contempt of God; and yet none laying it to heart, or saying, What have I done? but rather each of us content with ourselves, and seeing, neither in the land, nor in our own hearts, cause of mourning or humiliation. For this cause, he desired to set himself to seek the Lord on the next Lord's Day with all his heart, to enquire into the causes of the Lord's anger, and breaking forth of judgment. Oh Lord! lead him; for there is a vail on thy works and his mind: until, thro' Jesus Christ, it be removed, he can never perceive any thing, or interprete any work or word of thine aright.

13th.—He was much exercised with unclean thoughts and abominations, however, the Lord did keep his spirit in the conflict. He examined William Brodie's Son, and exhorted him; but, after he caused him pray, he found weakness, much weakness, and was convinced of sin and mistake in shaping out persons to the Lord and his ministry without him, in thinking conversion to God easy, or in man's power. Lord! direct him in this how to walk, and teach and humble him.

16th.—He received letters from London, and from the Earl of Cassils; he ador'd and bless'd the Lord, that had hitherto delivered him from the snare and temptation of the public employments, and had in some measure heard him, and he promised not to forget it, only that it may be in mercy to his poor soul, and to the land. He was much cast down under the differences and variances of his people; some charging perjury on others, and others corruption, mistake, malignancy, formality on them. And, among all these, he sees men of every opinion far more righteous, and of more sanctification and sincerity than he, who is compassed about with multitude of sins, which they are free of. Lord! this may humble his soul meikle.

18th, being the Lord's Day.—He desired to be cast down under the Lord's judgments on the land, both on former rulers and people, and the sins of present rulers, and the aptness of people to forget the Lord, grow formal, and make defection from [him]: we need the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. He desired to be humbled under the Lord's hand in the divided, imbittered, implacable spirits of his people; and his hand upon his family, his brother, his children; on the fruits of the earth, which are, like his fruit to God, never like to ripe or be worth any thing: under the extreme floods of rain, and especially the town of Grieship and thereabout, and here also, where God was much dishonoured; therefore

judgment was breaking out. That he may be kept from slighting these rods and beginnings of evil; that the Lord would correct the inordinateness of his earthly desires and projects in prices of corn and victual, would stir up to more tenderness in every part of his conversation, and would give a more free, obedient spirit to thy word. Turn away the wrath, and forgive our iniquity, and shew mercy to his soul, and to the family————and others, and to these lands, and to thy people.

Mr. William Falconer this day preached on Isa. lviii. 8., and said, The Lord's promises were conditional: this did beget exercise and trouble to him; and, if the Covenant of Grace were not absolute, he were undone, and the land, and his seed for evermore. Now, this is the promise, that we shall fear thee; and thou will put thy law in our hearts. Lord, what is the condition of this promise? If the condition be not included in the promise, it were hard with us. Oh Lord! all thy promises of Grace, and thy Covenant of Grace and more Grace, is free. This day he is dealing with the Lord for mercy to himself and his seed, and to the land, and to thy people, and is confessing his and their sin to thee. Oh be thou perswaded, and turn away thy wrath, and impute not iniquity to us; circumcise our hearts, and the hearts of our seed and our seed's seed, for thy name's sake. We tremble at the signs of thy anger, which appear against thy people, and these lands, and himself, and his family and his seed; and desires to stand up this day, that the judgment proceed not: and, if thou wilt exercise with more trouble, then sanctify the trial for thy own name's sake, and correct not in thy displeasure; tho' thou chastnest sore (as thou hast done formerly) yet give us not over unto death, Psal. cxviii. 18.

24th September.—I read 2 Cor. viii. 14—15, which did reprove his straitnedness, and coldness, and parsimony, and inordinate desires and affection to the world. Oh what a lively lesson was this Word! to mortify insolent, or light, carnal thoughts, in the possession of much; for they that gather'd meikle, had nothing to spare, or nothing over: as also to mortify distrust, and desire of great things, and insatiableness; for they that gather'd little had no lack. Print, print this on his heart, that he may learn more moderation in things below; in seeking, caring, or keeping, gathering, spending, using, having and wanting; and may look to him, v. 9, who, "though he was rich, for our sakes became poor; that we through his poverty may be rich."

25th September.—It was the exercise of the day to believe on, and pray on that word; and 2 Cor. ix. 6, "He that sows sparingly shall reap sparingly; and he that sows bountifully shall reap bountifully," and v. 8. Oh Lord! settle the faith of this in his heart, that not only in the matter of charity, but in bearing injuries, in believing, and in giving credit to thee, in dependence on thee, in self-denial, in giving himself to the Lord, in the crucifying of the world, and fleshly desires and earthly; he may not be sparing, distrustful, or narrow-hearted, but enlarged to do much in faith, and suffer much, and love much, in faith of a plentiful reaping.

This day distractions humbled him: the coming of strangers with L. L. a letter from Innes, and a dispatch to Monaghty. He afterward read v. 8., "And God is able to make all Grace abound towards you; that ye always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound in every good work." Oh the riches that are contained in this promise or declaration! Could I open and enlarge my mouth wide to receive it! Oh it contains Grace, every Grace, and all good things! Oh the hainousness of distrust, having such a promise! Alas that he cannot cast himself upon it, rely on it, suck consolation and encouragement out of it, thro' the faith hereof to mortify all inordinate desires, deny himself, give himself wholly to the Lord, who is able to make Grace, nay, all Grace, abound towards me, that I may have, and always have, and in all things sufficiency, yea, all-sufficiency, to abound, even abound in good works, yea, every good work! Oh my Lord! let not all these gradations for ever be forgotten, or slip out of mind; nor suffer me to lose the faith, use and application of this, this, this word, which he desires to lay up in his heart, and to pray and believe upon it for Grace, all Grace, all-sufficiency at all times, that he may abound, abound in good works, nay, and in every good work.

27th.—The L. Leathin came to Brodie.

28th.—This morning Janet came to me, and told me that her brother seemed much affected with———.[a] My soul was cast down under this, and desired to worship and adore the Lord, whom he served and sought with his spirit in that matter: and intreated the Lord to bless that———.

[a] In this, and some subsequent passages, which the Editor in 1740 has left blank, we may conjecture there were reflections on the irregular conduct of some of the Laird of Brodie's near relations; but the words may have been written in cypher.

I went this night to Inverness, and found the Lord visiting my spirit by the way, and received Waristoun's letters.

30th.—I observed the Lord's Providence in the scarcity of———.

2nd October.—Die Sab The extraordinary rain continued, and the overflowing of the waters. Let not his soul be barren under these tokens of thy wrath. He received letters from W. Dounie anent accepting of a Session employment, and to give my advice anent judges superior and inferior. Oh Lord! I am in darkness, and will depend on thee for light: I am afraid of snares; Lord! discover, and deliver his soul from them. Greenknow[a] asked at me, 1st October, why I did not go to London. Oh Lord! that thy servants may walk in one spirit, even in these matters of Government!

3rd October.—I writ to Waristoun, W. Dounie;[b] and I desire to look over all the letters that I have written, that my feet sleep not. I was this day humbled for my indiscreet, inconsiderate zeal and passion against Mr. John Brodie and Mr. Robert Gordon; albeit the matter might afford dislike, the manner was full of sin.

October 9th.—Sab. I read Gal. ii. 19—20. I desired to believe, and pray, and worship on that Word; that I might "through the law be dead to the law, that I might live to God; to be crucified with Christ, that not I, but Christ may live in me; that the life which now I live in the flesh may be through the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

This day he writ to Leathin anent David, that a Surgeon might come and cure him; and he sought the Lord in it, to bless the means so far as may be for his own glory and the soul's good of the poor creature, and our comfort; and that he would in mercy restore and deliver him, and not in wrath and judgment to himself or us. This held forth something of a duty in reference to public business; that the restitution or raising up of our native rulers may be in mercy, and not in wrath to the land or themselves: there-

[a] Greenknow.—Walter Pringle of Greenknow, Berwickshire. He wrote Memoirs of his own life and experiences, (1662—1666) first printed at Edinburgh, 1723, 12mo. "His Will to his Children," is dated at Elgin, 21st Nov., 1665. He died in 1667.

[b] William Downie, Writer in Edinburgh, was appointed one of the Clerks of Session, and was continued in that office by the English (1652—1658) when changes were made in the country for administration of justice. Nicol's Diary, pp. 95, 222. Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii., p. 249.

fore first, Lord, pardon, and prepare them for a deliverance in mercy, and then do them good. But wo to us, if we seek it, or procure it, before thou hast pardoned, or without submission to thee. The night before he reproved ————, he did again remit and lay over that business on the Lord's hand, and sought to be led for him. He observed much ungodliness, lying, perjury, among people, in tenants, and parting the tiend; and he desired to be humbled under it. ——— desired to be humbled under the passion and infirmity which I did fall out in————.

October 10th.—I was observing some signs of the Lord's anger in external Providences; and desired to be humbled and cast down under it: and besought the Lord to let his hand be on me as he thought fit; only to turn away his anger, to discover the causes of it, and to be pacified toward me in Jesus Christ. If a trial come, Lord! let it be in mercy, and let it not surprize me, as thy judgments use to do the hypocrites in Zion. He trembles before thee: Oh Lord! make known!

October 16th.—Die Dom. He desired the Lord to lead him into a review of his works and Providences, and of his own failings and infirmities this week last past; wherein his soul was humbled under sundry foul, blasphemous, insolent, swelling conceits and thoughts of his heart, which he had consented to, if the Lord had not prevented him: many such thoughts pass, and are not curbed nor resisted. Alas for this! He writ to Mr. Dickson and Mr. G. Hutchison anent a Chaplain to the Earl Murray; and recommended this business to the Lord, that he would, in order to his Church's and this people's good, and that man's, provide such a man as may be an instrument of good to them; and would make way, and order his Providences for that effect, and remove impediments. He desired a word of warning and admonition from them to himself. He besought the Lord to provide such persons to the family as might be comfortable to us, and do good to the society; that he may be directed in this, and how to dispose of his children. There came a new call and invitation to Mr. John M'Kilikin from Earl of Sutherland. He worships and adores the Lord in that; and beseeches the Lord to direct him, and fit and furnish, and keep him low and little in his own eyes, that thou be not provoked to blast and desert him, and [he may] know that voice and call which is from God. He heard of Torwoodley's[a] intention———. This was a matter of great consequence,

[a] George Pringle of Torwoodlee.

wherein he beg'd direction. At present he could not but judge it a sore burden, that, being so few here, we should be scattered: and when we are looking for good, that the Lord would bless his people with some effectual fruit of the Gospel on the souls of people; lo, even then, that she should be removed in whom most of our comfort is, and by and with whom we have now fellowship. Can that be in mercy to us that are behind? He besought the Lord to turn it away, if it might stand with his good pleasure. He writ to Mr. John Brodie, and corrected, as he could, the asperity and sharpness of his former to him, and stirred up to duties. The care of the harvest had withdrawn himself and the children much from the constancy and settledness of his service: he found, when the rest were away, that he was much straitned in the family, and was not as when they were present. He observed the Lord's hand in David his brother's bodily infirmity in the legs, not of that which was in the irons, but the other which was free. He desired to be cast down under under thy casting down and abasing that lewd, unclean, insolent, proud creature; and beseeches the Lord to sanctify that rod, and to direct him what's next to be done. He resolved to have some eye on that son of John Cuninghame's for whom he stood up in the baptism, and to bring him up at school a-while, that he may see what the Lord's mind is toward him. This is a necessary duty lying on him, and not indifferent. This day he purposed, in the Lord's strength, to look to the inclination of these young ones that were about him, and to bestow something on their education, as he saw they might prove. To stir up Alexander Gowie, and Mr. P. Dunbar in Forres, and Mr. James Johnston, and Mr. Joseph, and the Presbytery, to enquire more into the conversation and inclination of young ones; and that these Schoolmasters may teach them to seek the Lord timely, and examine them how they can seek them. Lord! for a blessing! And put it in their hearts to do for the Lord, and to set family-duty on foot again in this parish in every yeoman's house and other man's, and in Forres; and to debar from Sacrament these that worship not God in their family. He was humbled under the inward corruptions, earthliness, inordinate desires of his heart after the world which perishes. Oh Lord! a heart wean'd from these things, and enlarged, were and shall, in his esteem, be a greater mercy than a large inheritance and enlarged possessions.

Afternoon.—I spake to Mr. William,[a] and recommended these particulars

[a] Mr. William Falconer, Minister of Dyke.

to him, of the congregation and the families in it, and persons to be stirred up to seek the Lord, and to know and worship him; and that he would be an instrument with the Presbytery, to put ilk one on work; and anent the schoolmasters and the young ones, and putting the children and young ones to school.

I purposed this day in my heart to do something for putting some of them to the school of Forres, and to seek the Lord for them; to put others of them to the school of Dyke. Lord! direct, ripen and further the thought of his heart, for he will either err in doing it, or else it will wither, and he will do nothing at all. Maintain the love and zeal of thy name in thy name in his heart, according to sound knowledge! This shall be the answer of the morning prayer for an enlarged heart, which he counted a greater mercy than an enlarged inheritance.

October 17th.—I purposed to enter John Cuninghame's son to the school, and bought a book to him; and John Brodie the webster's son, with Bessy Spence; and spoke to Andrew Fordyce and John Duncan concerning their sons; and heard the scholars read; and sought an enlarged heart, or seeks it from the Lord as he may: but alas! how much corruption and sin cleaves to him in every thing? Never did so much sin appear. He desired to be humbled under the proud reproof which he gave to John Hasbin, for holding on his bonnet irreverently and disrespectfully before his mother; and desired to mourn under that pride of spirit which it sprang from: for what ill did it to her? What is he or she more than another? Reverence to superiors will not bear out in this particular; that should come from themselves unsought. Lord! purge the heart of this evil, and the root and fountain of it!

He heard this day that John Jenkin was dead in Monaghty. That was to humble and exercise him. Lord! teach him by that Providence!

This night he dreamed that Leathin and himself were climbing up a steep wall, and there was a loft above; when we came to the top almost, we could not get a grip to hold by, but were ready to fall; we could not come down it was so high; he could not go up, for the loft was rotten, and we could not puto our weight on it, and so hung by the hands and feet. At last we discerned, as appeared, at one end of the wall, Coxtoun.

19th.—After I sought understanding of the Lord's mind——. Baillie Meldrum's son came to me, and sought the duties of Armiddle from me.

and asked at me, If I did intromit with them? In this matter, oh Lord, I may fall in a snare, not of loss, but of sin, if thou preventest me not——. My soul desired to be cast down under the fretting of his spirit toward——.

22d.—This night, being Saturday, I did before the Lord admonish, examine, reprove and exhort——. Oh that the Lord would bless this means and ordinance for the doing good to her soul, and for reclaiming her; and, that it may the more deeply sink in her heart, I cause her write down her confession, and purpose, and promise, with her own hand, to be a testimony and witness for or against her another day, in case she forget altogether again, or turn aside. [*Here it follows written in his daughter Grissel's hand.*]

"This night I did again confess before the Lord all my former guilt, both my many wicked practices, and the natural perverseness and ungodliness of my heart; and besought him to forgive and blot them out thro' Jesus Christ. I see meikle of my own inclinations and evil ways; but, alas! cannot mourn for them aright, not yet amend them: yet, in his strength, denying myself, I desire that he would turn me, and I shall be turned. He pardons the rebellious; therefore that he would pardon me.

"This day I desire to give up myself again to God: it is my heart that I desire to give him, and not my tongue only." [*Thus far the young lady.*] See the next page. The Lady Leathin and Janet was with me; and I desired to seek the Lord in behalf of Janet, who was unwell [indisposed].

27th, 28th.—I was in Elgin at the re-valuations; and besought the Lord to be directed in that matter, that partiality and love of himself prevail not.

October 30th. Die Dom.—This day I did set myself solemnly and expresly to seek the Lord in this, that I might discern Satan's wiles in the present trial and exercise which his church is under; to the end that we may discern and avoid his snares, and set ourselves in opposition thereto, and to our flesh and natural wisdom, which is contrary to his spirit. Accordingly he did meet with and was confirmed in the necessity of this duty from Eph. iv. 11 to 14, the end, necessity and institution of a ministry, that his Church may grow up and be perfected, and we may not be tossed with every wind. Further, he desired to be humbled under the self-love that's in him, which sways and carries his heart from the Lord; that it may please him to purge the heart of this plague; that he may deny and go out of himself, that the Lord may be all in all. Even as all his end and aim in every

thing, so all his wisdom and his will the rule; and his name, truth, covenant and promise all his confidence.

[*Follows written and subscribed with his Daughter's hand what perhaps is but the former continued, and may be joined with it.*]

"I desire not only that the Lord would be witness, but that he would be cautioner and surety in this covenant, that thro' his grace I may overcome. This Lord's Day I have taken new resolutions upon me to be the Lord's wholly, and not to live any more to sin. I do not only purpose against the gross evils that I have been given to, but also to strive against my own nature, and the sinful inclinations thereof; and especially to seek the Lord in more sincerity, and more unfeignedly to repent of my evil ways than ever before, which my heart has never yet been broken for; particularly for my lightness, vanity, wantonness, folly, idleness, profanity, dissembling, lying, hypocrisy, atheism, contempt of God, slighting him, his service in secret and publick, swearing, bitterness, stealing, and putting God out of my mind and sight, obdureness, not ashamed nor sorry when I committed sin, wronged God and my own soul, thinking, if I could get my sin covered from men, it was well enough. From this day forward I desire to deny these things, and every evil way. And, in sign and token of my unfeigned desire and purpose, I have, in the sight of God, subscribed this confession and covenant with my heart and hand."

GRISSEL BRODIE.

November 2nd.—I called for Elspet Fraser, and did admonish and warn her of that which I heard concerning her carriage with S. H. She did take the Lord to be her judge and witness in this case of her innocency, and referred it to him. I besought the Lord to bless the admonition, and to be a witness on her part, if she had been wronged; and to make her manifest and ashamed, if she had taken his name in vain. Oh Lord, keep them clean and unpolluted, that no root of bitterness spring up to defile!

November 5th.—The Earl of Murray was with me. I besought the Lord to be strengthened and guarded against any temptations.

November 7th.—In the morning I renewed the acknowledgment and the petitions of the former day, and besought the Lord to accept of his poor weak desire to have his heart formed to his will in every thing. He

depends on him for the renewing of his grace against the temptations and dangers above-mentioned, and for light and understanding and direction in the particular anent——— That all natural respects, and affections, and interests, may yield to thy will, and to the love of thy name, and thy glory. He seeks a sanctified and obedient subdued heart to thee. He hath many affairs this day to enter on; and, fearing his own frailty, partiality, corruption, he looks up to God for Grace to sanctify his name in the work and employments of the day: in the valuations of the Shire, that his own particular, or friends, or the prejudice or disobligement of other men, may not sway: in this he may be like the Lord, to have no "respect of persons." "If any fellowship in Christ," Lord, let it forth. In other advices anent Grange, his question with——Newtoun———.

November 8th.—John Brodie was sick of a boil; and in him he saw much of human frailty. My soul was humbled under barrenness, that I had not spoken a word for him, or to edify others. Lord, pardon! Something of the Lord's dealing may be observed in the sickness which we are liable unto. Oh that I may understand and learn, and may not be as the beast!

This day the Laird of Grange[a] and John Forbes were agreed. I besought the Lord that nothing might stick to me, as if any thing of that kind were brought to pass by my skill, wisdom, or dexterity. I did before the Lord disclaim and renounce all as being nothing, and having nothing to boast of. I worshipped the Lord in the variety and freedom of his gifts; that gives some the gifts of family government, which he withholds from others; and to some to take their necessary competent use of their substance, while others deny to themselves the things that are convenient and necessary for them. This is his gift; and he finds the want of it, and looks up to God, that he would supply or be in stead of it. He observes that his heart cannot bide [abide] long at a resolution against a temptation or a sin; and, in particular, in the matter of inordinate desires and coveting: albeit he has seen the evil and vanity of that sin, yet, alas! how soon is he carried away and intangled, forgetting his resolutions? Here he prayed for Grace, more Grace, and to be prevented.

Saturday, 12th November.—I had been toiling at the Stone: ————.

[a] The Laird of Grange.—Alexander Dunbar of Grange was served heir of his father, Thomas Dunbar of Grange, 20th December, 1631.

Thence the Lord led me to reflect on his Church, and to pray that he would repair and make straight her walls, and bless her walls, and erect and finish them; that there may be no enormity in them, and that they may be for holding out ravenous, destroying beasts, and for preserving the trees of his planting. Take pleasure in thy vineyard yet, and plant and water and adorn it, that thou mayst delight in it, and trees may grow up in it, both fair to look on, and fruitful; and hedge them up from the violence of beasts. Does the poor creature take such care in his dikes and trees? Does he promise himself a subordinate contentment and pleasure in them? And wilt not thou much more take pleasure in thy sweet, pleasant Garden? Wilt thou not help what is amiss in it, and dwell in it for ever? Lord, let that which he is about be a token to him, that thou wilt yet do that to thy kirk, which thou puttest him upon toward his natural habitation and dwelling. Oh for faith to believe in thy name for this! and he would not let thee go till thou blessest us.

13th November.—Die Dom. It was the great suit of the day, and the chief errand and exercise, that the Lord would remember the broken estate of his Church in these lands and beyond sea; and would consider both the violence which the one is under, whereby the Gospel is suppressed, resisted and cast of, and idolatry set up; and there they have not so much as liberty of profession, where sometimes he has had a glorious Church; and among us, how great our confusions and darkness and differences! so that we are like to be devoured of one another. Next, the manifold errors and corruptions that are crept in in his worship, and no effectual means taken to refrain and punish error and corrupt doctrine. 2, The society, fellowship, and communion of his Churches and people broken down, our walls broken down unto the ground. 3, The carnality of our spirits in employing and making use of discipline, Church-judicatories and censures. Therefore, that he would heal our breaches, build up our walls, knit and unite our minds and affections in the Lord, and for him and his truth; take away our carnality and our looseness, dwell among us, and set up his tabernacle in these lands; may rid us out of snares and mistakes in the matter of Ecclesiastick and Civil Government; would [bear] us forth, and uphold us in this trial, until he grant the desired issue. This evening I found much deadness and indisposedness. Oh that the Lord impute it not, and that it be no impediment in the errand of the day to his Church or my poor soul!

14th November.—Reading Phil. iii. 9, 10, 11, 12. I desired to be cast down under his unsensibleness, that he finds not any such rare, transcendant excellency in the knowledge of Christ, as to count all things but dung for him. He counts over much of other things, which is a shrewd sign that he counts not so highly of him as he ought. Oh Lord! help and correct this error in his judgment, affection, and practice, that he may find that excellency in the knowledge of his name, that all things else may stink in comparison! Want of knowledge is the cause. Oh for some increase and growth of this knowledge!

V. 15.—I desired and besought the Lord to give me and his people the understanding of that Word, "If in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." Give thy people the right use of this Word; for it is a ground of differ———. Here I desired to note and write down this prayer, and these tears and observations, that they may be as a witness betwixt God and me. In the evening my heart smote me under Mr.———————— Necessity: and I resolved, since he was serving me in some measure, I ought (nay, and, albeit he were not, I ought) to look to his need, as unto a member and servant of Jesus Christ.

15th November.—Upon Phil. iv. 11, 12, 13. "I have learned in whatever estate to be content. I know how to be abased, &c." My poor soul was cast down under the corruption which I found in my heart contrary hereto; much disquiet, strong violent lusts, inordinate desires and affections, particularly the covetous desire———either by removing me from them, or them from me; that he would subdue and slay by his Grace, and grant that he be not given up to this sin, to be conquer'd and overcome of it. He prayed and believed on this Scripture, to be well instructed in every estate; and, if it had been lawful, he desired to disclaim, nay, and inclin'd to promise against———.

17th.—I went to King-edward,[a] and observed the Lord's Providence in dissolving my bargain with John, that thereby he might [be] rid of some impediments, which give occasion of more free exercise of tenderness to the poor tenants; and he, in the sense of goodness in it, worshipped and prayed for strength to improve it.

20th.—Die Dom. It was the exercise of the day, to be humbled under the blasphemous raging of the poor man David, who by his hideous and

[a] King-Edward, a parish in the presbytery of Turriff, Aberdeenshire.

blasphemies deafen'd and fill'd my ears. Oh Lord! how much wrath and sadness is in this matter! sanctify this, and pardon for the Lord's sake. Further, in regard of the times and relations he stood in, that he might be guided in his paths, and fill'd not with politick or carnal, but spiritual wisdom and understanding; to be well-pleasing to him in all things, and be strengthened. He sought for Grace to be fitted for suffering. He besought the Lord for direction in disposing of his son, to what place he thought fittest, and might be for his glory and their good; and desired to be humbled under family sins and impenitency; most not repenting, or but unsoundly repenting them of their evil ways. The Minister, from Herod's family, spoke seasonably, in exhorting to diligence and care over his family; and he adored and worshipped the Lord, whose message it was.

In the Evening I called for my Son,[a] and exhorted and admonished him to self-trial, and to more exactness, sincerity and watchfulness over his heart and thoughts than ever. He read Jer. xl. The pride and commotion of Ishmael, and his murder of Gedaliah, and taking the Jews captive to the Ammonites; and desired to remark that passage, for it seems a warning, that the poor people of Scotland may be put to suffer harder things from their own countrymen, than they have done from strangers. Lord! fit them and me for it. Their discontentedness to submit to Babylon, and their carriage seems to represent————.

21st.—H. Stewart was buried; on which occasions I besought the Lord to sanctify that object and warning of mortality to me, for my preparation for death. At night I called for my daughter Grissel; and, after sad and grave admonition, reproof and warning, she entred on a new engagement, as follows. [*It is written and subscribed with her own hand.*] "This night my Father carried me before God for my forgetting the resolutions and promises which I made lately to God. I did confess and take with my hainous guiltiness, and promised yet again to bewail it and mourn for it before God; in p[articular] I confess my————. [*Here she makes a particular enumeration of her sins.*] This night I purposed against these things, and every one of them; and will beseech the Lord's strength and grace for that effect, and that for my former dealing with him he would not forsake me, but would forgive and heal for his own name's sake. For this end I employ, and believe in, the Lord Jesus Christ for all-sufficient Grace, with-

[a] James Brodie, not David, as erroneously stated in foot-note, p. 60.

out whom I can do nothing: and, that this night may be remembred, and my renewed promises (L. L.) [I subscribe] this, that it may be a witness for ever against me in this world, and at the Day of Judgment in the World to come. GRISSEL BRODIE."

I closed this exercise with supplication; wherein the Lord most sensibly and comfortably assisted me: which I took as a token, that he would either hear me in the particular, or else would accept of me, and of my desire to honour him in my poor children.

24th.—For this cause he was bowed down and abased, and sought to have the spirit of constancy, fortitude, discerning, and of a sound mind poured forth; that, in time of the Church's trial, he be not like a beast, all dried up. This is more grievous than all that can befal him. Deliver him from carnal counsel, and let him not be saved by it, but by the name of the Lord. Alas, he despaired of seeing the breaches of Scotland and England made up, and of seeing a settled estate of his Church in these lands, go matters as they will! Oh Lord! tho' it should be thus, keep him from despair, and every wrong way. Lead him in thy way, albeit he should sacrifice his life in it. Oh this is a blind prayer, albeit in some measure from his heart!

27th.—Die Sab. It was the great errand of this day, to be humbled under his unstedfastness of mind, ignorance, unsettledness, wavering, learning to his own understanding; therefore besought the Lord for more understanding and light for the right ordering of his ways, in a dark, evil, slippery time. Oh the need he stands [in] of thy inlightning, quickning, confirming Grace! Lord! remember the trial of thy poor Church in these lands, that our dfferences may bring forth some advantage to religion and thy work, and may not end in a perpetual confusion and disorder, and utter darkness. Oh Lord! prevent. He desired to be humbled under his barrenness, and the ineffectualness of the word in private and publick. Oh Lord! let him find it the Word of Life, and let more life be in it towards him, from and thro' the Lord Jesus his Lord! Give a door of utterance, and much of thy Spirit and blessing, to him that is sent to us this day, and to thy ordinance among us, and in every congregation in the land.

29th November, 1653.—My son and nephew went to the College, and were uncertain which way or to what place to go. I committed them to the Lord's Providence, and believed in his name for mercy and direction to them. I did myself go towards Elgine about the Valuations; and my heart

was afraid of miscarrying, blind, partial, unjust judging: Lord! discover covetousness, or any seed of unrighteousness in that matter, and prevent him. His heart was loose, unsavoury and dull and earthly this morning; and he desired to be cast down under that exercise, which, thro' heaviness and slight going about thy worship, he had brought on his soul, and grieved thy Spirit. Lord! for pardon, and the visitation of thy people! He was cast down under his darkness and indifferency, and the trials of the time, and differences of the Lord's people. Help in this matter to get thy mind and his heart brought to conformity with thy mind. Lead him, thou that guidest the blind by a way that they know not.

He observed the Lord's Providence anent Thomas M'Phearson, who was like to prove for little use; and by that the Lord shewed his thoughts were not mine. Help my soul to adore and worship and see and follow thee in this teaching Providence.

3rd December.—My soul was afflicted under the————————. He was humbled in the evening, and desired to set his heart in the day following to seek the Lord earnestly. 1, For strength against the security and deadness that was creeping on; for he is in danger to be overwhelm'd with it, if the Lord prevent not. 2, That he may know the time and season, so far as not to be ignorant of the Lord's will to him and to his people and the land. It is thy wisdom to keep up periods, and determin'd things to come, and events, from him; but it is thy will that he should understand thy works, so far as to learn thy will and his duty. Lord! teach. 3, Lord, he seems to fare the worse, since the child went————————, both in the barrenness and dryness of his heart in reading the word, and in supplication also. Help and quicken; quicken these that join with him, and quicken his Spirit for thy name['s sake.]

4th.—Die Dom. Reading 1 Thess. v. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, he found the Lord merciful in offering that passage for his present secure sleeping condition, that he may be awakened out of sleep, and walk as a child of the day, and prepare for the day of the Lord, because he knows not the time; therefore to watch, and to consider, that he sleep not, nor his feet slip not; but walk as in the day: "For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and they that are drunk, are drunk in the night;" but I, being of the day, should be sober. Lord! give of this spirit of sobriety. I observed that the Lord (as soon as he intended to humble himself, and to seek him with all his heart against

deadness, and the desertion that he was under) did prevent him; and, in the evening before the day appointed for the exercise, the Lord did in some measure loose his bands; therefore he desired to mingle thankfulness with his supplications and the duties of the day, and to insist with [the] Lord against heart-habitual security, and for discerning the times, and to be stirred up to watchfulness and sobriety, that his feet slide not; and for mercy to these that are weak, dull, ignorant, refractory among us in the family, that they may be quickned and healed and turned; and all thro' Jesus Christ. Lord! point out, and stir up to, the particular duties in which he is wanting towards this people, and lead him in thy way, that thou mayest do their souls good; but let him not ascribe any thing to means, or to himself; for he fears that does hinder thy blessing. Lord! sanctify to us the sad affliction of the poor distracted man among us, whose distemper was yesterday at a great height of blaspheming and execration. In the evening he was desirous to be much humbled under the wandring thoughts and and unstedfastness of the day, and besought the Lord to pardon, and not to turn away his ear from my prayer.

Matth. xiv.—He resolved solemnly against all liberty; that he would not take the liberty he had done, in fostering or countenancing carnal mirth, or looking upon it with delight. For the sins of children are the parent's sin and punishment; therefore he cries to thee for mercy in thy Son to himself——————.

10th December.—I purposed in the day following to set myself apart to seek the Lord for this, that he would cause the Gospel to have a full and free course, as in the lands and places where it is not received, so particularly in this poor country; and would remove the impediments, whether guiltiness in us, or external, from these that should further it.

11th December.—At the entring to prayer, I found much desertion; and, when I arose and read the Protester's letter, I found the subject thereof to be the same with the work of my spirit to-day; the gaining of souls, and progress of the Gospel; and therefore was confirmed in the necessity of this duty, especially in this place, which is dry, while other places are wet. They appoint a Fast third Sabbath of January, and the Wednesday thereafter for Thanksgiving, and for supplication and humiliation under the stop that the Gospel meets with by the want of purging. Their next meeting is in second Tuesday of March next, for a Report of Overtures.

13th.—We met in Forres about Janet's marriage; and, enquiring severally what might be the Lord's mind to us in that matter, we all unanimously resolved, albeit there was matter of affliction and exercise in it, in the distance and separation from us, yet it might prove to the honour of God and her good; and next, we knew not for what end the Lord sent her thither, but believed in his name and Providence, that it was for his own glory; and therefore we resigned our will to God, and gave up our interests, and what was dear to us in that matter, as a sacrifice, an Isaac to God; and so committed the prosecution of it to the Lord, and to what means he thought fit. He observed this day a very cross Providence in our design for Mr. William Weir; for after that I had written my letters, upon the uncertainty of the Earl of Murray's going South, I was forced to change all again. He adored and besought the Lord in this, that he would turn this to good; and would, by whom it seems good to him, visit this poor dry place, and make the savour of Christ more fragrant, strong and precious among us, like ointment, to draw many.

16th.—He was much exercised with desertion and deadness; partly arising from loose and careless walking, irreverent and inconsiderate drawing near to God, pride, grieving his Spirit; partly to bear down his insolence and arrogance, that cannot bear much, and is apt to put duties in Christ's stead: therefore the Lord finds it necessary thus to exercise and humble, that he may be nothing, and base in himself, and the Lord Jesus may be all. But oh, alas, how ill is he to learn this! In prayer he had an expression, that his delight in his commands, and in obeying, was as sweet as any promise or reward; and the best part of heaven would be grace made perfect, obedience to the will of God perfected; and he rejoiced in this. Further, that wicked men had never, nor found they so much false pleasure in sin, as we had time, pleasure, and joy in his service, and in enjoying him a moment. Oh Lord! how far from the practice and reality of this, albeit praying for it, and professing it to be thus! Oh! when will he fulfil his profession, and come up to that which he prays for and professes.

This evening, with Janet, we wondred at the snares which a christian had to pass, even when he had overcome lusts and carnal desires. Oh the danger of spiritual temptations, vain imaginations, will-worship, errors in his mind, spiritual pride, not holding by the word! Oh Lord! when my

soul shall once land on the other side, and have a foot on the bank upon the good land, and be set safe there within the port; how shall I look back and praise! How fit shalt thou make him to praise, albeit now distempered! We concluded, we are apt to fall in many temptations when we were under the influence of spiritual inlargements, and never in more danger than at that time. We must not put off prayer or duties, albeit not inlarged or assisted to them. We must not walk by sense, but by faith; loosness hath many fair pretexts, but ends in utter desertion. We must guard against spiritual evils, pride, contempt of others, loosness and liberty, or dispensing with ourselves in duties; and, on the other hand, must not rest "in bodily exercises which profit little," but study to godliness. Lord! guard, stir up, and be thou surety for him.

Upon 1 Tim. iv. 2, 8, he desired to be kept and guarded against speaking lies in hypocrisy, and a feared conscience. Further, to see his aptness to trust something to bodily exercise, as if godliness did consist therein; neglecting true piety towards God, which consists in the exercise of faith in Christ, for daily growth in sanctification and mortification thro' the Spirit, patience, self-denial, approving himself to God, walking in his love and in obedience; weaned more from the world and sensual things, and from covetousness, and love of vanity and creatures. Oh Lord! prevent, and heal, and build up, for thy name's sake.

December 19th, 1653.—This night Mr. William Ross, after serious consideration of the necessity and usefulness of the duty, did freely desire to renounce himself, and to give up himself, soul, mind, body, spirit, parts, abilities, learning, and all he had or should attain unto, to the Lord; and consecrated, vowed, and bound himself to the Lord for all his lifetime; and, in the faith of the Lord's strength and grace, did roll over his soul's case on God, and besought the Lord only to accept, and to put to his seal, and to become his God, his all-sufficient God; and did take the Lord witness hereof before me, and subscribed this with his heart and hand.

M. W. Ross.

December 20th.—I read 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, and desired to adore the Lord in his wisdom, that had made religion and christianity in servants no exemption from their duty, subjection, obedience, and reverence to superiors, both rulers and masters. Oh Lord! how contrary is this to our wisdom, that are apt to think that religion looses from these, and gives more liberty?

In the evening he read v. 6, to 11, and there found the very idol of his heart described. He worships the Lord in his spirit for this night's warning against covetousness and love of riches, which is the root of all evil, and has drowned many in perdition. Lord! I desire to believe in thy name for Grace against the sin, and against the temptations, and snares, and dangers which this sin leads and draws unto, and has caused many to err from the Faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. If I be the Man of God, and the Lord's servant, oh how unmeet is it that I should serve or be subject to base lusts? "Lord! I am thine; save me!"

23rd.—I was at Innes; and in deliberating upon their affairs, beside any external cause, I did perswade them to look to God from whom the distress did come. It was not out of the dust; therefore other means would be in vain, till this were begun at. Therefore, to labour to humble themselves under his hand; and to beseech him to turn away his displeasure, to sanctify the rod, discover the causes why he thus exercises; and that he may remove it, if it seem good to him, in his own time: or otherwise to teach and instruct them by it, that they may profit to his glory and their good.

25th.—Die Dom. He desired to intreat the Lord for mercy to his soul, that he might not shift his duty, or be ashamed of the Lord in any day of trial; but he may be furnished with might and power from the Holy Ghost in the inner man, to the contempt of danger and loss, and to the unfeigned love of the Lord and his truth, and to be guided in it. Next, for mercy to his family, that it might have the blessing of Onesiphorus his family; that his children may be entailed to the Lord, and that they may worship and serve the God of their fathers with a pure conscience. Lord! thou wast his father's and forefathers' God, and thou art and hast been his God. Oh that thy mercy, and kindness, and covenant, may be extended to the offspring, to his children, and the generation rising up; and free Grace in Christ make up the want of love and service to his poor children! Further, in the matter of his going south with E. M.,[a] and his affairs do seem to call him. He desires a heart sacrificed and addicted to the will and mind of God in this, to be led upon his duty, if any duty ly on him to that man whose Curator he is; by thee, by thee only, he desires to go and come.

December 25th.—This day at even I did begin to read over this book, and the exercises which his spirit had been under in former times, and——.

[a] The Earl of Murray.

26th.—Alas! this evening the poor child Sandie did fall down stairs, to the utter hazard of his life. Oh Lord! how soon are our greatest comforts darkned and eclipsed! How moderate should our expectations and joys be of creature-hopes! Oh the rich and merciful Providence of God, that he was [not] taken up dead quite; that he lives! And, if he recover, shall it not be as given from the dead again? My soul besought the Lord for him, that he might be restored, and be yet for farther service and use, and for the parents comfort and ours in the Lord. Say, Lord! that thou hearest in bringing up this child. Oh Lord! discover my sin, and my mother's, or the family's or the parents; and teach us by this providence! Lord! let it be a sign and pawn of much more mercy to that poor child, of the good thou wilt do to him another day! And he desires to take it so.

28th.—Captain Dundas came to me from Colonel Blunt, anent my arms. I writ sparingly, but in the Shire's letters, and in that thought it was no duty, but might prove a snare and sin to these that are in arms, being the oft branded enemies of God and his people; and therefore said, he durst not help them, or strengthen their hands. Dundas told me that, on the Act anent Ministers, the Parliament was broke up again, and had resigned their power in the General's hands. Oh the wisdom of God! Oh the depths of his Providences! Oh so shallow as his understanding is, to conceive of these his strange works!

Psal. xvii. 4.—"Concerning the works of men, by the words of thy mouth thou hast kept me from the paths of the destroyers." This unsearchable Providence of God is beyond all my understanding. Oh Lord! teach, guide his spirit in the understanding of these things, and confirm against staggering! This evening, being desired to go to Petty[a] to the Earl of M[uray], I commended my way to God.

December 27th.—The greatest tide and overflowing was of the sea that has been seen these 40 years. 19th day of the month, it went over the works in Inverness, and the highway there, almost to the top of the bridge, and in Findhorn took away some houses, as they said. 29th and 30th, I was taken away with company so much, that private exercise and fellowship with God was interrupted. This, this was matter of humiliation; and I desire to resolve in his strength against it, and not to give place so much to company.

[a] Petty, a parish in the presbytery of Inverness.

31st.—Spynie[a] moved to put Mr. John Urquhart to the Earl of Murray's; but, in regard of the expedience to put him to the College, I thought it was most convenient he should go there; but desired direction of the Lord. I was this day humbled under the Lord's Providence, in suffering Mr Colin Campbell as well as the rest to fall in Aberdeen, and not to go to St. Andrew's, which I did so earnestly desire. Oh Lord! turn this to their good, and let it not be a snare to them, which I fear!

31st.—I desired to begin the next year, as with an unfeigned acknowledgment of his ignorance, and impurity, and unsoundness of mind, so with supplication to God against these evil lusts; and desire strength in faith to lay forth, offer and hold up his heart and mind to the Lord, to receive of his oil and anointing, that in the year to come, and through the course of his life, his judgment and affections may be guided in the unfeigned love of God and his Truth. As a new-born babe, he desires on the first day of the new year to be accepted in Christ Jesus, who gave himself for me. And now I desire to return my soul and mind in an offering to God, as a New Year's gift. Oh Lord! the hearing and accepting of his desire and aim were a new gift indeed! Let thy Grace be renewed with the year, for all the exigencies of these perilous difficult times, that he may not swerve or wander, or walk loosly, either by rules of carnal wisdom or vain imaginations, but walk in the name of the Lord his God for ever! Oh Lord! I am almost off my feet; the strange revolutions do so astonish, and amaze, and damish [damp] his mind; but thou hast said, "Whoso is wise, shall understand these things; prudent, and he shall know them: For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressors shall fall therein."

January 1st, 1654.—This day his sou desired to follow out what he intended yesternight, in offering up his mind, and will, and spirit, to be taught and led by the Lord; and to renounce all other carnal rules, or wrong guides. Oh the confusion that his soul was in [on reading] 1 Tim. iii. The fountain of all the evil which he feared was from unpurged out love of himself, and covetousness; and therefore besought the Lord against these,

[a] George Lindsay, who succeeded to the title as third Lord Spynie, in June, 1646, was a steady loyalist, and was taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester. He was second heir-male to the older title of Earl of Crawford in 1666, but died without issue in 1672.

that they might not blind his mind, and corrupt and win in [gain ground] on his affections. Notwithstanding his fear, suspicion, and jealousy this day; yet, Oh Lord! reject not, but make good and confirm the request, and accept of the free-will offering of his heart this day, that for this year, and all his lifetime, he may continue and remain thine, under thy law and thy effectual teaching, built on thy sure word, that he stray not! In the evening he read Mat. xiv. 22, upon the preposterous carnal affection of that people that would have made Christ a King; and from this drew forth the evil that honest good affections may lead poor souls into, when they are not well directed and guided by the word. Never person so fit to be a king, and so well gifted for it, and such a friend to the kirk, and to religion; yet he refused it, and shewed that his kingdom was spiritual. Much of this evil is in our head. He looked to God for the acceptance of this day's offering, and granting of this day's prayer.

He heard of the Highlanders' forces approaching, and that they had a purpose to seize his person. He desired only to flee in to God, to be found walking in his way, and he should not be moved at any such tidings. He feared no tidings, except the misgiving, and deceit, and declining, carnal inclinations and designs, overtures, and reasonings of his heart. Secure from this, Oh Lord! and do with him what seems good to thee. He desired this evening to disclaim any safety he might get by carnal compliance, protection from them, or such like; but that all his safety may be from, in, and to the Lord; that his heart may be guided and kept in the love of God, and due hatred of every appearance of evil.

5th.—This day, apprehending the coming down of these men from Duthel,[a] as was reported, he desired of the Lord to be instructed, and furnished with resolution, how far to proceed with these men, and where to stand; for he was jealous of the facilness, unsoundness, and self-love of the heart, which, for avoiding trouble, might flatter and stretch itself beyond measure, to please and comply with these men. Help him to take their cause and their persons up aright; for they appear not to him. After humiliation before God, this was the only resolution, that he should not walk in any crafty, deceitful, carnal, double way; but in a plain, sincere, single way: and, if he were destroyed, let him be destroyed. Lord, he subscribes to

[a] Duthel, the name of a parish, in the presbytery of Abernethy, on the west side of the river Spey.

this with his whole heart: seal thou it to his soul! 2, Next, Lord, this is not enough, for ignorance and simplicity may misguide him, even when he is single. Lord, he depends on thee for light and strength, to be guided in thy truth, that in thy time thou wilt give a proof of thy love; and that he may know by his obedience, that his soul loves, and cleaves to, and believes in thee.

This night he received Waristoun's Letters of the 16th December in answer to mine, and remembered my dream. I desired to be humbled under the admonitions and warning therein against loosing from former principles, and closing with one or other. He heard that Cromwell was declared Protector of these Three Nations with great solemnity; and that for his lifetime. He adored the Lord, and wondered, and desired to stoop down and consider the depth of the Lord's wisdom, and his strange works, which are past finding out; and besought the Lord to teach him that which he knows not. Every Thursday to remember W. and these with him.

6th.—Hearing of the approach of Glencairn[a] and his forces, his heart grew like a stone, stupid, and without any motion, or life of God. He was confused in his resolution, not knowing if it were safest and freest from temptations, to stay at home, or to withdraw to the south or north. Being plunged in this darkness, and not knowing what to follow, he desired to mourn and be cast down before the Lord, as a little child; and to hold up his will and mind unto him, to learn the present duty. Lord, stir up, and dispel the confusions and darkness on his mind, and make his path plain before him. Help him to exercise faith in thy name, for the present strait. Sanctify the word of thy providence to his soul this evening, 1 John ii., 15, 16, 17, that the love of the world may not secretly and insensibly sway his mind, and blind, and mislead; but he may purely see thee, that art the light; for where the love of the world is, there is not the love of God. As David said of Keilah, "Will they give him up or not?" So, Lord, he desires to enqure anent his stay here; or shall he remove or not?

[a] William, Earl of Glencairne. Of his Lordship's unfortunate expedition in the Highlands in 1653-4, in favour of Charles the Second, after the rest of Scotland had submitted to the English, Sir Walter Scott published a curious volume, entitled "Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War; being the Military Memoirs of John Gwynne; and an Account of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition in the Highlands of Scotland in 1653-4, by an Eye-Witness," Edinburgh, 1822, 4to. The Earl of Glencairne, after the Restoration of Charles, was in favour with the King, and was appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland, 19th January, 1661. He died 13th May, 1664.

Give forth and signify thy will, for he believes in thy name for this particular.

7th.—He writ his answer to Waristoun, and told him he feared a sorer evil than the taking away of goods or life; and desired his remembrance. L. Strathnaver[a] came. He read 1 John ii. 24, 27, and prays that that word which he heard from the beginning might abide in him.

10th.—Glencairn and the rest came to Murray: Colonel Fitch marched by, 11th, to Forres. 12th day was intended as a solemn Humiliation in the family. 1, Now, when a trial and trouble is come, that we may learn how to carry under it. 2, That we be not forsaken, or his grace withdrawn from us; but may be furnish'd with light and strength, and such measure of his presence as may be for our out-bearing. 3, To be kept from carnal or politick counsels, Psal. xv. "In whose eyes a vile person is despised." 4, That he would allow such a measure of protection as he sees fit. 5, To remember and hold up our brethren at Edinburgh, and at Leathin, and through the land, as we do ourselves. 6, That others may not fare the worse for this cause. 7, If he correct, it may be in mercy, and not in anger. 8, That he would order this trial to good, and the issue of it; that we may see more of his wonders, and marvellous works and loving-kindness, and testify these to others. 9, To seek mercy to the land, and mercy to his people; that he forgive and take away their sins, and turn to them in his mercy, and end our confusions; and would shew us mercy in our rulers, to raise up and set such over us as may rule in the fear of God; that till this time our hearts may be guided and kept free from snares. Oh that the mercy of reconciliation were shewn to the land and to the king; that there were some sign of the Lord's heart turn'd toward him, and of his heart to the Lord; and so likewise of the rest of the land! 10, That he would remember his Church, and guide her in this storm, and, in due time, calm the tempest, and settle the beauty of his ordinances among us.

This afternoon, I received Glencairn's letter, and the Quarter-master's. He was afraid, and trembled, and was cast down, and spread it before the Lord, and desired to be directed what answer he should give, and get what to write from the Lord; and again, on the 13th day, received another letter from him, to which he answer'd. Now, oh Lord! his chief and only suit at

[a] George, Lord Strathnaver, eldest surviving son of John, 13th Earl of Sutherland: he succeeded his father in 1663.

the beginning, was, an honest, faithful heart in this business; and to be freed from all crooked, subtil, crafty, politick and carnal ways and overtures, which corrupt reason might present and offer to him, for avoiding the fiery suffering trial; that he may be found clear in the Lord's sight thro' Jesus Christ, albeit plunder'd or wasted. His heart smote him for walking doubly betwixt these men; that while he put———— Oh Lord, I sought thee ere this people came into the country; and my prayer to thee, and thy answer seemed to be on the 5th of January. That he should labour to be innocent and free from sin, rather than to be safe; and that he might be kept in a plain, upright path, and be delivered from every wicked, politick, crafty, wise way, which might insnare my soul, and grieve thy spirit. Now, this, this is his prayer again, and shall be to-morrow, being the 15th day of January, in a Fast with these of the Protestation, for light and direction to them, for the furtherance of the gospel, and setting it up through the dark places of the land; for mercy to them that are under thy rod, such as thy servant Waristoun in particular.

11th December. [January ?]—I got the Causes of their Fast. Oh Lord, for some settled resolutions of heart, and some fixedness whereat to say, and to be resolved in these two questions which I propound to the Lord in this day! Let him have his answer from scripture, and sealed by scripture, if it seem good to thee; and confirm, confirm, for he is staggering. This time and trial will utterly make an end of him, if thou standest by and steppest not in. Oh Lord, wouldst thou lose all thy former mercies, and what thou hadst done for his soul? Oh no; "Thou wilt not leave my soul in grave, nor suffer thy holy One to see corruption." Christ alone is all my holiness. He besought the Lord to give him the answer of his doubts, and to resolve him from his word.

He found from Zeph. i. 17, that blindness is a judgment and punishment inflicted for sin; therefore he besought the Lord for pardon, and to remove that part of the judgment, albeit he should not see light of deliverance, yet to see the light of duty, what to avoid and what to embrace, that his testimony may be with thee. From 1 John v. 2, 3, 4, he took up a part of his answer; that he should express his love to God by keeping his Commandments; and "his commandments are not grievous." Indeed I shall not think them grievous; but it is grievous to stray from them. If he "be born of God (says the Apostle) he has overcome the world; and this is the victory, even

your faith." Oh Lord! I will accept this word and the making good of it for my answer, for the solution of my doubts; that I may love thee, and keep thy commands; that they are sweet to him, albeit thro' never so much difficulty; that he may overcome the world thro' faith; and present loss, danger, or love of himself, may not overcome; but the love of God, and faith in thy name thro' Jesus Christ, may overcome all.

18th January.—I considered and observed the Lord's Providence since their coming to this country. 1, The Lord raised the water, and hindred their coming on Leathin his bounds; which was their great design. 2, When I was half-fainting, and enquiring at the Lord anent complying by giving money; the English, without any expectation, or the least motion or procurement from me, came to Darnaway; and even then, when I could not tell what to advise the poor tenants to do. 3, I observed the evil of my hastiness. 4, The Lord's ridding these of Nairnshire out of perplexity. 5, In all this, that he has the Lord to thank, and to adore, and not men: This shall not serve to perswade him to join issue with the English; for the Lord doeth secretly keep off, and interdict my spirit from leaning to, or closing with them. But, oh Lord! here does my temptation ly: Oh Thou that dost all things for me, guard my heart against this snare; for I believe in thy name for more light and more strength. The more thou appearest and givest, he will believe in thee the more, and expect more and more.

19th.—This day Glencairn and his forces crossed Findhorn[a]; and, as he observed the Lord's goodness and Providence in putting that people back, without doing me extraordinary hurt, even when they determin'd it; go he ador'd the holy, wise Providence of God, in permitting his brethren of Leathin to be engaged with them; and how does he mingle the comfort of his escape with that sad humbling accident? He desired to enquire to-morrow into, 1, The causes; 2, The occasions; 3, The fruit and use and ends of such a trial, and the Lord's purpose in it.

1. That he might teach us sobriety under mercies, he therefore thus mingles sowrness and bitterness with our sweet; for he was apt to grow vain and insolent.

2. To try what was in our hearts, both the Fathers and ours; and oh so much dross as this has discovered!

[a] The river Findhorn, a rapid and somewhat dangerous stream, rises from the north side of the range of hills of Badenoch, Inverness-shire, and passing through Nairn and Moray-shires, falls into the Moray Frith.

3. To correct all self-conceit, and trust in our own wisdom; and that I may take with confusion, as a beast before him.

4. Perchance to be a new exercise of trouble to our spirits, for exercising our trust in him, and giving us proof of his goodness and truth again, when new enemies are raised up to devour us.

5. What know I, but it is to put more distance betwixt us and the people of thy destruction;

6. Or to show that policy shall not avail?

Oh Lord! there is meikle more to learn, which in time thou wilt teach, and make unlooked-for mercy spring out of our bitter affliction. My soul desires to observe all thy steps in it. If there be no sin or blot in this trial, nor dishonour to the name of God in it, nor scandal to his people; then shall our souls bless thee, come of us what will. If there be meikle fead [hatred] from Highlanders, or wicked, godless men, we will take thy name for a sufficient stay and refuge against all that trial; if Thou be on their side, who can be against them? Let them [be] friendless, and have all men against them, so thou be for them. Thou art more than a hundred thousand clans or great men or enemies; and we will make this covenant with thee, If thou wilt be our God, we shall be thy people, and we shall [not] give thy praise and our trust to any other.

20th.—Glencairn burnt the corns and houses of Leathin. Oh Lord! sanctify and help us to understand, and be humbled under this hand of thine. Upon the news, I said to Leathin, having risen from prayer, My heart is calm, and I do rejoice in God and bless his name. Albeit there may be in us matter of humiliation for meikle guilt, yet his rod seems not to be pure wrath, but mercy in it.

1. It is unprocured at their hands.

2. The quarrel is the Lord's, not ours. 1, It is for simple self-defence. 2, For not giving up themselves to their will. 3, For not consenting to concur with wicked men in an ill cause, and for lifting up a wicked people.

3. It is to us the footsteps of these that destroyed the people of God before, and it will be their case in time as well as ours; and what better are we than they?

4. To us it is a token, not of wrath, but of salvation to us of God, and to our adversaries of perdition, Phil. i. 28. For "unto us it is given, not only to believe in his name, but also to suffer for his sake," 2 Thess. i. 5, 6.

5. One sin, or blot on religion were a greater burden than all this; and, Oh Lord! thou knowest it was our own prayer and choice, that nothing worse than affliction should befal us.

22nd.—I observ'd the ignorant, hasty, wrong applying and confirming his Providences of the 18th January, in thinking that the danger was past, and see their not attaining their end at first; the stop which they met with by the water of Findhorn is now repaid; so may also his conclusions anent himself.

24th.—With reading Tit. iii. 1, 2. "Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, &c., shewing all meekness to all men." He was smitten with this word, and casten down under the defacing of that ordinance, and prayed for the retribution of it to its proper reverence and authority and vigour. This word swayed him much to the Scots power in arms, being in a great aversness from the usurpation, confusion, and unlawful power and constitution of the English. Oh Lord! the very inclination of his heart afflicts and humbles him; albeit, seeing confusion, and the necessity of a settled Government, and the bad consequences that have ensued the defect thereof, yet mourning under the corrupt, depraved estate of the land, and the woful consequences of the setting up such rulers as were [not] native to us. This morning he set himself to seek the Lord in this matter, for an outgate, and to discern what temptation was in this inclination, or how much of it was from fear or aversness from the present suffering. 2, To desire to be fortified against the snares upon that hand, as well as on the other, thro' the Grace of God, which has appeared in Jesus Christ. 3, He questions whether he should keep out his house or resist. 4, He spread their wickedness, hatred and enmity, which they bear towards the Lord, his people and cause and covenant, before the Lord, and their expressions against himself. 5, Their justifying the former wicked practices of all the bloody men that opposed the work of reformation, and condemned all that was done. Oh Lord! help. He read Psalm xii.

Colonel Morgan came to Darnaway[a] and returned. This day I went

[a] Darnaway or Tarnaway Castle, was a noble old building, situated on the north bank of the Findhorn, a few miles from the town of Forres, and commanding an extensive view in all directions. The present building, one of the seats of the Earl of Moray, erected half-a-century ago, although a large imposing structure, by no means compensates for the original massive building, of which only the great Randolph Hall was preserved.

to Leathin, and determin'd to give a stack of oats and straw to his poor people, because of his freedom and their safety; both in duty of love and obedience, and in sign of thankfulness; for his safety was from thee. Oh Lord! humble and teach; humble and teach, and lead him in a straight, even path, for thy name's sake. We appointed a day of search, and a day of humiliation and atonement, and of supplication, on the 30th and 31st of January, to be humbled under the Lord's anger, which hath for many years broken and burned against the poor land. To be humbled under his judgments, and under public sins, that are the fountain and causes of the judgments. To be humbled under the Lord's hand upon the families that we belong to, and under his displeasure, and under the acknowledgment of our personal and particular provocations.

27th.—The Earl of Murray did of new require me to go south. I did spread this before the Lord, and sought council and direction in it, (Jer. xlii.) He besought the Lord to purge out the unsoundness of his heart, that he come not preingaged before him. His own reason resolved him, that if he could get a pass and a safeguard to his family from Glencairn, that he should remove. Oh Lord! he spreads this counsel before thee: the day has been in other cases, nay, and few days hence, that he would have scorned at this overture.

He observed that the English party at Darnaway had one of their horse shot to death that same night they came. At the outfall they were sore beaten and fled; some hurt, cutted, taken and slain. Oh Lord! help me to understand this providence. Oh Lord! hold me in remembrance, and in the practice of that duty of sincerity and integrity, which was thy answer to his supplication, and was his prayer and purpose at the beginning of this trial. Oh the danger of trusting to the counsels of his own head, or his own heart! Deliver him from them!

He heard of the taking in of the Garrison of Stornaway[a] in Lewis; and remembred that the governor, Major Bird, died ere he came there. Lord! he waits for thee in the way of thy judgments. Yet afterward the report of the taking of Stornaway was but false.

January 31st, 1654.—Was the solemn Humiliation at Leathen, for the

[a] Stornaway, in the Island of Lewis, is the chief town in the Northern Hebrides. It has risen from a small origin to be a place of considerable importance for its excellent harbour, where vessels of any description may anchor in safety.

causes and reasons contained in the paper which is in my latron.[a] After Leathen and Francis did, with some measure of tenderness, confess and bewail their particular guilt of covetousness, passion, pride, unrighteous dealing, and worldly mindedness, and youthful lusts of uncleaness, and promise-breaking to God of many duties which they had bound themselves unto; we were all affected with the work of God on their spirits, and besought the Lord on their behalf, that he would not let their wound close till it were thorowly healed; but would bring on his work on unto perfection, till he had quite finished it.

After some measure of assistance and countenance on the day, Mr. Joseph preached on Job xxii. 20, 21, &c., Mr John on Joel ii.[b] We closed the exercise with a solemn engagement of ourselves to God, and did come under a new, firm, inviolable Covenant with God, that we should be his, and he should be ours. We gave up and surrendered our soul, body, estates, lands, rents, houses, families, wives, children, servants, wit, parts, endowments, friends, wealth, and all that we had, or ever should have or attain unto in this world, to be the Lord's for ever; that he might call for, make use and dispose of it, and mark it as his own. We besought the Lord to accept the free-will offering of our lips and of our hearts, and not to permit us to depart from him.

Mr. John acknowledged his predominant sins of worldliness and earthly-mindedness, passion, pride, unfaithfulness in his calling; and entred his soul bound to endeavour to mortify these sins, and every sin, and to labour for more fidelity, watchfulness and carefulness in his ministerial calling, than ever: but, renouncing himself, desired to believe in the grace of God thro' Christ for this effect.

Mr. Joseph acknowledged and bewailed the same sins, unconscionableness in his calling, and doing duty for some outward respect of credit or honesty, and not from pure love to God in Christ; his excessive desires after the world, and retaining and holding in, when he ought to be enlarged and let forth; unruly passion and humour; unthankfulness for great mercies and deliverances. And now desired to give up himself to the Lord, and thro'

[a] Latron, or letteron, a reading desk, also, as here, a cabinet or scrutoire for holding papers.

[b] The two ministers, Joseph and John Brodies, who are here recorded as joining the Laird of Brodie in solemn family humiliation, were his uncles, and were respectively ministers of Aldearn and Forres. They died in 1655 and 1656, as stated in this Diary, at p. 16.

him to endeavour to more holiness, mortification, walking after the Spirit, tenderness in his walking, conscionableness in his calling.

Old Leathin[a] renewed his acknowledgments, and prayed the Lord for a willing honest heart, to make good what was in his heart; and desired to give up himself, and his wealth, family, children, wife, and his own life, to the Lord; that he may be glorified in them, and his life might not be to himself, and to the world, but to, in and for the Lord. This, beside particular bands and vows wherein he had been unfaithful.

Young Leathin professed his willingness to consecrate him and his to God, and that, as long as he had a house or family, it should be the Lord's; he alone should be worshipped in it, he should have no God but him; and this day gave his heart to the Lord.

Old Francis renewed his confession with tears; confessing the Lord to be just in casting him out of his family, and making it desolate; for he had not honoured him in that family, but polluted it, and polluted his body with unclean lusts of whoredom, covetousness, pride; and therefore the Lord was just ln burning up his house and substance. He took the Lord and us his people witness[es] of his sincere and unfeigned acknowledgments, and of his purpose and desire to be turned to God. He gave up his body now to be a temple to the Lord; he desired to consecrate his substance and children to the Lord, to be his. He did set the Lord over all; and bound himself, soul, body, mind, will, affection[s], heart, strength, and all his power[s], to be the Lord's. Only desired to lay the weight of this day's vow and covenant, and the performance of it, upon the Lord Jesus, and his all-sufficient Grace.

Young Francis desired to consent, and to subscribe his name to the Lord for ever; and sought their prayers that were present, that he might never fall back. Both of them, father and son, promised not only for themselves, but for their families and servants, that they should be for examples, so far as weakness would permit, of holiness before them, and should labour that they might know and serve the Lord.

Joseph said, He had given himself sometime before to the Lord; but complained upon an [un]sound and unstedfast heart; yet was he willing with

[a] 'Old Leathen' was Alexander Brodie of Lethen, in the parish of Ardclach, Nairnshire. He also was uncle of the Diarist, being the second son of his grandfather, David Brodie of Brodie.

all his soul to renew the Covenant with God; desiring that above all things that he might be his servant, and the Lord be his God.

David disclaimed all strength in himself; and wish'd that the Lord would confirm it, and make good that which he was willing to subscribe and consent to, that the Lord shall be mine, and I shall be his, so long as I live.

Mr. James [a] gave up himself to the Lord, and prayed for strength, that he should not be forsaken.

Janet [b] expressed meikle distrust of herself; but desired to come under a new bond for the Lord, resolving upon more watchfulness against security, falling away, love of self-praise, and against all contempt of others; and to walk more humbly, and esteeming better of others, who might seem to have attained less; and to have the Lord ever in her eye.

The Lady Leathin dar'd promise little of herself, being conscious to her own heart; but professed of all that were there, she was most bound, both to take with guilt and the cause of his anger above any others, altho' they had taken it on themselves; and now that none had so great cause to engage their hearts to the Lord as she had; and therefore, in the faith of the Lord Jesus and his might, she did and would give up herself to the Lord, and all hers; and promised to sanctify the Lord's name so far as she could, with husband, servants, and family, to the uttermost of their power.

John Brodie, Woodhead, acknowledged much guilt, and great need of this day's work. He was lying under some bonds to God already, to enquire into the evil of his own heart and ways; and this should add to the former bonds. He prayed for Grace to this effect, and promised, as to walk more conscionably, and to seek more knowledge of the Lord's name, so he should labour to have the Lord's name set up in his family, to bring his wife, and children and servants, to know and serve the Lord.

John of Main engaged for an humble and unfeigned endeavour, as to honour God in his own spirit, so to be an instrument God-ward for his wife, children and family, that they also and he might be the Lord's.

Mr. Robert Donaldson desired of God to discover if there were any iniquity in his way, or in his heart, for which he was spared, while others were smitten. He promised to search his own heart; and this day professed the

[a] James was his only son and successor, see p. 17.

[b] Janet Brodie, his sister, see p. 57.

desire and joy of his heart to enter in a sure, perpetual, soul-covenant with God; and desired our prayers for him.

Katherine his wife burst forth in the complaint of her woful, sad, deserted case; but, if he would accept, there was not any thing in all the earth which should so content and satisfy her, as that the Lord would condescend to that bargain, to become her God, and to take her, and accept of her as his for ever. It was replied, The bargain was sure enough, if she were willing for her part; for he is glader of the offer, and is readier to accept it, than we are to give it; and we hoped her sorrow and sadness were but to let in and make way for durable and lasting comfort.

Jean Symington, albeit a stranger among us, yet desired to be upholden by his Grace, and strengthened in her resolution and purpose to walk more tenderly and more exactly than ever; and, not for herself only, but as far as her good word might go, she should declare and publish his name to others, and perswade [and] invite them to fall in love with him whom her soul loved; and should stir up these that she conversed with to this effect.

John Brodie, my boy, professed an unfeigned desire to know the Lord more, and to cleave to him more, and to be for him, and to his glory, all his days.

John Tweedie absent at the time. All of us, for ourselves, and for our little ones, and for our wives, that have them, and families and interests, do stand before the Lord this day, making supplication and confession on their and our behalfs; and do take burden on us, according to our several callings and stations, as aforesaid, that the Lord shall be our God, and we shall be his people, on the bare condition of the new Covenant, that he will give us another heart, and write his law within us.

On the first February this was written, and letters of exhortation to every one of them for putting them in remembrance. My soul this morning desired, for its own part, to rejoice before the Lord in trembling, and to consent unto this new oblation and Covenant; and besought his Majesty for a blessing on it, and on all their souls that had consented to or were concerned in it.

[*Here ends the Diary.*]

IN the beginning there are excerpts from Edwards against Toleration,[a] and Rutherfoord on Acts xxiv. 16, &c., on the same subject.[b] There is likewise a leaf against the Engagement and Incorporation [probably that sent by Waristoun: vide Diary.[c]] but imperfect. It is as follows:—

AGAINST THE ENGAGEMENT AND INCORPORATION.

All the arguments which were before against association and incorporation with Malignants, do make against incorporation and association with Sectaries; because, by their principles, they are no less enemies to religion than they.

Our oaths in the National Covenant to maintain the doctrine [and] discipline of this Church.

In an Engagement and Incorporation, we tie ourselves to the Commonwealth of England, before and without any tie from them to us, to maintain religion or our liberties; whereas it was mutual between our Kings and us.

Incorporating civilly, incorporates our religion and liberty also.

The narrative and the several articles of the solemn Charge.

To preserve the Religion in Scotland, as it is reformed, in doctrine, discipline, and government; and to extirpate heresy and error, alike as profanity and Popery. Now, how inconsistent and contrary to this is it to chuse heretical Magistrates, and these who would extirpate our government, and tolerate all errors and schisms, and to incorporate with such? &c.

The third article. Both are bound to preserve the liberties of Parliament and privileges. Now, to conquer, usurp over other, is most [contrary] to preserving.

Fourth article. Against these that shall hinder reformation of Religion, or labour to divide the King from his people, or the one Kingdom from the other.

Shall not suffer ourselves to be divided from this Union by any fear, terror, or perswasion; then not by sequestration, plundering, &c.

[a] A Treatise against Toleration and Pretended Liberty of Conscience, Part I. Lond. 1647, 4to., by Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian writer, and a great opposer of the Independents in England.

[b] A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience, by Samuel Rutherfurd, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. Lond. 1649, 4to.

[c] Vide supra p. 66.

To the solemn Engagement and acknowledgment of sin.

To fill places of trust with men of known integrity, and a christian, blameless conversation.

1. To advance Religion against profaneness; preserving the purity of it against error, Anabaptism, Independency, Antinomianism, &c.

2. The liberties of the Kirk of Scotland.

3. The liberties of the Subject, in what concerns their consciences, persons, and estates.

4. Union of the Kingdoms.

5. To the King what is his.

6. The suppressing malignancy, injustice, iniquity, profanity, and impiety.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES

OF

ALEXANDER BRODIE OF BRODIE.

M.DC.LV.—M.DC.LXXX.

DIARY OF ALEX. BRODIE OF BRODIE.

M.DC.LV.

22 Januarij.—This day, being Monday after the Sacrament, I was upon Genesis 15, exercysid before the Lord, for grace to me and to my seed: I desird to give him glorie, and beleeved that his purpos was to doe me and them good also freelie. If he be "my portion and my exceeding great reward," he saies al that I can lawfulli and reesonabli ask. I desird to lay hold on the Lord's dealing with Abram as a ground of his good will. . . .

Mr. Jhon Douglas invited me to his daughters mariag; but the Lord did rid me of this trouble.

23.—This day we mett at Dyk[a] anent the busines of the shyre, and anent setling the Ladie Leathin elder and the Laird[b]; which took noe great effect.

24.—The Lord did put it in my hart to prouid a place for my own burial, and for the burial of our poor kindred, without ostentation or vaniti, but in sobrietie and in the fear of the Lord, as looking er long to be gatherd unto our fathers, yet in the faith of the ressurrection of my bodie. . . . I had mani thoughts of building dyks and accomodation. I desird to be kept sober in this, and to remember I am but a stranger heer.

25.—This day in setling the business betwix Pa. Campbel and Ja. Fullar, I desird to see my natural sinfull craftines, ascriving the Lord's blessings and favors to my witt, wyles, and convoyance.

26.—I was taken with infirmiti of chiding Sanders, and I found many

[a] The parish of Dyke, on the south side of the Moray Firth, in the shire of Elgin, in which Brodie House is situated.

[b] The Brodies of Lethen, in the parish of Auldearn, Nairnshire.

bitter expressions at will, and that of late I had resolved against it. Lord, pardon!

27.—The Ladi Moortoun cam with ane other to the Sacrament, sicknes did distemper her: much infirmitie did I meet with, and doubtfulness if I should communicat: I wil propos noe sign, but look up and hearken.

Yesternight I heard of the Lord Angus[a] and Sir Lewes Stewart's[b] death, and desird to prepar for it: ther the son taken befor the father, a good son befor a popish idolatrous father and mother.

28.—I heard that the factions wer assigning our Band to Englishes; this I spread before the Lord and committs al to him.

1 February.—I was sent to Inverness anent the garison of Bellacastell.[c] I met with the Lord's providenc in my voyage. But, oh! the profanitie and drunkennes that I was forced to look on among the sogars that wer in the lodging.

2.—I heard this day at Urquhart that Cromwel, on Monday the 22 of Januar last [1654-5], had brok up the Parliament again. I can never wonder and worship enough, nor dive into the depth of the Lord's wisdom and holiness in thes things.

4.—Die Dom. When I heard that the Lard of Leyes, Burnet,[d] being a sober graue man, had a successour so profan, dissolut, and naghtie, my hart said, "What doe I travel for under the sun!" How true is that of Solomon, "Men know not, who shall come after them, whether a wyse man or a fool."

7.—I received new invitations to goe to London, anent our releef of Holland burdens: This I have comitted to God.

10.—This night I did catechiz the familie, anent ther constancie in the duties of secret prayer and reading scriptur, and found in them matter of humiliation for their loosnes and neglect.

13.—This day I did, efter morning worship with the famili, goe to Darnway . . . Efter I returned at night late, the Ladie Grant wryt for me. I was feard to goe because she was a Papist. 2. I had smal favour

[a] Archibald, Earl of Angus, died during the life-time of his father William, first Marquess of Douglas, in the beginning of 1655.

[b] Sir Lewis Stewart of Kirkhill, Advocate, died in 1655.

[c] Bellacastell, or Castle Grant, in the parish of Cromdale.

[d] Alexander Burnet of Leys was served heir of his grandfather, Sir Thomas Burnet, Bart., in March, 1654; and Sir Alexander Burnet of Leys, Bart., was succeeded by his son, May, 1664. (Retours.)

or kindness of them. Yet efter consideration against thes discouradgements, I desired to serve the Lord in it and yeeld; but feared myself and them: that they might expect some thing from me that I had not in me, and that I might fal in a snar, for I am facil: yet I besought the Lord to guid my spirit in the things I knew not.

14.—I heard the Ladi Grant's errand was anent the Witch which wes letten loos and her hous: she prest me to goe with her husband to fitch: my facilnes is great, and therfor I would desir the Lord to ridd me of such lyk employments.

17.—I receaved letters from London and Edinburgh desiring me to repair to London. I could not know what to answer or resolve. But the morrow being the Lord's day, and a day wherein Aldearn[a] ar to be humbld for obtaining ane honest faithfull minister to ther parish, I desired to concur with them in the exercyss of the day, and to joyn this exigent of my doubtfulnes, praying him to clear my mind. . . . The Lord doth humble me in my [son, and my daughter, and my servants, and my mother.]

22.—Col. Lockhart[b] [was married with the Protector's sister's daughter.]

23.—Craigstoun did communicat to me his purpos of marriage with Seaforth's sistar.[c] [I observed the man's imprudence.]

This day I intended to plant and graft trees, and was a little employed therein. I desird to have my sinful affection pardond in going about thes natural things. . . . I wryt to Mr. Thomas Hogg,[d] and exhorted him to faithfulness; and desired to be informed anent Mr. Hari Forbes.

24.—I wryt to Mr. Thomas Urquhart[e] disuading him from embracing ani employment in the south; and to Mr. Hugh Anderson anent his embracing Cromartie,[f] and committs both thes cases to God.

26.—I heard that D. Dumbar was taken, and lyk to suffer for the murther which he committed upon the Engl. at Inverness. I was desired to interpos for him: But I disclaimd and denied it, yet I found my hart apt to favour and pleasur men.

[a] The parish of Auldearn, in the presbytery of Nairn, Nairnshire.

[b] Col. William, afterwards Sir William Lockhart of Lee, married Cromwell's niece.

[c] See p. 124, note [d]

[d] Mr. Thomas Hogg was settled the previous year as minister of Kiltearn, in the presbytery of Dingwall, and shire of Ross and Cromarty. His name is still remembered in the parish for his zealous ministrations and sufferings.

[e] Mr. Thomas Urquhart, minister of Dipple, in the Presbytery of Elgin, afterwards transputed to Essil; but deposed in 1663 for Nonconformity.

[f] He became minister of Ellon.

4 March.—I desird to examin the sins and ignoranc in the servants, in my [mother, in my daughter, in my son], the securiti of my own hart.

I received letters from Cassills[a] litle encouradging me for the London journey, but inviting me south. This I spread befor God, and desird to wait until he cleard up mor of his mynd theranent.

6.—I went to Inverness quher the Lord was with me in ridding me of the snares quhich I feard by D. Dumbar Grang's bastard, and I do acknowledg the Lord in it.

9.—We had a session in Dyk wher I met with much gross wickedness and obdurdnes.

I read Jhon Gilpin's relation against the Quakers,[b] and my soul was cast doun under the greatnes of that delusion quherwith such are tempted.

11.—Die Dom. This day in Session again I was overtaken with a passionat word in calling Jh. Anderson, Wili Craig's man, a drunken beggar, befor the Session. My fault was greater than his, for which I desird to be humbld.

I desired to mourn for the great abounding of profanity, uncleanness, drunkenes, lying, perjuri, swearing, Saboth-breaking, ignoranc, and impenitencie, and slighting of sin and the wrath of God, which is in thes lands and in thes places. Lord learn me to lay it deeplie to hart!

19.—My Mother[c] grew infirm and distempered both in her bodie and mind, and discouered her temptations, exerciss and truble to me. I desired to be affected with it, and with my Sister held it up to God.

22.—Craigston was contracted with Seaforth's sister, L. Barbara.[d]

23.—On the 21 the smyth brunt his feet, and the smythi was brunt. I did se and obseru the Lord's holiness, and that man's rashness and presumption. Oh that it may tend to humble him!

24.—Grang was vehement to haue me goe to Inverness to deprecat the

[a] John Kennedy, sixth Earl of Cassillis, a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter.

[b] This refers to a tract by John Gilpin of Kindale, in Westmoreland, entitled "The Quakers Shaken, or a Firebrand snatch'd out of the fire; being a relation of God's wonderfull mercie extended to J. Gilpin." London, 1653, 4to.

[c] Katherine, daughter of Dunbar of Grange.

[d] John Urquhart of Craigston married Lady Barbara, daughter of George, second Earl of Seaforth. Her name is not mentioned in the Peerage. Her husband, on the death of his two brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Urquhart of Cromarty, became representative of that family, and was knighted by Charles the Second, 14th July, 1662. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 163.)

cruel and shamles manner of Dav. Dumbar's death.[a] I hearknd not unto them, and desired to examin what the Lord alloud me to doe. He was of my flesh, albeit wicked and sinfulli begotten: it did reflect on and humble me which befell him. I obserud and spoke of it to my Mother how the Lord was punishing that sin of uncleannes and leudnes among us, and particularli in the posteriti of that man, her brother. He that was lykest to himself, and quhom he loued best, the child quhom he had begotten in his lust should be broght to such a remarkable death for so foul a fact. . . .

25.—Die Dom. This day at my home coming, I took occasion to speak to Jhon Dumbar, Boig's son: and after I had labourd to bring him to som sight of sin, and of his danger and guiltines, I found the Lord softli——,[b] and enquired at him, If he remembered the couenant that he made with God in his baptism; and if he wer willing to renew it, and to enter in a more solemn strict covenant to be the Lord's? He said, with all his hart. Whether with hand held up to God, and with strong desirs, he accepted the Lord's offer, and subscrived with his hart and soul to be the Lord's al his days? He professed, he would tak the Lord to be God, and be content of that for his portion in the world, and willingli would quit al. . . . I exhorted him to walk like his new master, [to] remember that he was not his own now, but the Lord's: with som other word I dismiss'd him. In testimonie and token of his sincer adherance to his oblation and bargain, and of his dependence on the al-sufficiencie, truth, and mercie of God as the foundation of the couenant, he has subscrivit this with his hand.

Die Dominica, 1 Apryl 1655.—Mr. Wil. told me off the ordour which cam to rais ther Synod, and forbidding them tos itt. He ask'd opinion. I desird to bewail our differences which made thes troubles the wors to beare.

2.—Jhon Cuming was verie stuborn. I was forst to send for two troupers to Calder to aprehend him. He thretn'd and belied out much violinc against me . . .

3.—The troupers aprehended and took Jhon Cuming and Gregour away to Inverness. I acknowledgd the Lord. . . . This day Major Strang and his Cornet din'd, and staid al night with me. Ther was some conferences among us tending to good; but my oid so ill, that I can goe about noe dutie wherein I fail not: and corruption cleavs to me.

[a] David Dunbar, executed for murder at Inverness, was the natural son of Alexander Dunbar of Grange, the author's maternal uncle.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

4.—Efter Major Strang and his Cornet remou'd, I remembered some hard words betwix the Cornet and me, wherein he disclaimd the official ministers among us: and thoght ther calling and ordination none My hart rose at this, and I testified against him as I could; let the Lord forgiv infirmiti, and confirm me in his truth, and piti our darknesses, and sanctifi them to us.

4, 5, 6 of this month of Apryll wer bitter rogh cold days, and the season was unkindli and uncouth: In this I desir'd to acknowledg the Lord, and to be instructed.

Ther cam troupers this night to us of Cap. Dale's. They did not quitt stopp, but disturbed our minds.

The next day was appointed for a nomination of a minister to Auldearn. I desir'd to seek the Lord to order and direct that matter as he had begun to doe, and to guid ther spirits and myn in the action. . . .

The elders of Aldearn for gaining concert and concord, yeelded to deffer til next day ther nomination. I desir'd becaus I had mov'd this and was the author of it, that I might not repent in the faith of his providenc. I rest and committs the matter to him.

10.—I heard of the contempt which others had of the honest, poor Earl of Sutherland,[a] and that they wer setting themselves against him in the firth of Dornach; and could not but be affected at it. I commended him and his simpliciti to God. . . .

I heard of the act for repaying what we payed to Ministers that prayed for the King. This I desird to mourn under, that he would caus me to understand, and judg aright. I with P. C. returned from Inverness. We had much troubl anent troupers, and other things. I committed the matter to God.

11.—Wil. Cuming told me that ther wer seueral broken men in the hills watching for the Englishes. A poor prisoner whom I had known in Holland came in by me, who had lost his sight and his legs in prison. Oh what a miserie does warr expos unto! . . . He said he was of the hous of Haining, and his father was master [of the] household to the Queen of Bohem.[b] He said that the love of the King and countree did engadge him.

[a] John, tenth Earl of Sutherland, called, from his benignity and affability, "The good Earl John." (Douglas's Peerage, by Wood, vol. ii., p. 576.)

[b] Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James the First.

Oh, did he suffer so much for such causes, and shal not I be willing to suffer for Thee farr mor, if thou call me to it!

12.—I heard that the English ishud forth an act that al thes who payd stipends to Ministers that prayd for the King should pay it again to the Commonwealth. I desir'd the Lord to giue me understanding of this providenc, and to guid my spirit and the spirits of his people in it.

13.—This day they did move that the E.[a] should seek Argyl's [daughter in marriage.]

Lord! I know not who shall com efter me, nor for whom I lay up thes things, whither for a wise man or a fool. Therefor learn me not to be disquieted in gathering and laying up, whyl I know not who shal enjoy it. Learn me, Oh Lord! to lay up where it cannot be taken away.

14.—I heard off Moynes, his premonishing Lethin to redeem the loan.

This day my old servant, and my father and grandfather's, Jhon Willand, was removd by death in the evening; and I heard of it just as I was going to prayer in the famili: I desired to be exercysd with it, and to read my mortalitie and my distanc from hom whyl I am heer. The end of the righteous man is peac: such was his end; and in this went farr beyond me, that he never did soe much wrong to ani other, as I had don in my place. Whyl they ar removd who ar the best; as there is non of his qualiti and age lyk him in this platt of land; shall I not consider, and lay it to heart? Lord, learn me to be instructed! Scarce are ther ani living now in thes bounds, which had been heer in my father or grandfather's tym, which was but yesterday. Oh, so soon does one generation pass and another com! so doe our days glyd away lyk the stream, or lyk a shaddow; nay, nor are there, in our days, servants lyk thos who were of old, in the days of my grandfather. This I desire to be humbled under, and to lay it to hart.

I heard of something that had fallen out betwix som of the Earl of Murray's men and one of Granghil's. I was affected with the corruptions, hastiness, wilfulness of men, and how the Lord did punish men by their own iniquitie.

15.—Die Dom. This day, as I was kneeling down to publick prayer in

[a] George, sixth Earl of Caithness, who was married at Roseneath, September 22, 1657, to Lady Mary, third daughter of Archibald, eighth Earl of Argyll. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 100.)

the familie, the bell rang in at the window which was accompanying John Willand's corps. This I desir'd to remark, and made some use of it in the exercyse.

That sam day that he was buried, Mr Heri Forbes was nominated Minister in Auldearn.[a] I observed the Lord's wisdom. 1. He humbl'd me and others micle by the fear we had of Moynes[b] his opposition, for he had been counseld to protest. 2. The Lord's kindnes in confounding ther counsel, and carying on the nomination so farr with consent that non contradicted it, albeit som wer non-liquets.

17.—I heard that Marie Douglas had contracted herself with Maxwel. I saw frailtie in it, and how destitut of wisdom when the Lord withdraws.

18.—We kept the Presbytrie anent the cal to Mr. H. Forbes. . . . They agreed on it in the end unanimouslie in the Presbyterie. I bow'd doun and worshiped the Lord, whoes hand I had found hitherto. The differ anent nomination and election of him to be ther minister was soe convoyed in the letter that it was not fallen upon, but avoided . . . We spoke a word off the Proclamation anent taking up ther stipends who had prayd for the King, and that heritours should repay it again. This I was dark in. . . . We saw much loosnes and profanitie abounding in evri congregation, drunkennes, adulterie, whordom, lying, ignorance, and contempt of God. Shall not the land mourn for this!

19.—The Lard of Park[c] cam to me, and spent this afternoon with me, to my great refreshment. He made som acknowledgment of his soul's condition, and pray'd. I heard what the Lord was doing to his sister and familie, and from my soul did bless the Lord for what I saw him about in that place. I did stirr up and exhort, as the Lord gave utterance, and he resolved to engadg and give up himself wholli to the Lord, both soul and bodie, and to bind himself to be the Lords, to his last breath. Oh! that the Lord may accept, and seal his acceptanc on the soul of his poor creatur.

Anent those Ministers that prayed for the King—1. I found it my dutie and thers not to enquir what was safest and how to eschew danger,

[a] Mr. Harry Forbes, minister of Wick, was translated to Auldern, in October, 1655, and as successor to Mr. John Brodie. He demitted his charge rather than conform to Episcopacy, in 1663. (Shaw's History of Moray, p. 352.)

[b] John Dunbar of Moynes.

[c] John Hay of Park, was served heir of David Hay of Lochloy, his father, January, 1640, and was succeeded by his son, John Hay of Lochloy, in January, 1679.

but what was most acceptable to God and incumbent. 2. Confession of the sins of rulers that wer past, for which we suffer yet.

20.—I found the stirring of corruption and self, and desird to be exercised deeplie with it. . . . Moses great, and yet mild and humble: seldom does grace and greatnes meet. Oh to be humble and mild, and yet great! This is rare.

I did tear my own band of 6000 marks.

22.—Die Dom. This day ther wer 6 or 8 children baptized, and admitted members into the Church. Young Coubin [a] his son Alexander, was one of the children. My hart fail'd in commending them to God, that by them, as his Church visible, soe the invisible might be augmented and made up.

At my return, I spoke to ————————,[b] and especialli laid forth to him his guilt and danger, throgh ————————.[b] All the dulness, hardnes, and barfacednes, and relapses into the sam sins, was not so ill, and so deadlie as this one sin.

23.—We had a Presbytrie at Dyk, anent advizing if they should pray for the King. I was readie to have spoken as the Lord should asist; but it was thoght meet to transmit it to a conjunct meeting with Elgin Presbyterie; and efter I had pointed at some cacs [cases] I acquiesed, and reverencd the Lord's wisdom.

Josiah Campbell and Ladi Leathin wer heer this night. He told me that the Counsel was chang'd. I reaceaved letters from Edinburgh quherin Sir Jhon Cheisli [c] did sweitli warn me to tak heid of snares in that Holland business, lest the dregs of it should involue me in new snares. 2. That I should be much with God for counsel and direction.

24.—Cornet Fox pray'd that night in our chamber. I heard he was a preaching Independent and licensd. Oh Lord, guide me that I stumble not!

I heard of the death of the Duke of Richmond,[d] and desird to remark it as a special providenc and work of God in removing the greatest person that was descended of the Royal familie.

[a] Thomas Kinnaird of Coubin or Culbin. He was served heir of his father, Walter Kinnaird, in August, 1677. He, and his son Alexander, were alive in 1685, as appears from their having then been examined by a Committee of the Privy Council in reference to the Fiery Cross which was carried through the shire of Moray in 1679. See Account of the Family of Culbin, Shaw's Moray, p. 472, edit. 1827.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Sir John Chiesly of Carswell, who was knighted by Charles the First.

[d] James, fourth Duke of Lennox, and first Duke of Richmond, died at London, 30th March, 1655.

28.— . . . The poor woman Cathrin was with me this efternoon. Shee spok and pray'd, and I catechiz'd and pray'd with her.

1 May, 1655.—Oh Lord! be thou my witnes and my help, that this day I have mad it my earnest, humble, sincer request and prayer, that thou would guard me against that sin, specialli off covetousnes, and desir of riches; that thou would grant a moderat, sober, contented mind, and a right use of what thou gives; that I may die to the world, and have unholie desires mortified. Now, Oh Lord! put me not back: thes desires and thoghts will break in upon me even lyk water, and overwhelm.

I spok this afternoon to [my Son].[a] I examined ————————,[a] and askd him whither would he choos to have his hart torn out at his syd, or be separated from God, and sin willingli against him He said, it wer better to indur the pulling out of his hart. I desird him to examin if that was the ansuer of his hart, or the tong onli, and advisd him to compar that ansuer with his conversation, and see how they agreed. I warnd him that iff he would not serv the Lord, God would cast him out of this place that we dwelt in. I had seen men flourish lyk a green tree, and loe! I looked, and in a moment the place could not be seen where they wer. "All they that forsak him shall perish." I assurd him, in the nam of the Lord, ther wer mani sad afflictions befor him. His corruption would draw sor stroks from God sometym or other, unless he purposd to destroy him; therfor exhorts him to meet the Lord and repent.

2.—I heard from Edinburgh that the factour would presentli discuss the suspension, and that I must prepar to pay it. This I desired to lay mor on God, that I may be guided in the use of ani lawful means of safetie, or in patienc and clearnes to suffer.

6.—Die Dom. Riches puff up, and poverti keeps us mor low and sober.

I did read Judges 10th betwix sermons.

Oh! my hart was much distempered in the evening secret prayer with mani vain thoghts. My head had mani imaginations working stronglie, which disturbed my spirit in the exercyse. I never found the actual working of sinful imaginations mor stronglie then at this tyme, and desird to be humbld under it. I wonderd not to see the men of the world taken

[a] Short-hand in MS., but the passage evidently refers to his son James.

away with projects, covetous, ambitious, vain, carnal desizgnes, affections, and enterprizes; for no hart nor head is mor ful of them [than mine]. Oh Lord prevent! I soght understanding and grace to discern, and how to resist them when they did arys: to handl thes motions roghlie. Whylst my head is thus, alac! my hart cannot be right nor framd to ani spiritual exercyse, anent things that I am afraid and asham'd to express or utter; but they ar not hid from thee. Oh! keep from thes unsober, distemperd, madd, unrulie thoghts. I wonder not to see people crack-braind and besid themselves. Passion, lust, inordinat affection, would soon put me out of my witt. When I am from thee, and without thy fear, following ani thing that's right in my eyes, then am I quitt out of my witt. For thou art my witt and wisdom, love, delight, joy, happines, alsufficiencie, hous, welth, children, freindship, credit in the world, and my all in al. Then doe not forsak, nor let me forsak thee. Let noe idol or fancie creep in, or be intertained, lodgd, or embracd. Non but Christ, and his word and law to lie betwix my brests; to be wryten on my forhead; to cal, command, and guid my spirit, will, and inclinations. Even so be it, oh Lord! so be it to me!

8.—I was cald to goe meet with the Erl of M[urray] his freinds at Spyni this day; when the Lord was with us and with me in particular. He prosperd matters in our hand.

Nic. Dumbar wryt a bitter insolent letter to me. I desird to be kept from anger or reveng, and that I might not be sufferd to doe him, or his, hurt; for I had noe mind to injur him. I did accordinglie return ansuer to him.

10.—I was witnes to the agreement betwix Kilboyak and Guthre; and as I declind to appeir in it, so did I observe and ador the wisdom and holiness of God, in dissolving the estat of that wicked person and his race by such means. I saw the Lord's holines, Guthre's unrighteousnes, Kilboyak's[a] due punishment and judgment, by such a way; and such an instrument to be in a manner defrauded of his estate.

Leathin ended for the price of the land, albeit ————————.[b] He gave the worth of the land. I was humbld even for my own uncleanness, and that I dwell among ————————.[b]

Efter supper the tutour of Grang prest me with much earnestnes, to

[a] Patrick Dunbar of Kilboyac.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

wryt or goe to Inverness to plead for Da. Dumbar. I did in the fear of the Lord refus, and resisted al his importunitie, and durst not partak of other men's sin. I observd an admirabl providenc of God. Much pains and cost had Grang[a] and others been at to gett Bishop and Gordoun, hoping, by this means, to releev Davi by giving them up. The Lord gave them good speed in the one, for his holines was concerned in it, that thes murtherers should not goe unpunished; but no speed in the other, for notwith[standing] al they had done, Davi was condemned to die. Further he made use of ——————[b], who did it not for love of God, or to glorifie his justice, and remove sin and blood, but rather for ther own natural or covetous ends. . . . Glengerri made noe question to give up thes men, albeit he thoght them noe malefactours. They cam to him for refuge, he allowd ther deed in killing the men, he joined with them, yet now for other self ends betrays them, not out of the detest of the sin, nor to favour and aknowledg the judg or justice, but to pleas men.

On the 9.—The Ladi Brughs[c] died at Coubin, and on the 12 was to be buried.

12.—I went to the Ladi Brughs burial, and desired to be instructed in my mortaliti by it.

I heard that som of Aldearn said they wer forc'd to subscriv the letter to Mr. Hari. The Lord consider and bring forth good of this; for we ar at our wit's end; readi to sink.

13.—Die Dom. I was much pusl'd with the poor woman Cathrin Hendrie her disquiet; and could not know the causes of it. That her mind should be burthened with sin, and greivd and dejected, is noe marveil to me, but matter of hope and joy, and supplication and prais. Onlie the apprehensions of external violenc which shee feels; somtyms of a foul on her breast, somtym off a hound at her back, a hand, and words utterd to persuad her to blaspheam. I desird to enquir and consider, what may be from ordinar natural causes, or what may be from extraordinarie, unknown, spiritual causes; what is from a troubld imagination and fancie, melancholie or her complexion; or what may be external from Sathan: Whatever it be I have desir'd to lay it befor the Lord, to teach her, and to teach us.

[a] Alexander Dunbar of Grange, in 1631.
[b] Short-hand in MS.
[c] Probably the wife of Robert Dunbar of Burgie.

. . . She prayd, and I did concurr and join with her in prayer with all my hart.

17.—Som poor peopl were seeking charitie. I was tempted to have giuen them dranings of beare. But should I giue that which is lam or torn to Him, should He not haue the males, and best of the flock and the field: so He deliuered me from it. We met anent the putting away loos woemen to Barbadoes. I desird the Lord's direction in it.

19.—I heard from Edinburgh that the fynns were unavoidable. I see the distress that the Land would be in therthrogh, and that Earl Murray and other families wer redacted to much strait, so wer the families of our Kings, and al that adheard unto them. This might instruct and humble and teach me, iff I wer not ignorant and dull

I din'd in Darnway; but gott not the papers which I was seeking, and if by any impediment of this sort the Lord would have me stayd, and not proceed, I desire to be throghlie at his bidding.

20.—Die Dom. The Lord discouered this day to the Session a deceaver calld Thomson, who caried a child about with him, and reported he had 2 twins, and that his wyf ther mother was dead; whyl yet she was found to be alive. He did shedd teares, and dissemble as egregiousli as if it had been truth. Now I desired to consider this, and from that man's hypocrisi to trie my own hart and affections, and quhil I liue to suspect my self. . . .

I conferrd with the poor woman Cath. Hendrie, and made supplication with her to God; and observ'd that the Lord had ridd her for som days past off the external exercyse which she apprehended of scratching and violence; onli now groand under an apprehension of feare and God's anger, and want of Christ in the hart and desertion. . . . That she found it easier to win to repentance then to win to faith; and found a greater want of the one then of the other. This I cannot say of myself; for sound repentance, and due sense of sin, is that which I miss oftenest, and can least be without. . . .

21.—I went to Darnway and lookd on somethings of young Stewart's compts; saw the confusion and distress which was upon that familie. Yet anger was not turnd away: I desird to be unfeinedli humbled and cast down.

We did this day adviz anent Leathin's seeking reparation from the English, and it was ther opinion to forbeare. This I did allow of, and reverenc'd the Lord's wisdom and prouidenc.

24.—I did, after some conference with the poor woman Cathrin Henrie, mak supplication to God with her and for her. . . . She told me how Sathan approached to her somtyms in the shap of som freind, or her brother, sometym in the shap of a catt with burning fyri eys, sometyms in one and another; told, he would mak her a poor woman, and tak al from her that she had; and shee professd willingness to bear it so the Lord laid it on, and would forgive her iniquities and becom her God. I could not tell what to mak of this, or quherfra it cam, but I desir'd that the Lord would learn me how to conceiv of this trial, and would not in the meantyme forsak the work of his hands.

25.—I went to Quarelwood to a meiting with the E. of Murray [a] and his friends: I saw the distress and perplexitie of al persons, and desired to be humbl'd with ther trouble under ther effairs.

Jhon Lang, I heard, was verie weak, and at the point of death: I am concerned also in that providence. This evening he died.

I heard of Dauid Dunbar his wyf's death, and Dr. Seaton's son, who maried Ladi Ann Montgomrie.[b]

26.—In reading the contract of mar: betwix my deir deceasd father and mother, I saw mani providences together. 1. The tym that I was not, and the conjunction of thes persons by whom I had my being. 2. To ador the Lord and reverence them. 3. To be litl in my own eys. 4. I hav mani of my father's children removd som elder then I, yet I am as yet to the fore in my generation, and seing a posteriti growing up efter me.

This day Jhon Lang in Forres was buried.

28.—This day Cathrin Hendri cam to me, and told me, she had found the Lord dealing something mor comfortablie and kindlie with her; for which I desired to bless the Lord. She said, Sathan had oft appeared to her lyk an angel and enticed and tempted her to sin, and cited the New Testament for it.

We did setle the conditions betwix yong Cailachie and Grang his sister.

[a] Alexander Stewart, fourth Earl of Moray. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 259.)

[b] Lady Ann Montgomery was the daughter of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglintoun. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 503.) She married, for her second husband, in 1658, James, third Earl of Findlater. In the Memorials of the Montgomeries, vol. i., p. 93, the author says her first marriage is not supported by evidence, an assertion which it is unnecessary in this place to contravert. Dr. Seaton's son who married Lady Ann Montgomery was, "Robert Seaton, eldest lawfull son to Sir George Seaton of Hailles:" he died in 1655. (Commissary Records, 24 August, 1655.)

I did beseech the Lord to bless the purpos, that it may be for his glori and his churches good. . . . I did speak with Mr. Jhon M'Gulican, and did warn and exhort, [and both] him and we prayed.

1 June.—Park supp'd with me and Mr. Wil. Saunders. I heard that both said that they wer feard for my oppression, and I swayd judges and took two parts of my will. Oh Lord! help me to examine this, and purg my hart from pryd, violence, contempt of others, oppression, covetousnes, partialitie, self-conceit, and give ane humbl, lowli spirit for the Lord's sake.

3.—Die Dom. Efter repetition of sermons we catechizd on the three first Petitions of the Lord's Prayer; and reservd the other three, with the Beleef to anie new occasion.

4.—I heard the Erl of Murray his complant upon distres and heavy troubls coming on. I desird to look up to God and aknowledg him in it, that the imediat distres should light on him that was the soberest person of the familie.

At night goeing to bedd I heard the monstrous imprecations which my daughter was using against som person quhom at present I knew not: I desired to be afflicted for it.

7.—This was the day of Craigstoun's mariage with L. Barbara M'Enzie. Let the Lord bless that purpos for ther good and his churche's.

9.—I heard that ther had been much follie and loosnes at Craigstoun's mariage. I desird to chalandg my oun hart for being soe little troubld with it. It should burden me more. Oh! let not the Lord lay it to my charge, nor to the land's.

15.—I met afternoon with Moynes[a] and Leathin.[b] . . . Efter supper we spok of familiar spirits, divination, and witchcraft, and wer enquiring into the reasons of the Lord's great jealousie against that sin abouc anie other. It was a high degree of undervaluing the Lord, discontentedness, pryd, curiositie, unbeleef, open joining hands, conjunction and familiariti with his enemies, preferring ther counsel, communion, help to his. It wer noe wonder that he should tak thes ill. . . .

16.—Park came to me, and we conferrd and soght the Lord together for our own souls, and for our families, and for that desolat place of Auldearn.

[a] John Dunbar of Moynes. (Inquis. Gener., no. 4768.)

[b] Brodie of Leathen.

17.—Die Dom. I am this evening to open the three last Petitions of the Lord's Prayer, and catechize on it.

I heard that the Protectour had beheaded the Erle of Manchester, and manie others. I desir'd to enquir and to be cast doun, and to consider, understand, and be instructed by this the Lord's dealing, and what this wil tend unto.

18.—I heard ther was soldiers on Monaghtie, and I desir'd to have my spirit guided, not to rule over my brethren with rigour . . . I heard Aikinway was in prison. I desird to consider the Lord's dealing, and to have that croce sanctified to his poor wyf.

20.—The Laird of Innes and his Ladie[a] wer with us in ther going to Ross.

26.—Mr. Harie Forbes cam heir, and Mr. Tho. Hogg. I conferd with Mr. Harie on secluding the profane from prayer in a familie or societie: anent baptizing promiscuouslie the children of al; anent freedom and restraint in approaching to God; the Magistrates power to compel *ad fidem*, and *ad media fidei*. . . .

I receaud letters of the Tutour's coming, and reverenc'd the Lord in disappointing my voyage to Ila, and to meet with Argyll, and acknowledges the Lord in al, and looks upward.

2 Julie.—Mr. Hari told me what work he had with witches, ther lifting him, and bowing his bodi together in his bedd; ther confessions, and Sathan's own, that they could doe him no harm; made his image of wax, but could not hurt him. Oh! what confirmation was this to my soul to beleev in God al sufficient, and not to turn asyd to crooked paths.

5.—This day was a verie great floud, and delug of rain, which raisd all the waters to a great height. Let not the Lord destroy a land and a people that ar dround in sin and ingodlines. . . . In this matter of Mr. Harie Forbes, Lord, purifie my heart, mind, affections, judgment, will, and understanding, for I sett Thee over all. I remitt the bridling, curbing, restraining of Cathnese's wickednes to Thee, for quhen thou calls him, thou art bound to tak the care off them.

7.—Cath. Hendri told me, that one had said to her, that one told her

[a] Sir Robert Innes of that ilk, and Grizel Stewart, his wife, the Laird of Brodie's father-in-law and mother-in-law. (Douglas's Baronetage, p. 17.)

that Sathan was angrie at me for dealing for her, and that I was seen and a book in my hand, speeking to Sathan and that I said, shee would neuer be weil. Oh Sathan's leis. Shee was yet much troubl'd, apprehended that shee fell in a deep water, and saw three black ruiks.[a]

. . . . . .

14 Julie, 1655.—EFTER dinner we went forth, Mr. Hari and I, quhen I
1632. did rehears to him how the Lord had dealt with me from the year 1632 until this day. 1. How strong violent temptations I had mett with in my youth, and was miraculously deliuered: how the Lord had begun to chalandg
1635. me at Aberdeen, efter som loos walking and declining in St. Androes: how much sin the Lord prevented quhen he setld me in honest mariage; how micle loue and prouidence did he exercys about me in that matter. At that tym I was but strongli seeking God, and not soe veri seriouslie, until he bor'd my eare and wakend me. First I questiond my own cace becaus
1637. I wanted remarkable croces, hauing had my education in plenti, and hauing had noe want nor exercyse as yet. The Lord told me plainli, and seald it on my hart, that he should put me out of that stumbling ere long: answerablie he presentlie enterd me to a school of affliction (if I may call so sweit and weil season'd exercyses affliction), which I look back upon with delight and joy; but sad wer they in the meantyme.

1638. My first tryal was by the smyth's wyfe, quho, by my hastines, was broght to death's dore, and a child in her bellie also, for shee fell being with child, I having her by the hand. All men took her and the child for dead: my deir wyfe dealt to get a declaration from her that I was frie of her or her child's death. It was suspected that the M. of Huntlie should have taken occasion to pursue me in case she had died: quhen the Lord had broken my spirit into pouder, and made it willing to goe to the scaffold, I did, in the faith of his prouidenc, upon my knees burn the woman's declaration, renounc al carnal confidenc off witt, policie, wrong means, and brunt the papers, and committed my soul, lyf, estat, credit, familie, the affliction and ishue of it, and the woman and her child, to God. Efter mani days deep exercyse in humiliation, supplication, cries, and tears, and submission at a Sacrament in Aldearn, having found the Lord unspeakablie and unutterablie gracious in that ordinanc, in that veri day, quhen I was

[a] Ruiks, or rooks, crows.

in the act of communion, was the woman safe deliuerd, thogh she had us'd mani wrong means to doe both herself and her child wrong; yet ar both safe alive, quhen all men had taken them for dead.

1639. I soght that woman's lyfe: He gaue me her lyfe and her child's also from verie death, and trysted it to me in the hour that I return from my sweit mariag meeting with the Lord at his ordinanc, this was "the lyon," and "the beare" folloud.[a]

Efter this I had sadd differences with my Mother and her Husband,[b] quhen shee cam to the clos of Brodie to tak away my timber; and quhen they had casten in the Pley Moss; and quhen I had friends from all places on ther journey to this Convocation; the Lord mercifullie ended this trouble and heard me, and made my escape out of this extraordinarie trouble; and this was "the beare."

When this was done did the Lord bring in the Couenant. The troubls of his church, and myn trysted well together; was it not fitt that I should fare as she far'd? ay, I saw her condition in eu'ri stepp of the Lord's dealing with myself.

About this tym quhil the Lord is beginning to tri his Church, he smyts
1640. me in my beloud Wyfe,[c] the delight of my eys: she is taken away at one strok. Quhil I was sadli shaken and broken under this, I askd at the Lord iff he could strick ani mor, for I did not esteem ani thing behind. He told me he could strick with sorer rods yet then I had felt: wherupon I was still, and onli moand, and was content to denud my self of earthlie joy. I saw flowds of temptation breaking in; I was feard to be drawn away with lightnes, wantones, and such lyk temptations. He replied to me, audiblie to my apprehension, and spok words to me articulatlie, and desird me not to be hartless and discouradged, for he should mak up my loss and giue me as

[a] The allusion is to 1 Sam. xvii. 34.

[b] Brodie's mother was Katherine, daughter of Mr. Thomas Dunbar of Grange, dean of Moray. After his father's death, which took place September 22, 1632, she married secondly, Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, sheriff of Moray, who died without issue in 1646, leaving her again a widow. (Burke's Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iii., p. 595.)

[c] Elizabeth Innes, daughter of Sir Robert Innes, Bart. of Innes, by Lady Grizel Stewart, daughter of James, "the bonny Earl of Moray," and grand-daughter of "the good Regent." She was the relict of John Urquhart of Craigston, tutor of Cromarty, who died November 30, 1634. Brodie was married to her October 28, 1635. She died August 12, 1640. (Burke's Commoners, vol. iii., p. 596.)

good as I wanted. I cried, Lord, what can thou giue me? children, hous, another wyfe, estat, mirth cannot make up this; nothing can doe it but thy self; if I may sanctifie thy nam, and may know and enjoy thee, it shall suffice. He seald it on my hart: soe should it fare with me. I was therupon as calm and quiet as iff I had noe exercyse; yett my complaints and greiffs returnd upon me, and I soght releefe in melancholi and retyrment, and runing from my hous. But, Oh Lord! al was in vain.

1643. When this was not weil ouer, at the veri tym of Montros' entring did the Lord smyt me with a fowler rodd than euer I felt which had mor wrath
1644. in it then al that euer befell me: and that was, my wretched sisters did, one efter another, play the whore. Then did my soul refus comfort. I apprehended nothing but wrath, it was so black, so uglie a rodd. The death of wyf and children was not lyk it. Now made he good that he had heavier, sharper rods then I had yet felt. Under this gulf of sorrow he upheld me with this, that I had endeavoured to prevent it, and had feard, wept, cried to him against it long er it came. This rod lasts yet: but soe as the smart of it is ceasd, in that by so farr as, in ther low condition, they ar not exposed to sin; but a remedie off ther wickednes has the Lord prouided in setling them in mariage.

When this was upon my back, then did the Lord caus the common enemie prevail in the land; and we fell befor the wild Irishes six tyms
1645. without anie interruption; and to mingle the Churche's and the Land's calamitie with my priuat, my hous, and my mains and bigging was brunt to the ground, and my estat made desolat, and noe place left me, nor means to subsist: Leathin's lands wer brunt, his hous, and my deir friend, [and] Christian brethren wer besedged and blocked up, and in feare off their lyfes by Huntlie.[a] Quhen we and our race and familie were, in other men's appearance, ruin'd and undon, then did the Lord begin in mercie to blink and rais up,
1646. and lifted up our head; and in one year three of my deir uncles that wer
1647. without male children had three boyes, Mr. Jos., Mr. Jhon and William.[b] My Mother becam content to keep hous to me (her husband being dead), and quhen shee was not fixd, the Lord humbld her by her fall, and in it I

[a] Lord Lewis Gordon, afterwards third Marquis of Huntly.

[b] These were Brodie's paternal uncles, viz., Mr. Joseph Brodie, minister of Keith, afterwards of Forres; Mr. John Brodie, minister of Auldearn, and dean of Moray; and William Brodie of Coltfield.

cannot deni but ther was mercie to her soul, and to me also, thogh it seemd bitter. . . .

Whylst the Lord was doing thus, and giving me exercyse and tears to drink, he cald me forth to the publick, and in all was visiting my soul, he left me not destitut. He made eu'ri affliction to me a rose-bedd for smell and sweitnes, and withall was adding to my outward estate, sometyms one thing, sometyms another.

1648. Then sprung up the Engadgment, and quhilst the Lord had been exercysing al the Land by that rodd, and much violenc and oppression was ther us'd against the Land and my poor people; yet did he mak this trouble the mother of several mercies. In the next yeare, I was chosen unwillinglie to be a Judge, and was sent to the Haege one of the Commissioners for the King. The Lord did in this both keep me up from affecting the favour of the man, or goeing about to compass it, and did mak manifest to me the litl good that I might look for from him in that matter of the Treatie. I was sent back the next yeare to Breda, quhen I obserud notable prouidences accompanying our voyage, and asistance with our ministers promising something; and we did speed. But I know not iff our success with the King was of mercie; yet iff his hart had been right, I would have counted it soe; and I did judg we wer about our dutie in dealing with him; yet in all this he discouerd much disaffection to the cours of reformation, to godliness, to thes that profess it, and retaind his affection and respect to his old companie and courses, and approud his father's ways in his hart, nay in his discours. Now, what our dutie should have been in this cace, I know not; but I am apt to judg that we wer carnal, hastie, inconsiderat, nay we feard and apprehended the evel that was to com upon thes Lands. Now, quherin I ignorantlie faild, let Him not lay it to my charge.

When this was don, and we had returnd, the Lord prepard a suitable exercyse in my priuat condition to the cace of the poor land. My———.[a] And even as the Lord did bring this rod . . . upon me, he lessend the other off my poor brother David, and plaigd him with madnes, and soe was I forced to restrain him as he is to this day; insomuch that his wickednes hauing risen to so great a height it seemd to be restrained by this visible judgment of madness and chains.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

. . . Thus has the Lord afflicted me from my youth: mor of this may be obserud in my Diarie, and from my birth and going to England to my return.

14—Efter som small account of my experiences of the Lord's dealing, which mani books could not containe, my soul desird to bless the Lord, and to rejoic in his nam. I prayd with Mr. Harie. 1. We mentiond the seed that had been soun in Cathnes, thoogh it should not appeir for mani years, yet that it might in due tym tak som effect. 2. We besoght the Lord for Auldearn, and for a free cours to the ministri here. Quhil Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Blair, Mr. Wood, and mani others, ar labouring in places, and (as we heer) com smal speed; Oh! is it a marvel that we should be discouradgd? but the fruit depends not upon the minister's grace, abilities, or judgment, or painfulness, thogh thes be yet weil accepted of God. Oh! that He withhold not the blessing. 3. We prayd for poor Kinloss, and setling a ministri in that place,[a] and that our souls might see Him there, and His nam and sanctuarie sett up, and a blest successful ministri raisd up in that place; and when He had don this, we would mention Dyk and Forres, and the places about: for sometymes the fleec is dri, and the floor weet, and sometym the fleec is weet, and the floor drie Oh! that He would visit and water the ministers, and ther labours on the peoples also.

At supper we spok off Frie Will, and I said they that wil have a part in Fre wil may quit their part in Free grace. I might give a man libertie to goe an errand; if he mak himself drunk and unabl, he retains his liberti: I have not taken it from him, but may requir obedience; and yet the drunken wretch has lost abilitie.

17.—L. Grang[b] cam to me ere I rose. He acknowledged the Lord in directing them to choos Mr. H. Forbes. He spok to me anent himself and his counts and affairs. . . . Knockoudie cam heer, and the L. Duffus,[c] who

[a] Kinloss was not erected into a separate parish until October, 1657. The old Abbey Church continued to be used as a place of worship till the stones were sold to the English, in 1651, for building the Citadel at Inverness.

[b] Alexander Dunbar of Grange, who was served heir to his father Thomas, December 20, 1631. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Moray, no. 55.) He died before October 8, 1656, at which date his son Thomas was served his heir. (Ibid., no. 109.)

[c] Alexander Sutherland of Duffus, who was created a peer with the title of Lord Duffus, December 8, 1650. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 446.)

prest me with a voyage to London. Yet since E. Lothian[a] is there for my own particular, it yet appeirs safest to me not to move withal, that which concerns my sister's sone is lyk to fall in another way. Therfor I desire to be freed from this employment as that which may prove a snare and temptation to me. . . . I reaceavd letters from the Lord Lorn to com to Inverari. This I laid up in my thoghts, and desird to spread them before the Lord, and was troubld anent sending one with Mr. Hari to Inverness.

23.—I found exceptions rysing in my hart against the ————,[b] under the seeds, and risings of presumption, contempt, pryd, self conceit. I wryt; but my hart smot me for my writing. . . . The tutour came. Pa. Campbel's importuniti movd me to pray even when I was doubtful. I besoght the Lord for us then present, for our souls condition, for our meeting and affairs, and for the person and famili we met for, and that our labour might be someway to the honour of God and the good of his Church.

I sought an honest, upright heart, and not to be guided by witt, but by his word. I was in perplexiti anent the Lord Lorn's desire. But considering that he had not detained or turnd back the Tutour, notwithstanding our wryting, 2. That the Marquis had not wryten to me, 3. That I had such discouradgment from the Erl, I desird to trie and search if thes did not som way loos and exoner me from that undertaking.

I read Balaam's offer of preferment, and besoght the Lord to keep me from that bait. . . . I held up this voyage, and laid forth my confusions befor him, that I be not as Balaam in his voyage, to goe when the Lord forbids.

24.—I conferd with the Tutour, and found him inclining to draw the compts to Ila or Kosneith. I saw and heard of the rysing of jealousies, and that ther was some unsoundness, and besoght the Lord not for witt but grace.

Alexander Wilson cam heer. I heard an uncertain report of my Ladie

[a] William Ker, third Earl of Lothian, a zealous Covenanter, whose daughter, Lady Mary, was afterwards married to Brodie's only son and heir, James. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., pp. 137, 138.)

[b] Short-hand in MS. The words in short-hand evidently refer to the family of the Marquis of Argyle, and probably to some family disputes afterwards alluded to.

Southerland's [a] death, and desird to be humbld under it, and to wait. I was informd of Mr H. Forbes his scarciti of money, and was displeasd with myself for not giving him som. I heard of the furtherance and acceptanc which he reaceavd from the lait Col. and the major, and that som litle good was begining in Ross, and I desird to bless the Lord for that.

27.—This day I reaceavd several pressing letters from the South, that I should goe to London anent my own buisines with the factour's, and the E. of Murray and L. Duffus; and from Traquair [b] anent my nephew. I found a hart indisposd to pray, or to seek the Lord. 2. I found conflict within myself from fear of snares befor me, and what may befal my familie behind me, and suspicion of myself, and that I could not clearli gather the Lord's mind; and that without him my pains could doe noe good, nay, nor would I goe without his allowance, and his blessing, which withheld, it would be to noe purpos.

29.—Die Dom. . . . I did upon the Session table subscriue my nam and submit my wil unto the Lord in the matter of my going South, and uncomfortabl was the hop of my undertaking, and I prayed to be ridd of it, if it might seem good to him. My submission and resignation of my wil to him, and my subscription on the table is, and shalbe to Him, as if it wer on brass, or with a diomand upon glass. . . .

30.— . . . On my bed this morning it was sugested that my going to London was not a sin against ani express command of God; onli it might expos me to snares, being infirm, and weak, and unstable. I committed my hart to God to trie wherfor this thoght came. It was not for noght that Sir Jhon Cheisli and Cassils doe warn and diswad in som sort. Therfor, I fear. I spread this befor the Lord, that as yet light might break forth more; and I beleeue upon him that it shal. . . .

This day the E. of M., L. Duff, L. In., and Mort.[c] met at the Bridge. I perceavd much of a strict, punctual spirit in him in his own particulars. I desird to be loosd and to have a free spirit. Much mor of this corruption is in me then in him.

[a] Anne, eldest daughter of Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who was married to John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, January 24, 1639.

[b] John Stewart, first Earl of Traquair. He died in September, 1659. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 592.)

[c] The Earl of Murray, Lord Duffus, and the Lairds of Innes and Mortoun or Muirton.

Mr. Wil. Falconar yeelded to goe to Cathness; and for that I acknowledg the Lord.

I did expostulat sharpli with the Erl for not giving me notice of the Lord Lorn's busines.

Efter much debate anent my going either to London, to Rosneith, or to Edinburgh, I did then resolve, if my daughter wer broght to bedd in tyme, and weil, and efter my affairs of Calder wer exped, to undertak to goe to Rosneith or Edinburgh, and confer anent my Lord's fynn, and with possibiliti to effectuat anie thing for him. His distress mov'd me, albeit I saw not that in him that I desird. I laid forth God's judgment on his familie, and wishd him to lay it to hart.

1 August.—On Weddensday, Jhon Brodie, son to my deceas'd uncle, Mr. Jhon Brodie, was born in Auldern, and that sam day namd efter his father, and baptized.

5.—Die Dom. . . . Oh for grace, grace! as I see a clear solution. But soin am I driuen from purposes and resolutions. Alac! I find it. Witnes quhen I went to Holland, I engagd not to be familiar with Latherdale, Duk and others, yet I was almost stollen of my feet; and if the Lord had not been mercifull and pardond, I might have perished. Alac! my hart was not so fixd against familiaritie with thes men and complying as Mr. Jafray, Cassils, Livingstone, and Hutcheson, and others. . . .

I did this evening warn Cathr. Stracqhuan to bewarr of wantones, whordom, lightnes, and approaching evil. Lord! sanctifie the warning and exhortation to her.

I heard of the foul contention that fell out betwixt Mr. Tho. Law and Mr. Murdoch anent praying for the King; one bearing in hypocrisi, the other apostacie, on the other. This I desir'd to observ and to be humbld for it.

6.—I reaceavd letter from Mr. Rutherfoord encouradging me to dispos of Mr. Will. Ros to Ila. I worshiped and ador'd the Lord in it, seing how tristed that exhortation to me, with my purpose, and the call of that people to him, and resolvd to table it the day following.

Mr. Rutherfoord exhorted me in his letter that my right hand might not know what the left hand did. Oh! for that self-denial, sinceritie, and secrecie in evri dutie!

Mr. Rutherford said he knows not but the Lord may divorc the Mother,

but be a sanctuarie to the Litle Ones. Oh! that it wer soe, thogh our glori grew not! I heard of the bitter differs at Turreff betwix thos of Deer Presbytery and them anent Mr. Arthur Michel. I heard of Mr. Menzies his words, that er long he should be in Craigstoun 2 or 3 nights, and for evri night put out an minister. Oh! Lord overule! Thes things ar high, and my hart trembl's becaus of thes confusions and shakings.

7.—This morning Archibald Campbell, and I prest and tabld the call from Ila upon Mr. Will. Ross. I observd and laid forth all the Lord's providences. 1. Ther tristing upon one day to Murray, and soe opportunli to this place. 2. Mr. Rutherford's letter desiring me to deni myself, and to present him yet to Ila. 3. He broght this letter himself, not knowing. 4. His band to the Presbytri of Ila, that he should follow anie call hither, becaus he was broght up a quhil by them.

8.—I heard the Lord Duffus did tak journey without me to Rosneith; and I was therwith wel content. My daughter inclind not to put out her child. I reverenc'd the Lord's providenc.

12.—Die Dom. This day 15 year, on the 12 of August, 1640, my deir wyf was removd from me by death: Oh the manie vaneties and tossings that I haue past throgh since that day! I haue caus from this both to lament humblie, and to be thankful. . . .

After prayer, I inquird the estat of the soul efter death, and found that the souls of the just wer immediatlie admitted to the fruition of glorie; and the souls of the damd could be in noe better cace then devels. Jude 6.

13.—This morning I soght the Lord's blessing on the undertaking, and the voyages, and affairs at home and abroad before me. . . . I desird this day to prepar som words of exhortation to my familie against the next day, ere I went away.

1. To exhort them all to follow on to know the Lord, and to use all means of knowledge, conferences, prayer, reading, ilk one.

2. To be careful in attending on famili ordinances, and to be attentive, reverent, and setld in waiting on and joining in the exercyses.

3. To exhort against wantonnes, profannes, idle words, lightness, gading, or runing from hom, idlnes, sloth, stuborness.

4. To watch over ilk one themselves, and to watch over one another, and to admonish reproue, and warn one another to tak heed to themselves: that ilk one be frequent in giuing, and willing to tak, reprooffs.

5. Be obedient to thes that ar over them, to my mother, and to my sone, and my brother; ilk one in ther station, that ther be no murmuring, quarelling, stifnes, or stubornes, among them.

6. Be diligent, as, in the first place, in duties towards God, so next, in the duties of ther calling, and faithful and vigilant, "not as eye servants, but as seruing the Lord."

14.—I heard of the stirrs and combustions in Church effairs, and Mr. J. Guthrie depos'd:[a] I spread this befor the Lord, and desirs to mourn under it.

This night I was all night in Leathin on my journey to Rosneith. I was interupted from the famili exhortation which on the 13 day I intended; and this was hinderd by Innes coming to me even when we wer going about it. Desir of escheuing observation did sway with me to omit it; yet in this I dar not justify myself, but seek pardon.

15.—I went from Leathin . . . This night I was with the Tutour of Inverarie.

16.—We cam to Mullon[b] in Atholl. Ther did we acknowledg the Lord's protection and providence in bringing us over thes hills, and we prayd for that place, where we saw much ignoranc of God, and unkindness, and inhumaniti to ourselves. Oh the Gospel's comming in, and being reaceavd, would reform and chang ther natur!

17.—Was much rain. We cam al night to Aber-Riuen,[c] having staid a quhil at Dunkel; where I heard that the Protector had placd a minister; but the L. Athol and the people had rejected him. The yong man submitted and dimited the place; and so the Protesters disclaim him. Oh! how sad ar thes differs!

18.—We cam by Dumblean and Down to the Kirk of Drumin[d] in Lenox. All thes days of my travelling I did meet with few or noe thoghts or visits from the Lord to my spirit; nay, and I did as litle visit him. This I desird to be humbld under.

19.—Die Dom. I resolvd to stay al this day at Drumin, both the mor freeli to consider my ways, and that the Lord might order my hart.

[a] Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, was one of the three leading Protesters who were deposed by the General Assembly, held at Dundee in July, 1651.

[b] Moulin, a parish in the northern part of Perthshire.

[c] Aber-ruthven, in the parish of Auchterarder.

[d] Drymen is a parish in Stirlingshire, on the south-eastern shore of Lochlomond

20.— . . . I cam to Rosneth this day; and 1. I saw the uncurable wounds that wer in the famili by difference, implacablness, unsubmissiunes, humor, asperiti, &c., and by other burthens. 2. I receavd new invitations to London, and heard that the Marques was to goe to London: now this was noe encouradgement but a fear and a stumbling to me. I desired from my soul to be kept from ther ways.

I see the judgments, sins, confusions of this Land, and of the great Families in it. Oh Lord! keep me from partaking theroff.

To my Ladi Argyl,[a] I did express my unsatisfiednes with her sone's unsubmissiunes, and that he should tak with it; also her husband's deep recenting of, and keeping in his mind injuries, and offences, and prejudices. . . . I had befor me the meeting with Cassils and Pollock,[b] and committed my way to God.

As a mean to prevent and keep from the snares of the tym, the Lord did put it in my hart to examin the snares of the tym and the euels which ar to be lamented, mourned for, and repented of.

1. God's great wrath and anger against thes lands manifested in his ouerturning judicatours, families, houses, government.

2. The sin of ambition, tym seruing, men pleasing, has been one caus of God's anger, and the temptation and provocation of manie.

3. Noe privat benefit or advantadg to myself should draw me to approv of euel.

4. In the present gouernment I cannot but judge that ther is usurpation, arbitrari ruling: that by mani experiences it is safest for me not to medl[e] or haue to doe with them.

5. The swarming off errours, mor then at ani tym; euen poperi in our own land; the corrupt and dangerous principl[e] of toleration and liberti; the broken estate of the ordinance of ministers in England; our loosnes and confusion in Scotland: thes things ought to be laid to hart. Did ani bodi see what confusion and darknes wer upon the churches in England, it might mak our hart to bleed.

21.—Wil. Stewart and I spok of public confusions, and the wrath of God

[a] Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second Earl of Morton, wife of Archibald, Marquis of Argyle.

[b] Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, in the parish of Eastwood. (Crawford's History of the Shire of Renfrew.)

upon the land, and families, and persons. . . . This night Dumfreis[a] was with me most part of the night. We soght God for ourselvs, and for the land, and for this familie.

I was in strait becaus of the Marquis's letter, whither to goe to Inverari or to return. In this I cannot say ther is sin, albeit witlesnes, on my part; becaus I am engadgd to the meeting with Cassils on Friday.

22.—I cam from Rosneith to K. Kunthull. [Kirkintulloch,] and lodgd in an honest man's hous cald Arch. Caithnie. He worshipd God in his hous . . . As I was purposing in my hart to give myself to humiliation and supplication in a part of the day following, behold I heard of a solemn fast in the Presb. of Renfrew. Therein I worshipd and acknowledgd the Lord's providenc, and resolvd to join with them.

I heard of the Petition of som that Cromwel should tak the nam and titl[e] of a King upon him. This was matter of exercys to my spirit. I desird to enquir soberli and to [be] instructed and guided.

23.—At Renfrew I desired to be humbld in spirit. . . . Now with thes privat causes I desird to join the publick. 1. The cace off the saints and suffering people, and members in Savoy, and beyond sea, and to hold up ther distres, and the insolencie, cruelti, and contempt of the blasphemous enemies to God. . . . Mr. Pat. Simson[b] preachd 26 Is., 7, 8, 9, and lectured on Amos 6. Many profitable instructions had we.

24.—Friday. At Pasley, I heard Mr. J. Mercer. Spent the day with Bailie Jhon Kelso, and Mr. Alr. Dunlop,[c] and Mr. Ja. Stirling,[d] and Wm. Thomson. I did exhort them to lay the matter of Savoy mor to harts, and look on it as an alarum to all that loves the nam of Jesus. Thes sam things ar determind against them; yet this is the root that is springing up in our land.

[a] William, seventh Lord Crighton of Sanquhar, and first Earl of Dumfries, to which last dignity he was advanced by Charles the First, in June, 1633.

[b] Mr. Patrick Simson was ordained minister of Renfrew, November 11, 1653; was ejected for non-conformity in 1662; was restored to his former parish after the Revolution; and died there, at the age of 87, October 24, 1715. (Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 115, &c.)

[c] Mr. Alexander Dunlop was ordained one of the ministers of Paisley, in 1643 or 1644; was ejected for non-conformity in 1662; and died at Borrowstounness in 1667, aged about forty-seven years. (Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., pp. 16–19.)

[d] Mr. James Stirling was ordained one of the ministers of Paisley in 1654; was ejected in 1662; and died in the Isle of Bombay, East Indies, in 1671 or 1672. (Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 23.)

Jhon Kelso told me of an honest godli man in Irland that prayd long for changing the King's hart, and in the exercys he was presented to him with his arm ful of blood.

25.—This night I cam to Pollock.

26.—Die Dom. Mr. Alexander Dunlop lecturd on Math. xii. 43, and on Zach. 7, concerning ther enquiring if they should continue ther fast. Preachd on Amos iii. 3, "Can two walk together except they be agreed;" and again preachd on 1 Cor. i. 9, "God is faithful by whom we are cald unto the felowship of Jesus Christ our Lord."

27.—I found kindlines in this familie [Pollock]; and spok with my Lord Cochran[a] at Pasley, where I found my folli in discovering an inclination that I had to goe to London, in cace I could not eschew it, and that E. Lothian requird it me peremptorli. Let not this be a snare to me, nor this, that ther I might have gotten my business don if I had gone. He told me, the buisiness off public burdens was refferd to the Counsel. I considerd whither that did not som way hinder my voyage and my journeying up and doun, and wearying my hors and so disabld. I reffer thes considerations to God, and desire to be upholden that I stumbl[e] not.

I found som promising answers anent my sister's son, and I commended that effair to God. Sir Geo. Maxwel spok to me anent New Work's[b] [Newark's] sone to get a room in Ila. I desird to acknowledg the Lord, and to be guided in that matter, so that the yong man be noe stumbling block or obstruction to the work of God in that plac, or to the welfair of that people, for I feard, and doe from my hart seek direction and grace.

I cam to New Work and from thence to Rosneith. Prayd and read with Raulstoun[c] on thes words, 51 Ps., "Creat in me a clean hart, and renew a right spirit in me: tak not away thy Holi Spirit from me."

28.—Being Tuesday, I considerd the E. of Cassils letters, whither I should go to Cassilis or not, but desird unfeinedli the Lord's direction, for I am witles, foolish, and short-sighted.

[a] Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon, who was created Lord Cochrane of Dundonald by Charles the First, by patent, dated December 27, 1647. In May, 1669, he was elevated by Charles the Second to the dignity of Earl of Dundonald. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. i., p. 471.)

[b] Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark. (Crawford's Renfrew, 1st edit., p. 76.)

[c] William Ralstoun of that ilk.

This day Mr. Ja. Durham[a] came. . . .[b] Oh the bitternes betwixt the father and his son which I observd. I desired the Lord to piti them. We did exhort and warn, as the Lord assisted, both the M. and the 2 ladies.

29.—I was detained unwilingly from Cassilis. The M. shew[ed] me that he had writen for Cassilis, to see what might please thes honest men. I mightli feard a snare, and desird the Lord to guid my spirit, and to give me understanding what to ansuer.

I desird Mr. James to commend my cace to God, and to seek direction from the Lord to me. He told me, the safest cours in cace of doubt was to eschew the snare, and to lay count with the inconvenienc of loss. This we examind, and considerd som cautions fit to be had therin.

30.—In the morning I joind in the worship with Mr. J. Durham, and put up, as privat and particular suits, so som publick, for discouvring and judging Rom's idolatri; visiting and trying the cace of thos in Savoy, and carying on the gospel ther, and over the rest of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Saracens in America.

I found in the afternoon much hastines, and heat, and vehemencie, in my reasoning for my nephew, especialie with Geo. Campbell sherif deput, and desird to be cast doun under my infirmities, and besoght the Lord for grace against thes evels. . . . I desird to be ridd of this place, for I feard snares; and to be guided.

I yet further observd the Lord Lorn's declining to come home, and that I could not meet with him heer. I adord the Lord, and desird to condol ther cace in the familie.

31.—The M. told me of the E. Lothian and Dysart their tampering with the Protector, and inclinations to tak employment. I desir to consider and feare before the Lord, and to examin my own hart, and to hav it guarded against sinful aims, motions, courses, or undertakings that may be a snare or entanglment to my soul, and that other folk's exampl may be no stumbling block to me.

I was much exercysd with the differs betwix us and the tutor, and desird the Lord from my hart to ridd me of that temptation, if possible.

[a] Mr. James Durham was ordained minister of Blackfriars Church, Glasgow, in November, 1647; and in September, 1651, he was translated to the Inner High Church there.

[b] In the MS. three lines which follow, relating to Lord Lorn, are illegible from the fading of the ink.

In speaking with the M. anent his son,[a] and with my Ladie Lorne, I desird to examin what unsoundness or pride was [in] my own hart, and to ponder my ways, that in simpliciti I may follow the Lord.

1 Sept.—This day the tutour and we subscribed the submission, quherin I desird to examin, whither my yeelding to mak the Marq. judg in it was a snar, and from my facilitie, or was it from the Lord, as my dutie? . . . I found George Campbel verie opposite.

2.—Die Dominica. I was at Newwork in the morning, having com thither yesternight.

3.—I cam from Howstoun to Glasgow. I heard in Glasgow that Mr. Geo. Hutcheson[b] was struck with universal palsie (except the tongue.) I desird from my hart to bewail this befor the Lord, and held up, as the person, so the loss of this Church by that man's strok; and besoght the Lord for him, and that our ascriveing ouer micle to him might not mak him unusfull to us, or depriv us of him.

I heard, 1. That the Sacrament was ministered in this place with unanimous approbation. 2. That ther verie malignant magistrats countenanced worship, and reformed the outsyd. 3 That honest men would be content to lie out of employment, and affected not the government. The Lord can rule and keep up his Church, thogh we doe not intrud ourselvs into places of credit and employment. . . . Al this was the ground of prais and thankfulness, encouradgment, and exhortation, and stirring up of others, as I shall, God willing, doe.

Mr. Jhon Kilstairs[c] spok on Rev. 3, "I wil mak him that overcoms a pillar in the hous of my God."

4.—I heard Mr. Durham preach on Acts xxiv. 16, "I exercys myself alway in keeping a good conscience both towards God, and towards men." Manie marks, properties, and other truths did he deliver anent conscienc.

The Marquis spok with Mr. Durham and Kilstairs anent his journeye. We knew not what to saye in the point of advice, so dark wer we.

In the evening I prayd with Jhon Kelso.

[a] Archibald, afterwards Earl of Argyle, and eldest son of the Marquess.

[b] Mr. George Hutchinson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a man of distinguished abilities. He was ejected for nonconformity in 1662, and afterwards became indulged minister at Irvine, where he died of apoplexy in 1674.

[c] Mr. John Carstairs, first minister at Cathcart, and at this time colleague to Mr. James Durham in the Inner High Church, Glasgow.

5.—I found the buisiness of the Feu duties of Ila going crocelie, and that they expected great matters. I desird to commend the matter to God, and in managing of it to be directed by the Lord without sinful, carnal counsel or deceit.

I visited Mr. Bailie,[a] and exhorted him to entertain christian fellowship with others, and to countenanc and foster pietie. I movd him to pray, wherin he [did] succeed litle of privat condition, but bewaild public losses and calamities, as unsupportable.

I spent som tym in visiting Swintoun,[b] and closd with an exhortation to him to look to himself and to watch; to enquir into his own soul's estat, and to ponder how it faires with him now: show[ed] his loss, if his estat grew great, and if, in spiritual things, he decreasd and decayd. The mor wer his snares and temptations, the mor should he tak heed and watch.

I reaceavd letters from Lothian desiring me to com, but yet was uncleer, and heard not the Lord's voice, which behovd to be my warrant.

. . . I heard that the Protesters wer on a Couenant renewing, and to leaue out civil things. I desird to have som sympathy of ther estat, and desir direction and light to them, and that they may be kept from snares.

6.—This day I was made Burges of Glasgow, and saw som plentie of God's creaturs, and the fynest, and the strongest, and the sweitest. Oh so litl as meat profyts! "The meat for the belli, and the belli for meat, and both for destruction."

Much tym spent in discourses of litl value with Swintoun this day.

7.—I ended that communing anent my Nephew. I observd it was not sure, onli an opinion; and this the Lord does, to exercise me, and that I be not too much affected with it.

Mr. Ja. Durham prayd at our parting from Glasgow. . . . We heard off ther purpos to renew the Couenant and leau out civil things. This burthend and perplexed the whole of them in Glasgow; and I desird to be humbld under the motion, and to seek mor light to myself and to others from whom it came. I see evri motion that may aim at pietie and good is not to be presentli closd with, as seasonabl, convenient, and

[a] Mr. Robert Baillie, afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow, author of "The Letters and Journals."

[b] Sir John Swinton of Swinton. He was made one of the Lords of Session by Cromwell, and became a Quaker. He narrowly escaped the fate of the Marquis of Argyle after the Restoration.

lawfull. 2. Good aims and affections cannot bear out, or be our rul in walking: onli His word must warrand. I heard they purposd to mak application to the English, both the one and the other, Protesters and assemblie men; and to quit praying for the King. This night I cam to Arnbrew [Aranbrae] neir Kilsyth.

8.—I cam in by Ricartoun. . . . I cam to Edinburgh this night. By another letter from the E. of Lothian, I thoght that he dispensd with my coming. I desird to worship and ador the Lord, and to enquir, whither I should tak this as the answer off my prayer. If it be, the Lord must keep me from sining aganst his ansuer, and giv strenth, and lift up the head that the patient may tak the medicin.

I was perplexd anent the E. of Muray's fyn.

9.—Die Dom. I prayd in Wariston's famili yesternight. But oh! so litl solid grace! for ther is much differenc betwix that and a gift of prayer, that passes lyk water throgh a spout.

I heard of Mr. Jh. M'Culigan's[a] refusing or declining to accept the cal to Ireland: Provost Jafrey his desir that I should desist from Mr. Hari Forbes. Both thes I desired to spread befor the Lord, and to be directed in.

Mr. Jhon Stirling preachd on Jh. xiv. v. 8, 9, "And Philip said, Shew us the Father and it suffices." . . . Mr. Jh. Stirling afternoon on Hos. ix. 17, "My God shal cast them away, becaus they hearknd not unto him: and they shal be wanderers among the nations."

11.—I was enclind to goe to London. 1. Becaus it was informd and apparent that Lothian would deal perchanc for himself, and not for others. 2. He had mani things of his own to clogg him. 3. The E. of M. his buisiness. 4. It did so much concern me and my famili, and the opportuniti seemd fitting. I did from my hart seek the Lord in thes things, and did spread them befor the Lord, and desird a hart cleansd from sin and mixtur, and beleevd on his nam for light and grace; and, on the next day, I found the Lord had turnd away my mind from the voyage, wherin I adord and reverencd him, but desird yet further to understand, that I might find a solid ground to fasten my stay and resolution warrantabli upon. 1. The

[a] Mr. John M'Gilligen was afterwards minister of Foddertie, in Ross-shire. He was ejected for non-conformity in 1662, and was imprisoned several years on the Bass. After the Revolution he became minister of Inverness, where he died June 8, 1689. (Wodrow's History.)

Earl's business I would essay what I could in this place. 2. Next, for my own I would comitt it to God, since ther was a probabl way of releef.

I did visit Mr. Hutcheson, and Col. Lockhart,[a] and Mr. Guthrie. He did complain upon a will not subdud to close freeli with Christ and the gospel. Oh my wil is farr wors, and less compliant!

Yesternight cam the Lord Browal,[b] [Broghill] President of the Counsel, in to Edinburgh. Ther appeard outward splendour in them and Swintoun. 2. I heard of som jelousies betwixt the President and the General. I desird to consider.

The Ladie Loudoun desird me to goe with her to the General; and I desird, in consideration of her distress, to obey.

14.— . . . I did goe doun to meet with Swinton, and he was going to coach, so that I found not occasion. I saw growth of outward statlines; this may be quhen the soul grows lean. I dind with the Ladi Loudoun. I wryt to the Earl of Cassils anent the new Covenant, and did giue him the grounds of my unclearness; yet I, from my hart, desir a hart engadgd to God in euri commanded dutie which it contains; and dar not slight the matter off relying on, and giving up our selus of new to the Lord, and laying bonds on my own soul to personal duties of pietie and chariti, and use of al means and ordinances: wherin I am dark, I desir to wait and beleeu on his nam for light.

16.—This was a Fast and humiliation under the great excessiue rains, which threatnd to destroy the earth, and fruits thereof.

Mr. Lauri[c] lecturd on Is. 58, and shew[ed] formalitie was the great sin for which the land was to mourn, so ryf was it in the land.

Mr. Stirling lecturd; and Mr. Andro Gray[d] preachd Pro. x. 4, "The hand of the diligent maks rich."

[a] Colonel William Lockhart. He was at first an ardent royalist, and was knighted by Charles the First in 1643; but he was afterwards gained over to the service of Cromwell, by whom he was made one of his Lords of Session. His second wife was a niece of Cromwell's.

[b] Roger Boyle, fifth son of Richard, first Earl of Cork. He was created Baron of Broghill in 1628. Having been appointed by Cromwell, President of the Council in Scotland, he came to Scotland where he remained during a part of the years 1655 and 1656. (Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii., pp. 316, 321.)

[c] Mr. Robert Laurie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He was the only one of the ministers of the capital who conformed to Prelacy after the Restoration. He was made Dean of Edinburgh, and afterwards Bishop of Brechin. He died in 1677. (Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 168.)

[d] Mr. Andrew Gray, son of Sir William Gray, Provost of Edinburgh, was minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow. He was ordained November 3, 1653, and died early in the year 1656. (Wodrow's Analecta, vol. i., p. 168.)

17.—I heard Mr. Douglas,[a] xl Ps., 5, 6, 7. . . . I dind with Swintoun, and saw something of outward glorie passing; it wil have a tym and period. I desird not to be taken with it. Bringing business to pass wil draw me to compli farr with men. Oh let not this be a snar to me!

18.—Mr. Andr. Gray preachd on that sam text, Ps. x. 4. The Lord Warristoun his son James, was baptizd; being born on Saboth befor the 16th. Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Stirling was with me. We spok and conferrd on Christian reproof, and the use and necessiti of it. 2 We spok of that word, Phil. iii. 15, 16, whither ther was not a season for silens as weil as for speaking. They held that from ani thing wherof they wer convincd that it was a dutie, we could not lay restraint or bands on ani to hinder them from speaking We prayd for light in his own caus. . . . The Lord seemed not to be farr of from my soul. But going forth to see the Lord Browal [Broghill][b] and the Lord Howard, I fell in a necessiti to convoy and accompani them up the way, to the offenc, I fear, of mani. This I desire to consider, and to enquir into, and to see iff my visiting or my cariag was sinful, and to be instructed. Oh for grace!

This day I did again enter in Covenant solemnlie, and gav in my nam, consent, subscription, and acceptanc of the Lord Jesus to be my head, lord, husband, guid, my al in all. Being required by Mr. Andro Gray, in the Lord's nam, to declair iff I would refus or not? I said, Befor the Lord I could not refus, but with my hart gave over my self, poor, miserable, sinful, weak, ignorant, as I am, to God in Christ, to be His. Litl use can he mak off me; but if he can, His am I, and shall I be totalli, perpetualie, throghlie, if he wil be at the charge to maintein, confirm, mak good, and perfeit his work in me.

. . . I spok with Mr. Rob. Douglas 1. He said our land was not for a deliueranc; litl could be made of it, so corrupt and sinful wer we, our nobles, great ones, and al estats; and, till we wer mor fitt, he neither could expect nor beleeue ani outgat. 2. He professed, he thoght praying for the King, noe such necessarie matter as to quitt ther ministrie for it; yet the humours of the people was such, that nothing could pleas them unless they should quitt ther ministri for it, and when he was clear he thoght that noe ground to

[a] Mr. Robert Douglas: who was admitted second minister of Kirkaldy in 1630, and was translated to Edinburgh in 1641. (Extracts from Records of Synod of Fife, p. 232.)

[b] See foot-note [b] p. 154.

stand upon. 3. He said, that he mouvd as an overtour of peac, that ane Assembli might be cald, by advertizing the Presbytres to choos commissioners, without respect to ani former limitations or differs; and honest men onli; that thes men that wer censurd should not be chosen, but, at the dounsitting of the Assemblie, be declard ministers of the Church of Scotland; and that ther protestation should stand against the Assembly, onlie to be taken up in so farr as concerns the constitution off assemblies; that they may know what to stand at. 4. He declard, he was as much for purging out of corrupt, naghti ministers as euer; onli, in respect of thes differs, he thoght it dangerous to giue full power to Commissioners of the Kirk, except in the case of delations, onli to trie, visit, and report. He took the Lord to witnes of the sinceritie of his hart to hau an honest, holi ministrie, and to be rid of naghti men; he approud al that euer was don in Scotland against such, and would be as readie as euer to put out, and hold them out; onli he differenced Mr. Will. Coluil[a] from the common sort, who was of a mor blameless and painful conversation. 5. He durst not seek a General Assemblie presentlie from the English, especialli till they wer at one with ther brethren; nay, and then, they would tak noe mor but ther permission to com together.

. . . Mr. D. Dickson did visit me. He told me, they wer resolud not to put praying for the King in ballanc with ther ministrie. He labourd to clear, and to vindicat the Assembli ministers from the things they wer chargd with; and did tak the Lord to witnes of their caus, and affections, and desirs, and sinceriti, in seeking to purg out the corupt, unsufficient ministers. My hart, when I spok to him of thes things, was micle movd . . .

I did efter supper visit Coll. Witham and Collonell Scroop, and did exhort them to express and shew that they wer com heer for the good of this broken people. They profesd and promisd to indeavour it. They said, it would tend much to this, iff honest men would accept imployments. I replied, the Lord had found us so unworthi to rule, that he had left us non off our own to gouern, nay, or were fit to gouern, nay, som out of the sence

[a] Mr. William Colville, minister of the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, who was deposed by the General Assembly in 1648, for not preaching against the lawfulness of the Engagement. He was restored by the Synod of Lothian in 1655. (Baillie's Letters and Journals.) He was afterwards minister of Perth in 1655, and Principal of the College of Edinburgh in 1662.

of this thoght themselus incapable off ani such trust quhil they liud I laid forth the grouth of Poperie. 2. The contempt of disciplin. 3. The heavie taxes that wer upon us; and desird that we might se som redress in al thes.

20.—I did meet with much discouradgment in my nephew's buisines, and in the Earl of Murray's. My spirit was disturbd and disquieted with it. Seing al goe so croceli, I was bidden mak application to the Lord Protectour. I desird to consider this, and whither I should goe, or advis the Earl to goe. . . . Hopton and Huntli dealt with me, and others also, anent accepting imployments. Oh for direction and grace! Oh for light, and couradg, and strenth! I purposd not to medle.

I spok to the President[a] of Public Burdens; but litl feeling had ani of it.

22.—I saw something of the bondag and servitud of the poor land, and of ther oppression that ruld us, and ther usurpation, and lusts, and heard of ther corrupt ways. I desird from my soul to be humbld under al the wrath of God, and our provocations which had kindld the Lord's anger against us, and our rulers, and judges; for, as we hau don, so does the Lord to us. Our bands and complaints of arbitrari ruling ar the sam that befor; as unbounded power does he [Cromwell] exercyse as euer did ani befor. I heard of L. Hari Cromwel his being sent to Irland; the calling away of Monk; the design of Jamiaca, quher the gold was. I desired to stoup and worship the Lord who is Souerain Lord of Lords, and euer ruls the courses and counsels of men. Desborough[a] and Col. Lokhart's brother wer made joint Lord Register. Oh that I may be guided throgh! . . .

23.—Die Dom. West Port. Forenoon, Mr. Read; and afternoon, Mr. Gray, on Gal. vi. 3, "If ani man think himself to be something, quhil he is nothing, he deaceavs himself."

The Lord sent me a note from Mr. Rob. Douglas, anent refusing places and employments, even quhen they wer most advantagious. 2. And albeit pretended to doe good. Seal this on my hart, that I may be content of thy reproach mor then the alurements and baits of the world. Not but employments may sometyms be lawful and necessarie: only [not] now. 2. Quhen gain is the end. 3. Quhen accompanied with such snares.

25, 26.—This 25th, at night, I cam to Torwoodlee late. Litl good did

[a] President Broghill.

[a] John Desborough, Cambridgeshire, one of Cromwell's Major-Generals. He was married to Cromwell's sister Jane. (Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell.)

I meet with in the day by the way; scarc[e] a thoght of God. Alac[e]! for such travelling, and such uncomfortabl journeys. In this place I found much welcom; but I desird to be afflicted. 1. For my unprofitablness and unusefulness in this place; not a word almost of God among us, either to ther edification, or my own. 2. Except the famili worship, not a knee bowd. 3. Much neglect of secret fellowship with God in worship. 4. A meeting at Ancrum, and yet I did not keep it, nor yet Torwodlee.[a]

27.—With great importuniti I was staid heer, and desird to reverenc the Lord's wisdom and providenc. I did conferr with the Ladie[b] on the care and duti that lay on us that ar parents towards our children, to exhort, warn, admonish at al seasons, and to give them up unto the Lord, to be His.

Shee said, Quhen shee could not be rid of unsoundnes, and could not win to that integriti, and to give the whol hart to God, then she would pray the Lord to take her by her word, and to fulfil the desir of her mouth, albeit her heart was not as it should. I said, That veri prayer was not without the hart, even a good measur of the hart.

. . . I visited old Whitbank.[c] 1. I desird not to inuie nor grudg albeit other men had mani gifts of industrie, government, domestick discretion, and dexteritie, which I had not. 2. That the spirit of another was mor fitted to som things then myn. 3. I desird to be keeped, as from complaining, so from setting my hart on ani thing but on God, or counting micle of ani induments, or gifts, or faculties. Grace is all; Christ is al to me. . . . 4. Whitbank had pretti natural gifts of pollicie and discretion, had houses and gardens, and a sweit pleasant dwelling: mani things that I had not. Now I desird to ador God in his wisdom, and in his dispensing of outwards things: he had not appearanc to haue succession, for his son had noe children. 5. He told me, that Traquair saying to him, He thoght him a happi man; he answered, You may be al happi if you would; could you content yourself with such homlie privat employments and exercyse; did not desir of greatness and court, confidence of parts and wisdom transport you and depriue of contentednes, how easili might yow sitt doun and enjoy all that I doe, and much more . . .

I heard that the goodwyf of Gallowhales [Galashiels] had 10 sones, and

[a] George Pringle of Torwoodlee. (Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 227.)

[b] The wife of George Pringle of Torwoodlee was a daughter of Brodie of Lethin. (Wodrow's History, vol. iv., p. 229.)

[c] Pringle of Whitebank.

al graceles. I adord God, and concluded, it is not in children, or the multitud of them, or beautie, or welth, or prosperiti, of them that our happiness consists, but in this, that they be honourd with the knowledg and fear of God.

This familie [Torwoodlee] has all things plentifull and successful, and ar blest with friendship and ofspring about; let the Lord bless it to them! noe such emulations and factions heer as is among us. . . .

28.—I cam from Torwoodlie to Edinburgh, and did speak a word to the Ladie elder, and to Janet, and to yong Torw. anent what the Lord was requiring of them severally. They al took it weil of my hand.

I found at my return—1. My poor goodwyf at point of death . . . 2. Buisiness with D. Lenox making noe progres. 3. That other, with the General, anent Ila, noe better. Under all thes I desird to be humbld. . . . 4. I read Waristoun's letter for covenanting, and desired to lay this befor the Lord, even the motives, and objects, that I be not found against the Lord.

This night, about ten at night, Dame Edmonstoun, who had for mani years lodgd me in her hous, was removd by deith. At my veri first comming, quhen she saw me, she embracd me, and said, I was com to buri her. Ah! Lord, and so it fell out. She died in the Lord, and in the faith of Jesus Christ, and of his promises for forgivness, and to be raised up at the last day, to be presented without blame befor God, through the Lord Jesus.

30.—Die Dom. Mr. Jh. Stirling preachd 14 John 13. . . . I went to the burial as dead as the corps; so litl motion or sence I had. In the evening I met with much stupiditi in the servants.

. . . Mr. Douglas told me he was not ashamd of coming up the way with the President; 2. That the General had told them, that he would not permitt Aberdeen Synod to sit without Mr. An. Cant's testimoni.

1 October.—This day Garthland did visit me, and told me, that the Minister's stipends, and other things, wer to be burdend with cess: and personal estats; that Cassils was mor[e] mild. I did acknowledg the Lord in this, and desird to consider.

. . . I heard of the defeat of the Spainard at Pauia in Itali; and that Venabls and Pen wer returnd, and imprisond, had left som men in Jamiaca, and wer beaten at Hispaniola. That the English ships wer al arested in Spain's dominions; that all beyond the Lyne was out of the peace with

Spain. That the Spainard had since taken from the English the Ile of Prouidenc. That Lord Blak[e] was on the coast of Spain with 22 ships, and 12 going to him. I heard of the exertion off the great empyr of China. In al thes I might see the power, wisdom, and souerainti of God. This day a new proclamation, taking restraints of the ministers, and giuing them to the 1 of Nouember to forbear with certification. . . .

I wryt to Swintoun shewing that I would not tak employment. He cam and visited me; as to ani good purpos, or yet ciuil buisiness, I was barren, and had nothing to speak to him. . . .

2.—The ministers did begin to forbear praying for the King, thinking the other proclamation fred them much. . . .

I was of new invited earnestli to goe to London, which did beget me much anxietie and exercyse; yet, at last, efter al the tossings, my understanding led me to judg it lawful as the cace stood. But 1. On the hopes that the E. of Lothian had to doe it. 2. On my fears and suspicions of my self, I did devolue and rol it ouer upon God. In His wisdom and alsufficiencie, He might, if He thoght fitt, bring it to pas by the means that is us'd; and if he would not, I had then to consider what he cald me unto. . . .

I did this day feel my unsatisfiednes with Waristoun anent the Covenant, especialli in that of rooting out heresies; . . . and the devision it would work.

3.—Wednesday. I came from Edinburgh late, and did that night lodg in a hous of one Stewart, neer Dalrei [Dalry], who did express his hatred of al godlines under the nam of Sectaries.

Next day, I found a merciful providenc in croceing Queensferie, in a great storm, and did quietli commit my spirit to God, when I saw the billows, as opin graves, readi to reaceave me into ther bellie. . . . I cam in by Rosnyth.

5.—I cam this night to Kirkaldie, and the next day to a privat hous neer Brechin. Thes two days my thoghts wer litl worth: I found disposition to wear out tym with vain thoghts; but scarc a word or a thoght towards God.

On the 6 of October I cam to Donsyd; and did meet with Judg Mosley, and Goodear, the day befor, in ther return from the Courts.

7.—Die Dom. At Druminour. . . . Mr. William Urquhart preached

on Ex. 20. 24. . . . Ther was noe familie worship this day in the hous. In the morning I had admonishd, warnd, and exhorted my nephew.

9.—I cam from Innes to this hous, which I dar not call my own, nor my home. I spoke with the Erl off Murray['s] sons, and Duffus at Lethin, anent his fynn.

. . . I heard that the assyse did assoili Kilboyak from that murther he comited on Hemprig's brother. Now, Oh Lord! piti the land and forgiue; and charg not the blood, and the fals clearing of the guilti upon us: now it lies on Thee, when men have refused, or wil not doe justic, to tak cognisanc of it, and to enquir: may it be for thy glori, for the terrour of others, and wer it in merci to the soul of that wretch! For money he was assolied. I heard ther was much corruption in clerks and advocates about that Court. This I desird to consider and to bewail. I heard Jhon Cuming was letten out, but noe particular sureti to me for his indemnitie; and that he and Jhon M'Patrick had much hatred against us. Now, Lord! be our shadow and hiding place; for besid Thee we hau noe defenc against wicked and wild men.

I heard off much insolencie, and oppression, and violenc, committed against this poor countrie for some publick dues: this I commit to the Lord.

I heard that Mr. Tho. Urqhart was enterd on his trials, and wel reported of; and for this I desird to worship and to ador the Lord, and to look for good from Him to this poor place as yet

10.—The Earl of Murray resolud to goe to London anent his fynn, and to tak Spini with him; and I desired to remark and obseru what the Lord was about therby. Even quhen I was about this I reaceivd a letter from Generall Morgan to com to Aberdeen. This surprizd me, soe that I knew not what to mak out of it. That 1. I and Leathen onli should be sent for, and noe other. 2. At such a tym when I had not had one day's rest at home: I need not call this place, nor this world my home. 3. That it might not have com a day sooner, and then I had been exonerd, or els that I cam not by Aberdeen; and then this travel would hau been holden in.

First, I adord God in it, and in my darkness and confusion, and when I was at my wit's end, and could not giue a reason, yet then to ascriue righteousnes and wisdom to God. 2. I found myself apt to quarel with God, as if I had been deluded in concluding, that I was al weil directed, wheras it might hau been better if I had com in by Aberdeen. Lord! this

is sinful. I desir to be silent, and yet to think weil of Thee, albeit I should be quarterd or kild at Aberdeen. 3. His thoghts are not myn. 4. The Lord reprovs my hastines! He that beleevs maks noe hast. 5. Becaus the ordour is peremptor, without quareling, I desird to see if the Lord cald and warranted me to goe; and seing noe impediment but my disacommodation, and the fear of my weaknes, and unstablnes, I conceaued it wer not to be alloud, if I should incur ther censur for disobeying . . .

11.—This day my difficulties of going to Aberdeen did encress, and my perplexities.

This day at even, with Mr. H. Forbes and Mr. Joseph, I did prosecut the call from Ila to Mr. Wil. Ros, and found his spirit sober, and his discouradgments mor clearli from sens of insufficiencie. He yeelded to wrytt; he prayd that he might not be sufferd to put his foot a sparr; that his hart may be enclind to the way that pleases Him; and he might not goe unsent, nor stay when cald forth. Oh Lord, heer!

We dealt with Mr. Jhon M'Gulican, with quhom we saw mor of a peremptor spirit, predetermind aganst it. I did reason sharpli with him, and cried to God, quhil I was reasoning, to be kept from marring this man, and moving his spirit, with my indiscreet passion and pryd. I offerd nothing to him but the peopl's necessitie and call, his designation and separation to that employment. He replied, that the report they could have of him was not sufficient for them to giv a call. Mr. Jos. and Mr. Harie thoght he said nothing that had weight to exoner him. He promisd to ansuer by wryt. Mr. Tho. thoght mor of his argments; that report could not giv warrand to a peopl to choos; but it might sure [lead] to call. I desird to commit thes things to God.

12.—I cam to Moortoun, and heard that Craigstoun had attempted to bui, [buy] or exchang, his lands for Cromarti. I saw much off my own confident, daring, ambitious, covetous natur. I did not mor piti him then abus my self under mani such lyk thoghts. . . .

14.—Die Dom. I cam to Inverurie to sermon; I had litl or noe particular exercyse. I staid heer al day, and desird to piti His people; for minister and people ar litl the better of other.

I heard it was anent Justices of Peace that Morgan sent for me; I was considering soe poor a buisiness to cal me for, if he had noe mor.

15.—I cam to Aberdeen, and found, that al the buisiness which this

journey was for, was onli to see if I would be a Justice of Peace. I desird to be humbld under that feeles errand, that might haue bein as weil answerd at a distanc; yet it was the Lord's wisdom, partli to correct my hastines. . . . I ansuerd, if others should be joined that wer as fitt as I, then I should concurr with them; but alon, or with a few, I would not. Why should I tak a singular employment on me? 2. So that it wer not clogd with anie oaths; that nothing els did accompani it; for I would not be liabl to anie other thing. I was al night with Mr. Rae in Old Town, and ther did see that faithful woman, his wyfe, and might have bene edefied by the companie. Provost Jafray reproud me sharply for not going to London, and conjecturd Lothian would effect noe mor, but something for his own liberation. I told him I did it singlie as to the Lord, quhom I desird in this thing to followe; I promisd to wryt; and if the necessitie should yet appear, I would not declyn. 1. For freing my self and my familie. 2. For supplying that people quhom I was engadged to, and that had sufferd so much distress for us, and partli for me.

16.— . . . I heard off the death off the Lord Arbuthnet,[a] and desird to be unfeinedli humbld under that loss. He was the shadow to honest people in al thes places; and shall we not look on it as a publick strok, and a marke of God's anger? Such taken away, and shall we not consider: yea, Lord! in bitternes, I desir to afflict my own soul becaus of this; and, so much the mor, that this plac is not lyk in that regard to be filld again. And thus in his youth; and thus after he was newli maried. Oh help me to consider!

I heard Mr. Menzies could not sitt in a Presbytri to decid, onli to consult.

20.—I held a Court, and found my corruption rysing, quhen the poor woman her pot was broken by Jh. Dumbar. Lord! forgiue my want of tendernes, and enclyne!

I spok with poor Cathrin Hendri whom I found in much distemper; and I desird with her, from my soul, that the Lord would kyth his power, truth, souerantie, compassion, on a poor afflicted creature; for his glori was immediatli at the stak. Sathan did in som sort defie us, and defie him, laughd at confidenc in God, and seeking of him. Oh, hear and consider, defeat, confound, trampl under foot that old crooked serpent! . . .

[a] Sir Robert Arbuthnott was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount of Arbuthnott, 16th November, 1641. He died on the 10th October, 1655.

Mr. Wil. Ross mad me difficulti to wryt to Ila; and I was stirrd in spirit and disquieted, desiring and offering to subscriv, and submit to ani way of the Lord's approving, for clearing us and finding out his mind.

I mett with Altyr and the Farquhars, and saw much of God's judgment, and a map of man's naghtiness, and desird to be humbld for the want of hatred against sin, and deceit, and profaniti, and contempt of God. Oh, what wil they not doe that fear not the Lord? . . .

21.—Die Dom. Mr. Wil. Falconar upon Math. 4. 5, anent the institution of mariag, rules, and mutual duties. Albeit I found not the edefying use of thes things, yet might the Lord afterward bring it to my mind, and mak it of use to others and to me. I dar not despis it, albeit it had noe present operation.

Ther was a motion for a schoolmaster. I further added, that I would the mor willingli consent iff we might fal upon one that could help him to examin and visit, nay, and preach, and bear som part of the burden of this people. Oh! for such a one. I purpos to have examind. But Oh! as I was straitnd, and therfor was forcd to give it over, and only read. By this I would gather that reading or speaking has mor witt, or parts, but catechizing has mor of grac, and immediat assistanc from the Spirit of God, and when rightli gon about in simplicitie, therby is God noe less honourd.

22.—Efter the morning exercys, alon and with Cathrin Hendri, was past, I did meet with Kinsterie, and went and visited Geo. Dumbar who was sick, and, at ther instant desir, prayd with them. The yong Ladie Leathin cam to visit us. I found only ignoranc in the familie. Oh that the Lord would extirp it!

This day I heard of Altyr's falshood, perjurie, and deceit, and desird a hart to tremble, becaus of the Lord's dishonour, and men's contempt of God.

24.—I went to the Presbytrie, and movd anent the young men that wer cald to Ila, and anent Cathrin Hendri. . . . I heard Lieut.-Coll. Blunt exprest not much of his desires to be with the Lord, nor was he willing to die, nor lookd he for it; nor did he move ani stander by to pray for him. . . .

I reproud Mr. H. Forbes and Joseph for ther loss of tym, and ther stay neglecting ther calling. Joseph did tak ill that I said ther was litl don in my effairs. I saw his weaknes, and desird to piti, and to be guided towards him. Oh soe much frailti! and how does the Lord humble me in al that

concerns me. I said, I should be weil quhen I got servants mor and skilful: and the Lord rebuked this. In a beloud brother, I promisd myself much; and I find weaknes ther. Thus shall I find a thorn sit quher I lyk.

Mr. Tho. Hog movd anent Mr. Jhon M'Culigin to Fotherti. I desired to be singl harted so far as I could attain unto, and remit the matter to ani means or ways of the Lord's prescriving, for finding out the Lord's mind. I heard from Mr. Wil. Ross, he refusd to wryt to Ila. Under al this discouradgment I desird to worship and ador the Lord.

Mr. Tho. Hog did communicat to me the purpos of maryiag, which he had, and desird my advic, and to mention this to God; quhilk I desird to doe.

26.—Knockoudie cam heer, and spok to me off his going to Edinburgh. I kept the Session; but oh! with how much unprofitablnes, scarc hauing one word to speak to al the multitud off thos that cam in, som for drunkennes, som for whordom, som for Sabbath-breaking. I found them dead and dull, and soe was my self; and God litl honourd among us. We spok a word in catechizing Cathrin Hendri at night: she said, it was a mercie and a wonder, that such a one as the Son of God, so fair and louli a person should euer lou so black and uglie a creatur as she: nay souch a dogg, a deuel's dogg, as she. . . .

27.—Sir Geo. M'Enzie and Mr. Tho. Hogg dealt with me anent Mr. Jhon M'Culigan. I did desir in simplicitie and in singlnes of hart to enquir the Lord's mind, and to follow anie overtour that may tend to clear that; wherin I stil desir that my affection, enterest, or relation may not preingadg, or preoccupi my judgment, or blind.

This day the poor man Jhon Lard was found drownd in the stank behind Wightman's Hall. . . . I heard lykwyse that Mr. Colin Campbel was dead, and desird to weigh the loss of that ryp, bnt unryp chaung.

28.—Die Dom. . . . Oh! I found how mean a gift of edifying Mr. William had on Math. 19, and thoght it my dutie to conferr with Mr. William, and to warn and admonish him, and stir him up: First, That he would labour rather to work on the affections of this people, then on ther judgments. 2. He would studi to deliver truths tending to salvation, rather then natural or moral truths, which heathens might know, and perish. 3. That he would be mor in setting forth Christ, discouering deceit of hart, formaliti, hypocrisie, and spiritual euels, which may ly under a fair pro-

fession. 4. Giving marks to know our estat, whether we be in Christ or not, and whether the promises belong to us or not, would rouz up sinners, and waken them; and tell them off ther danger, and how mani thousands deceau ther own souls. Moral honesti, and righteousnes, and moderation in the world, and to luie discreetli among men, is not saving grac: men may haue this and goe to hell. 5. That he would not preach a doctrin, an use, a mark, a sign of trial, but first labour to haue the senc, vic, and experienc of it on his own hart and would speak and deliuer to us; as being exercysd with the sam things himself. 6. He would not rest in discouering gross monstrous sins, but descend into the secret of the hart, and search spiritual sins that ar mor hiden, which light of natur cannot tak up nor see. 7. He would acquaint himself with the methods and workings of Sathan and his wyles. 8. He would labour to studie and know in himself, and mak us know, the mysteri of godlines; the ends, use, worth, and effect of Christ his birth, sufferings, obedienc, death, victori, ascension, and mediation with the Father. 9. To giue marks to know sauing grac from counterfeit, and natural vertews and moral; and to tri our spiritual grouth in grac, or iff we be decaying. 10. See how his ministrie prospers, how mani souls ar sick for Christ, or sick of sin and wounded.

Oh Lord! iff it be my dutie, or if it be Thy will to me, to serue Thee in this matter towards this man, Oh Lord! grant freedom, light, strenth, confidenc, humblnes, singlnes, and opportunitie, and a blessing. . . .

I am much straitnd that buisines should so ouercharg, as I cannot find an opportuniti of a day to spend with the poor woman Cathrin Hendrie.

29.—I did, afternoon, goe to Darnway, and setld a bargain off wood with the Erl of M[urray]. Alac! for want of tendernes: faculti to doe buisines without grac is a poor qualiti; it's not that which I desire.

30.—I went to Forres, and staid al night ther about Aikinway's business, and son's ther. I found myself ouertaken with mor liberal eating then was fitt; so much did I indulg my sinful fleshli apetit.

Mr. Tho. Urquhart had a popular sermon: "They shal cal His nam Jesus, for He shal sav His people from ther sins." Christ is worth evri nam that He gets.

This day we conferd with the Presb. anent the cal given to Mr. Jhon M'Kulican and Mr. Wil. Ross to Ila. I could not say but the Lord guided them in declaring Mr. Wil. Ross to be lawfulli cald, and encouradgd him,

and advizd him to subject himself to trial, that he might embrace the call. I saw much suspicions, infirmities, and passion in Mr. Jhon, as if he minded to goe away quitt. He was unsubdued. Oh that the Lord may ridd him of snares!

1 November—Was appointed to be a solemn day of humiliation at Brodie, on the behalf of the poor afflicted woman Cathrin Hendrie. . . .

We spent this day in making prayer and supplication to God for our selus, and for that poor woman and her husband. They engadgd themselvs to the Lord this day, and disclind Sathan and al his works, and desird to resign themselvs to be the Lords, and to be wil'd in among them that beleeud on the Lord Jesus, rather then to be fredd of her trouble. Efter Mr. Hari, Mr. Joseph, Mr. Thomas Hog, Mr. Jhon M'Culigan, and Mr. Wil. Ross had exercysd, I found myself cold in al, onli in Mr. Wil. Ross his prayer the hart joind most.

2.—I heard that Mr. Jhon M'Gulican said we would tak or banish him ere he went to Ila. I was afflicted much with what I saw and heard in him, and desird to commit the matter to the Lord, and the Presbytrie's decision, and neither to goe, nor wryt, nor speak mor in it. Lord keep me from snares!

3.—I heard this woman Cath. Stracqhan's wickednes, and rebukd her, but with mor indignation then with compassion, so impudent, obstinat, and obfirmd that shee would confess nothing. I desird the Lord to open her eys.

4.—Die Dom. . . . Cath. Strachan cam in and fel down in the chamber, as if affected with her theft and sin. But seing noe signes of ingenuity, I did refus to speek to her. . . .

5.—I did meet betwixt Granghill and Kinkorth, and found much corruption and addictednes to self will. Oh Lord, piti and subdue! I saw also great darknes and unclearnes in ther buisines. Lord guid my spirit from being blinded or ledd with corrupt and carnal councell and interest.

6.—I wryt to Rutherford, Blair, and Wood, anent Mr. Wil. Ross, and desird to commit the matter to God, and to know what he requires. He wil pitti the souls of that people if he tak pleasur in them.

This day Mr. James Campbel his son (Archibald) was buried.

I met betwix Granghil and Mr. Wil. Falconar. I found men allowing themselves in ther own caus: but oh! we see not that self lov blinds.

8.—Mr. Wil. Ross took journey to St. Andrews; and I did commit that cace to the Lord's wisdom, and desird that ani one I met with might not straiten me to him.

This day I did count with Knockoudi, and saw the strait of poor people for the new burden of excyse, and desird euer to speak or think soberli, euen of common burthens. I went al night to Lancot, of purpos to communicat with him anent the estat of his soul; and the next day the Lord gav som occasion to speak a word to him of exhortation and warning. He acquainted me with the temptations that he had been in. I desird to bear his burden.

9.—I met at Alves: and read a letter from the E. of Murray, desyring me to wryt to the Protector. Oh! what a delusion, what a snar might thes things be unto me, if Thou, Lord, prevent not! Duffus told me the ill cariag of the E. of Cathnes; of the report of the King's being in Wales. We spok off common burthens. I desir neither to be too sensibl, nor yet without feeling of them, and the cace of the land.

This day my poor Mother did fal, and endangerd herself. Oh Lord! sanctifi thes providences to her and us.

10.—My Mother recoverd a litle. . . . . I was taken up in wryting to the Counsel. I feard—1. That my spirit might be imbitterd through passion or anguish. 2. That by this my judgment may be blinded. 3. That I studi mor to hastie, rash expressions then to truth and words of sobernes: therfor I besoght the Lord to guid my spirit in this, and the rather, 1. Becaus mani eys ar on me. 2. Others may lyk my errour. 3. It may draw me in inconvenienc.

11.—I was disquieted with the thoght of the Saboth, and that I found so smal edification from Mr. Wil. Falconar. I desird to be guided under this exercys; and if the Lord thoght meet I would goe to Mr. Wil. the morn, and speak a word to him. But I commit this to God.

12.—I wryt the letter and information to the Councel, by which I perceaud my own bitter, tart, impatient natur; and desird the Lord to correct it, and to guard against this infirmiti, and to guid me in this veri particular, that passion, enterest, self lov, or yet favour, blind not or mislead. . . .

13.— . . . This day I spok with Dauid, and heard his report concerning the Lord Protector ——————[a] 1. Litle good, tendernes,

[a] Short hand in MS.

or justice, about Court, but men seeking themselus. 2. Men expected nothing but ouerturnings; al seemd unsettld. 3. Mor arbitrarines than euer in ani tym, and depend[ence] of Judicatours upon him. 3. Unaccessablnes. 4. Yet men desird not a chaung; for they feard it would be to the worst. 5. The godli wer denuding themselus of al confidenc, wisdom, or spirit (?) as being beyond ther capacitie, and as a weather-beaten vessel that could not keep ani straight cours: did commit themselus to God, and let the ship land quher he pleasd. We adord the Lord in his judgments in shaking and ouerturning nations, kingdoms, kings, judicatours, as he is doing among us, and throgh the earth, in Polland, Germany, Sweden, and other places beyond sea, and especiali heer among ourselus. Oh for a quiet and a beleeving hart to hold out this storm; and to be kept free of the snares of the tym, and our garments clean.

I heard the Protesters wer purposing to mak more use of the English power. 2. That ther was not a Presbytery, nor setld way of ordaining and admitting ministers in England: great confusion ther.

Mr. Cradock said, he was content they should challenge him for a leer in the day of judgment, if England er long should not see a famin of the Word: men should run to an fro and not find it.

14.—I did meet betwix Innes and Altyr. The Lord was pleasd to giv ther differences a peacabl clos.

15.—We had a meeting of the shyr at Elgin. . . .

16.—I was in Kined[ward] all night. This day I did goe in and visit Ch. Rusell in Elgin; saw her doubtings, and commended to her to speak and think weil of God. . . . We closd that buisines of Aikinways. . . .

17.—I was al night in Forres.

18.—Die Dom. Mr. Hugh [Anderson] and Mr. Jho. M'Gulican preachd both weil.

20.—I did meet at Forres with Granghil and Kinkorth. . . . I was al night in Forres.

21.—I went to Innes wher the Lord blest our endevours for setling the Laird of Innes and Craigstoun; wherin I found my oun heat growing. Oh micle caus hau I to be humbld for it! I saw ther distress in ther effairs, and desird to obseru the Lord. I saw and heard the old Lard pray; and found that ther was a gift and grac of prayer, which neither was attaind

by wisdom nor by natural eloquence. Oh it is the grac of prayer, not the gift that I seek!

25.—Die Dom. I purposd to afflict and humbl my soul befor the Lord on the behalf of Wil. Innes, Christian Russel, and Cathrin Hendrie, as being under extraordinar assaults of Sathan. . . . In the morning I cald for Mr. Jhon M'Gulican and Joseph, and recommended it to them to seek the Lord for the boy that was among us.

28.—I heard this day of the death of John Campbell, provost of Boot in Ila, and of the coldnes of that people to a good minister. My hart desird to consider of this and to be troubld.

I heard after Mr. Gilbert Anderson's death, and worshiped the Lord, and besoght Him to fill that place to the advantadge of His church and kingdom of His Son. Mr. Thomas Hog cam heer. Mr. Jhon prayt me for advis. I refusd to give him, but quietlie resolvd to look to God, and to ador him, goe as it seemd good to him. The Lord I hop should keep me from passion, reveng, malic, or hatred against him. I shall wish the gospell to have good success in his hand, and shall joy in it. I refusd to say mor. Oh Lord! I am in strait anent the wrath that I apprehend yet against that plac of Ila, and against us. Oh clear our minds, and turn away from Thy anger.

29.—I kept at Forres [a meeting] betwix Granghil and Kinkorth. I desird to be instructed by the difficulties which I saw in that buisiness. We had a meeting off our friends at Forres. Som clearnes and counsel we met with from the Lord, but scarc a word among us for God.

30.—I cam hom efter lectur from Forres. But Oh! so litl as I was edefied by the lectur. Oh for som opportuniti to speak to him and Mr. William! But, alace! rather for a blessing on ther ministrie: for the fault of my, nor others, not profyting is not in them, but in our selvs.

8 December.—Mr. Hari Forbes and his wyf cam to Aldearn yesterday. I found much ignoranc, even invincibl ignoranc in the familie. I desird to groan under it, and ther incapaciti to God.

10.—This day was a great storm of snow, and wind, and tempestuous blowing. I desird to behold and look upon the Lord's greatness, terriblnes, power, soueranitie, and rejoicd. I praisd him. . . .

I went to the E. of Southerland, and diswaded his going south, he having askd my opinion.

13.—The storm continud and encreasd. . . . Mr. Hari Forbes wryt to me anent Jhon Ros, and recd. [recommended] him to me. Lord guide me in it!

20.—I joyd to hear that in other families anie thing of the knowledg of God was set up, as in Both and Pa. Campbel's, and other places, and besoght the Lord to prosper his work among them, and mak his word effectual.

21.—I went and saw Mr. H. Forbes, and desirs the Lord to mak his ministri among them welcom and profitable. He kept a common form of catechizing, and this I thoght not edefying to myself, and therfor did forbear it.

22.—I heard of the effects of the great tempest on the 10 of Dec., being Monday: in several places the flouds did so overflow, and the sea did break in so, that it took away several houses; several people perished, and ships, and boats.

I heard that the Spanish intended to send armies into Irland. The warrs and troubls begining in Switzerland for religion. The glorying and plotting, and contriuing of Papists. Thes seem to be signes of much darknes and trouble over our head. . . .

23.—Die Dom. . . . Mr. Wil. Falconar on 19 Math. 20, gave me an excellent note, That Christians that have least knowledg of Christ ar aptest to hav highest conceit of themselvs. Nothing so dangerous, as may be seen heer in the yong man.

Leathen and his Ladie cam to me. Mr. Jhon refusing, I spok in the familie, and was straitnd.

25.—People had no wil to work this day. I desird to enquir, and trie the sin and superstition.

January 3, 1656.—I went to Aldearn. I communicated with Mr. Jos. and Mr. Harie anent Cathrin Hendrie and her goodman, how it was that they both should be so afflicted and terrified: they thoght becaus she had been charmed, she oght to disclaim solemnlie that confederacie. 2. Want of courage and faith in God: Sathan took advantage in ther fearfulnes and timourousnes.

I heard that the King was turnd Papist, and mentiond this to God, and desird to be exercysd with it. . . .

I heard of Glencarn's being taken and put in the Castell: the encreas of burthens on the poor land, without ane mitigation or relief. I desird in secret to consider thes things, and be instructed. . . .

5.—I supposd it would be a sore trial if the King should bring in an armi of . . .[a] and turn papists. I exprest much zeal against such a cours.

8.—This day the Lord Duffus din'd with us. I was exercisd with the sinful, groundles opinions of men concerning me; and al ther vain opinions perchanc wil be confounded soon, when the Lord shal, befor them and al the world, humble me, and mak me nothing in ther eys.

15.— . . . I heard off the Jewish Synagog at London, and mentioned that to the Lord: we ar sur to hear that blest nam that we beleeu on blasphemd: a fals worship sett up, and shall this be don without grief? May the Lord bring forth good out of it! For I know not what to say in it. I heard of Kenmoor's death, and desird to remark the Lord's judgments upon that man. . . .

16.— . . . We spok to Leathin apart for his old vowes, which he had laid by, being mor fervent to put off other debts then to pay them, as if it wer easier to retain that which was the Lord's then that which we oght to men; nay, albeit he had gotten money for the stones of Kinlos, yet had neither payd that money, nor yet what he had engadged for, at the blocking up of Leathin in the year 1646. Oh that this be not laid to his charge!

17.—I was al night in Lancot; and throgh sleepines and indisposition omitted secret fellowship with God. I went into Elgin the next day, and mett anent that publick buisiness of regulating the burdens of the Shyr and Cess; wherin I desir'd to obserue the calamities of the poor land, but ador'd Him, that we had anie opportunities of knowing and meeting with him, albeit our burthens wer as it is this day. I heard the Ministers had supplicated to be free of Cess: now I desir'd to haue my hart and understanding guided in the right construction of al thes things.

20.—Die Dom. Yesternight I wryt south with yong Lethin, and desird Waristoun and Ladi Torwodlie to prais the Lord for ani effect which the Word had heer. I beleeved that, quhen I was dead, the noon day should be seen, thogh I saw but the day break.

[a] A word illegible, perhaps for Spanish or Spaniards. See above, 22d December, 1655

22.—I heard that the Lord Tofts was dead:[a] and I desir'd to consider this and to be instructed.

It was a great flood of rain: by which I saw how great a God He was that did hang up thes botls aboue, and squeiz them forth upon our heads at his pleasur. I looked on the water as I went forth to the field, and saw the trees, they could not resist the waters, albeit strongli rooted. . . .

26.— . . . I obserud the water taking away much ground, yong trees, corn, land, and grass. . .

31.—The storm of wind and water detain'd me in Forres til the 31 January; on which day, I saw the children of the school act and personat the 2 great vices of prodigaliti and couetousnes, and saw something of the euels and natur both of them and other deficiencies.

I obserud swelling tempests and rains this year, and desir'd to discern the seasons.

I spok to Mr. Tho. Urquhart, and exhorted him to deal in al simplicitie and uprightnes in the matter of his call, and to tak heed of ani other carnal motiv, that it doe not biaz him, to the one hand or the other.

February 6.— . . . Mr. Brodley, an English man cam to me this night: by him I heard much of the Lord's prouidences in New England; the riches of his goodnes, the varietie of his wisdome. The admirabl protection and care of his poor church ther, amidst the Infidels that ar mor in number then they, and hau mani ways to destroy, if the Lord did let them forth. 2. Amidst men of ther own countre noe church members, that far exceeds them. 3. The miseri of thes poor Infidels, that by al they enjoy doe not know nor acknowledg the Lord, but worship the Diuel that is frequent among them; and neuer heard of the true God, nor of the maker of the world, creation, or miserie, sin, or redemption of man. Yet is ther land, for outward things, better then ours; thogh they mak smal use of it. Oh that as thes infidels ar easilie contented with food and a litl clothing, desir not land, care not for it; that I wer so also, and could learn some thing from them! . . .

8.—The post returnd from Edinburg, showing the expediencie of my

[a] Sir Alexander Belsches of Tofts, in Berwickshire. He was knighted and appointed a Lord of Session, 2nd July, 1646. He was nominated one of the Committee of Estates in 1651. According to Lamont's Diary, he died suddenly.

sister son's south going. . . . I was again desird to goe to London; and this I commend unto the Lord.

9.—This day did Archibald Campbell leave me, and tak his journey towards Ila. One Mr. Herin, broght me a letter from the General anent being Clerk to the Justices of Peace: I cannot justifie my double deceitful profession of respect to him; but I purposd to[a] . . .

10.—Die Dom. . . . Yesternight we spok of the sin of stealing: how ryf it was heer among us. I desird to be affected heerwith befor the Lord. . . .

13.—The lard of Calder took journey south.

15.—I planted trees in the gald, and on the green. Ther is a season to sow and plant, which, if it be neglected, cannot be again recoverd. Al that's planted of tre is lorch.

16.—I was lykwys snedding and planting; but oh! soe litl as I saw or discernd of the Lord in all my imployment.

17.—Die Dom. I heard that the K. of Denmark had prohibited the exercyss of ani other religion then the Luthran: that warr was begun among the Switsers: that the King of Sweden and Brandeburg was agreed. For this I desir'd to be cast doun, being of but little use, and so much concerning the glori of God.

23.—This day Mr. Hugh Anderson cam to me, and told me, that Mr. Andro Gray[b] was remoud from this lyf by death. This I desird to consider, and to be cast down under it. 1. The taking away such a person in his flour speaks wrath. 2. It may put me in a preparation for death. 3. He [is taken] from the euel to com, and few tak it to hart. 4. Our too much dotting on him may be one caus why the Lord has remoud him . . . 5. I will wryt, God willing, to Waristoun about it, and enquir what he and others haue obserud from this. 6. To pray the Lord to mak up the loss. . . .

I heard lykwyss of the chang of the sheriffs, and I desird to be instructed by it.

24.—Die Dom. . . . It moved mind to the minister, that a day may be appointed to consider, how the peopl profit in knouledg. 2. What car is taken in families to teach ther children and servants the grounds of religion;

[a] The concluding words of the sentence are worn away in the MS.

[b] Mr. Andrew Gray, one of the ministers of Glasgow.

for mani ar slaik heer, great and small. 3. How the families may be visited, and inquiri taken, if they pray and examin ther famili. 4. To look out the overtours, interogatours, and questions set doun by the General Assembli for visiting families and catechizing. 5. That on this occasion, I may, in the Lord's name, speak to Mr. William[a] anent his prayer and preaching. Oh if the Lord would put a word in my mouth! . . .

28.—Yesterday, died Le March, the Frenchman's wife; wherin I saw that no art, age, or strenth, could save or continue lyf.

5 March.—Walter Ogilvi was buried. I was warnd of my frailti by that occasion. I met with the E. of Cathnes, and spok to him, and exhorted, and warnd him of his former conversation and courses. Tanach was with him; but I did purposlie pas him by as a wild person. What imprudenc or indiscretion was in this let the Lord pardoun.

8.—I spok with Mr. Jhon M'Gulican anent his charge, and that he may be doing good always, and in all companie: to be as salt. Oh that I could be soe myself!

21.—Sir Robert Gordoun was buried; hauing had a long and effectual warning, by the continuance of his sicknes and infirmiti several years. 2. I obserud his apetit did continue: yet meat cannot keep in lyfe. 3. Oh! when we ar to tak farewel of the world, how litl does al avail which we haue been most taken up with in our lyftym! . . . Yesterday, we drew up the Act anent the practis of godlines, reforming of Elders. I did imprison ——— Hutchon for Greinwood: ther pouerti and complaint moud me; and albeit they had deserud it, I resolud not to tak ani thing from him, but to convoy it secretlie to him again. . . .

22.— . . . The Ladie Leathin took travelling, and desird to be recoverd, which unfeinedlie I desird to doe: wherin the Lord heard us.

23.—Die Dom. I was cald to Aldearn, to be witnes to the entring into the Lord's Couenant yong Leathin's daughter, Margarat: and in the father's absence, I held up and presented the child to be admitted as a member of the Lord's bodie. I desird to beleeu on the Lord Jesus for making effectual this ordinance, as to this poor child, so to me, who was also baptized to His nam, that I might liue to it, and beleeue on it, to my lyfe's end.

My nos[e] did fall a bleeding quhen I was going to stand up. I

[a] Mr. William Falconar: see p. 179.

found a superstitious hart apt to remark that, and found something on it.

This day Catenoch and Stasbin wer excommunicated

Oh that the Lord would sometym or other mak this work of darknes manifest, and would confirm and countenance this ordinance, that it may not be derided and without effect!

28.—I heard that Hervie, the Englishman, gaue out an ill report of me; and in this I acknouledg the Lord, for I had carnalie flatterd and commended him, and us'd carnal policie, that he might not report ill of me, and now thus he requits. . . .

I heard that the Duk of Lenox was lyk to be depriud of the feuduti of Ila: and our labours frustrat. . . .

2 April.—The Lord did asist us at Aldearn in the discouering and finding out of the wickednes of Al. Roy and Ch. Wood; and we lookd up to Him and prayd, that He would destroy the work of the diuel: and let fear, thy fear, com on al, quhen they hear that nothing can be hid from thee, but that thou brings the works of darknes to light! We desir to fear and worship thee, and to be thankful. We obserud the Lord discouering the blind addictednes of men to superstition, charming, and diuelrie, and desird to be instructed and guided in the reprouing, supressing, and punishing thes things.

5.—I heard the sad letters from Mr. Andro Gray to Warriston, in apprehension of the judgments to com upon Scotland for our defection . . .; and his own expectation of death, and his broken condition; and under al this I desird to be humbld, and to learn what he cals us unto.

6.—Die Dom. This night Calder cam hom from Edinburgh, and did put me in hope that he had prevaild with Mr. Wil. Ross. For this I did acknowledg and ador the Lord.

He told me something of the ministers of Edinburgh anent ther complying. I considerd, and lookd up, and desird to be instructed by thes things.

9.—I went to Elgin, and was pusld anent the oath of the Justices of Peace, but we did unanimousli declin it: yet wer willing to declair our purpos (God willing) to walk impartiallie. . . .

12.—I wryt to Torwoodlee, and exhorted him to watchfulnes aganst the creeping on of spiritual diseases and decay.

Mr. Tho. Hogg did move mariage to my ————————.[a] I gave it noe intertainment. In this I desir to look up to the Lord, and to be directed.

13.—I heard of the Lord's asistance to Mr. Harie: Al. Roy his confession and breaking out in the midst of the prayer; and I adord the Lord from my soul, who gav edg, power, and virtew to his word.

15.—Mr. Wil. Ross cam. But alac[e]! unresolvd anent the embracing of Ila. I desir to be humbld, and to commend this matter to God. Mr. Rutherfoord wryt to Ila anent ther keeping fasts and frequent famili fasts This is a neglected duti among us.

17.—I observd the Lord's providenc crocing the purpos of Mr. Tho. Urquhart his coming to Kinloss. And by Leathin's means and myn, I hinderd them from sending until Mr. Hari might goe, and so al wer hinderd . . . We sent Pa. Campbel to Duncpain of Logie to induce his consent, and to loos the band anent Mr. Wil. Ross.

18.—I heard that the supplication of the Shyr was so ill taken, that I had incurd much indignation for it. Now this is matter of exercyss to me, when I was purposing to goe to London, that this had fallen in which did seem to lay an impediment in my way, and stopd all appearance of success.

Francis was contracted with Lilias Dumbar: ther was infirmities in this buisines: let not the Lord imput it.

20.—Die Dom. We met with much wickednes this day. Jan[et] Bel, when she heard of excom[munication], cried out, and wept bitterli. The other woman in Kintessak wept. Alex. Rob, for perjuri and whordom, had smal sens of his sin, but sor troubld with the punishment. Janet Dick would have sworn, and yet conversd and lay in our hous with the man. Oh how ryf is wickednes! oh so litle fear of God as is among us! When shal the gospel tak som effect? Will thou bind up this devil as thou does discover? Let a tym of grace come! Com! com! even to thes by whom Thy nam is prohand.

23.—I went to the quarie (the day being rainie), and found how much pains I could indur in anie servil work with my servants; but could not tak pains to lead them unto Jesus Christ, or to teach them the way of salvation.

28.—I was to goe this day to Forres anent that buisines of Kinloss. This I desird to commend to God; and the Lord heard and broght that

[a] Probably Brodie's daughter. The name is written in short-hand.

matter as to the stipend to the desird clos; wherin I acknowledgd the Lord, and desird he might mak it up to them, and particularli to Sir George M'Enzie.

30.—I met with Grang, and subscrivd that contract betwix Francis and his sister.

2 May.—I heard that a woman, Drumriach's daughter, had at Struthers put down herself. A woman in Tarras was apprehended for killing her own child. I desird to be humbld befor the Lord under thes sad judgments, and to be instructed by them.

6.—This day Francis Brodie and Lilias Dunbar wer maried. I was much dealt with, but could not weel consent to goe. Yet did not I think it unlawfull or sinfull. I desird the Lord's blessing upon them, and that it might be to the glori of God.

Geo Stewart cam to me, and we traveld throgh the wood of Darnaway. We saw and kild an adder; wherin I saw, as the Lord's providenc, so my natur; how lyk was I to thatbeast that was ful of poison, and ther teeth did cutt unto death. I considerd ther cace in the wildernes that wer stung, and adord the Lord for the brazen serpent. Lord Jesus! then said [I], Thou art that serpent: I desir to look to Thee and be heald.

7 and 8.—I was at Elgin. . . . I observd the ministers at the Sinod inclind to tak in corrupt men. I did forsee the judgment that this would be to this Church, if He did permit it. I exhorted and prayd against it.

The Sheriff refusd to accept of our oath of Justices of Peace, otherwayes then to swear to the present power and gouernment. I desired to consider and be instructed.

9.—I heard of the Sinod's admitting Mr. Geo. Hanna,[a] and desird to be humbld for it. . . . I was readie to withdraw from al assemblies; but, oh Lord! keep my spirit in a fram of sobernes.

I heard in what danger Wil. Gordoun of Lunan was in, and Christian Russel, with the opinion of the Quakers, and following and hearking to a voic within them rather then to the Word. This I did spread befor the Lord.

[a] Mr. George Hanna, formerly minister of Alves had been deposed by the Commission of the Kirk, at Aberdeen, in May, 1647, for his compliance with the Marquis of Huntly. (Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, p. 80.) At a meeting of the Synod of Murray, in May, 1656, he presented a petition to the Synod, praying to be restored. (Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii., p. 207.)

10.—I met with the L. Altyr, and saw in him my own corruption; a head ful of devises, and much taken up to bring things to pass, but a hart litl imploying or resting on the Lord for direction or success. Oh! help me, Lord, to live by faith!

12.—I did warn and admonish my poor sone, and saw the foolishnes and perversnes of his heart, and how unfaithfullie and unprofitabli he walked. My hart rais with indignation against him; yet the Lord calmd my spirit, soe that I reprovd and movd him to confess and pray to the Lord Oh! all this is in vain without Thee. I hav lookd therfor to Thee to chang his hart. The day may com when I shall have litl comfort in the world of al my labour, if a fool shall com after me.

15.—Francis and his wyf cam ham[e]. I had purposd not to goe ther; but going by the way, I desird in it to lay asid passion and deni myself, and to yeeld, albeit all that they did was blameable.

I did this day freelie admonish Mr. Wil. Falconar anent the reponing off the three prophan ministers, and desird to shew him how unlyk did they walk to the Court of Christ, quhen as they mad it a den and receptacl to reaceave such unworthi men. Ani cours for promoting godlines would be opposd or suspected, such persons befreinded. Oh what sad things does this presage! Few words of Christ amongst us in our societie, and litl hold taken on them where they were.

16.—In going about the feilds, I found the hart apt to rys with carnal delight in feilds, grass, wood, &c. This I desird the Lord to guard me against, that such decaying, corruptibl, poor comforts, steal not away my heart.

21.—Elspet Fraser cam ouer, and was under great trouble. A mor sharp fitt did I neuer see: a poor creatur soe exercisd in her mind, that shee was driuen to hurt her own bodie, and could not be detained from throwing herself. I desird to examin, iff it was from Sathan, or if from her own distemperd mind, or from both. I did rys out of my bed, and cam down; we pray'd and spoke. I was drie and straitnd: but in a short space the Lord recouered her, and then shee crid out for the Lord Jesus, with strong desires, and said the enemi was strong, and had tugged at her twic in tym of famili worship. I cannot enogh consider nor tak up this case; but lifts myn eys to Him that wil teach the simple, and the ignorant, and desirs He would mak me tak up her case, and himself would com doun, and piti, and deliuer.

22.—D. Brodie cam from Edinburgh, and broght me word that the Councel of England had granted our liberation anent the King's date. I desird not to allow myself much joy in ani thing created, and therfor to receave it soberlie. But if it hold true what ground of thankfulnes haue I. . . .

30.—I met at the visitation of Forres, and saw litl of the coming of the Lord's kingdom Onli poor Elsp. Fraser assaulted with new trouble from Sathan. We therupon did appoint to meet at Brodie on Weddnesday night, 4 of Jun, to seek the Lord.

31.—I cam hom; the rains detaind me at Forres last night.

3 June.—This day we did meet anent the Schoolmaster of Forres. Ther did an Englishman perish on the water on the 30 of May, and was found upon the 1 of June. Much trouble and severiti usd they against som poor men upon suspicion: lay it not, Lord! to ther charge. Much hatred did they expres against us and our nation. Lord! let us hau thy good wil. I heard of the fearful breach betwix the Protestors and Assembli men at Aberdeen Sinod, and I desird to mourn under this and be humbld, and to beseech the Lord to mak up thes breaches, and to turn away his wrath for the Lord's sake.

4.—I cal'd to mind and examind som words which I had with my Sister yesternight. That she had days of much consolation. I warnd her not to rest on that, but to learn to live by faith when al that was gone; a day of fruit is worth two days of comfort: joy and sene is sweit, but is not so much grac as the reward and encouradgment of grac. Oh! I desir to examin thes words, that I discourag not her, nor wrong the Spirit of God, throgh ignoranc or other sinful mistak: far enough is myself from this fram. Next I desird to consider that I said, That the Lord required each of us to walk in som particular calling; and it was not an allowabl calling of God to give ourselvs to prayer, medit[ation] &c. She said, David had noe calling. I spok of the distanc and bounds to be kept betwix persons in ther several stations, and that non should be idle. She said, Thes that should be heirs of glori with us, we oght not to compt the less of them for outward thing. I replied, Heirs of glori did not exeem them from al civil duties and subjection on earth. He might have mor grac then I, and sit above me in heaven, that wer not to goe befor me, nay, nor be considerd besid me on earth.

After som aim at seeking the Lord in secret, we met, and from 6 to nyn at night, we conferrd and prayd; and, efter some refreshment taken at supper, we did enter again, and Mr. Hugh praid.

Poor Elsp. Fraser saw 3 fyres, even when we wer at exercys. Wil. Innes said he was forcit to speake, and to tell what the Lord did for his soul. Mr. Jhon's wyf was most heavili afflicted. We did have recours to God for all thes, and for the particulars mentiond in the 30 of May. Efter day break we went to rest.

6.—I had a cal from the Presb. to goe to Aldearn. But I desird to weigh the necessiti of it, and to be instructed.

I heard the strong rooted prejudices which Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie[a] had against the act for promoving pietie; and ther opposition to it. I could not but be troubld to see the watchmen tak away ther vail. Oh how sad lyk seems this judgment! . . . 1. He said masters of famili, or parents, should not explain, catechiz, or scriptur to thes under ther charg. 2. Men should not be tied to perform duties that they cannot, as prayer in ther families; and if a man be overtaken with drink, must he sit doun and pray? 3. He objected against this, That if men wer so impudent as to say they performd thes duties and yet did not, they should be censurd, removd from ther office, debaird the sacrament, &c. Lord, look to this, and to the honour of thy own nam!

8.—Die Dom. This day from my hart I desird to consider and be weighted. 1. With the dissolutnes and loosnes of the famili. Mani of them cam not to worship, as Jhon Due, Brambner, D. Simson, and the Glasses, and my daughter's women. 2. I was much dejected both in conference and prayer; and, for a long tym, they or myself have found litl sapp in thes ordinances. Al was dried up as to them, or my own soul. 3. Neglect of catechizing and instructing them 4. I am exposd greatli to temptations of covetousnes, and carnal inordinat desires and designes; whereby the spirit of God is greivd, and the work of God in my own, and the souls of others, hinderd. 5. Domestic familie strait.

This day Mr. Wil. changd a litl the strain of his preaching; and fel in

[a] Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie was at this time minister of Elgin. In 1662, he was made Bishop of Moray, and in 1677, translated to the See of Orkney. He died in February, 1688, nearly a hundred years old. (Keith's Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 228.)

upon the love of Christ; and gave som marks of it; and how to know if we had reaceavd the spirit of adoption. Oh that the Lord would give him the tongue of the learnd!

12.—I was cald to Alves to a meeting Ther I was overtaken with passion, mor then becam. I spok anent the sherif's resisting our sitting, and anent the oath of Justices of Peace.

Mr. James Gordoun spok to me anent the differences betwixt ministers, and advizd to moderation and sobrieti. Ther is much need of it; for I find much corruption in my best affections.

25.—I mett with Pluscarden and Grang at Kinloss. But this took no effect. I fear ther confidenc. I did with reluctanci stay all night at Forres, to wryt som lettres to them; but refusd to wryt to the Judges. In this forgiu what is sinful, and tak away the dross; and accept and confirm me in Christ Jesus.

26.—I rose earlie, and scarce took the leizour to worship God; so hastie was I about the threshing. Let not the Lord impute!

I heard of the Sherif's storming, and exception at us, that we medld too much: I saw his injustice and greedines, and desird to be humbld.

The Cornet cam to Brodie, and the trouper: they did beget som trouble to us. I comitted al this to God, and desirs to be rid of all sinful humours or self love. They desird to diet with us: but by them my freedom is much impaird.

27.—The sogers wer unrulie, both with us and in Torie; in the consideration wheroff, I desird to be humbld and instructed. We bear a litl with much impatiencie. Oh what would we doe if we had Spainard or French among us.

29.—I missd a great deal of money, at least 30 lb., which I suspected to be stollen from me. I knew not whom to chalendg; but if the Lord thoght fitt I would begg an convincd penitent hart to them, and ther sin might be discoverd to themselvs, and I might know them, if it seemd good to Him, and no otherways.

1 Juli.—I went to Forres, and to Moortoun at night. Our vessel was this day ladend and cleer.

2.—I heard of the deceas of the Lord Humbi;[a] and for this I desird to

[a] Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, who was appointed Lord of Session by Charles I. in 1641. He died in June, 1656.

be afflicted. For as he was my dear and faithful acquaintanc, so had he mor straightnes, and chariti, and tendernes to the poor then I, or mani others, and was faithful in this place as a judg. I desird to consider, and be instructed. I heard also of Durie[a] his death.

4.—I kept Justice Court at Forres; and from my hart desird grace to walk uprightli and in simpliciti befor the Lord in the affairs of the day. I was feard for my own corrupt, partial affections, inclinations, and employed the Lord to slay them, and to ridd me.

We had befor us 2 for adulteri, against quhom ther was unquestionable presumptions: so another for bearing a child, at least an embrio quhen she was single, and the burying of it. Lord, guid our spirits in these particulars!

5.—Dauid was taken doun from the chamber to the vault. I desird to be exercisd under this judgment as being smitten in it also; and oh! long, dull, and barren had I now remaind under it sinc I had a thoght of it. Oh teach by thy Spirit! I did this morning, with som measur of freedom and asistanc, warn, examin, admonish, reproue, and exhort my poor son, for his negligent, formal, carles, cold seruing the Lord; stirring him to consider his defection and declining, and that his hart was departing from the Lord, and the Lord from him.

9.—I was cald by the E. of Murray to Edinburgh. I desird to lay asyd al such thoghts, and commends my spirit and inclination to God.

I heard off the taking our vessel wher our victual was. I desird to enquir, and be instructed by that providenc of the Lord's. 1. If thereby he doe not reprove my too much eagerness and addictednes to the world, and anxietie. Oh that this may cure that evel! 2. My desir off gain, and to be rich. . . .

12.—I heard of James Spenc coming in upon the L. of Innes his marches; toun of Narn on Calder's. Oh how apt we ar to contend about our own things, mor then for the truth!

I heard the English wer purposing to tak in all the arms: I desird to be guided in that particular. It cam oft in my thoghts, How would I ansuer to the Lord Cassils and Wariston for accepting to be a Justice of Peace. 2. What constructions and inconveniences it did expos me unto, in cace of

[a] Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, who was knighted in 1641, and made senator of the College of Justice in 1646. He died in June, 1656.

alterations or changes. Ther being mani eys upon me, mor then on ani other, I besoght the Lord to rid me, and help me to discern Thy voice from my own, and the voice of flesh.

17.—I looking on the leavs of the holie tree, thoght it represented to me the beauti of the world; green was it, but full of pricks, and hurt them onli that did cleave most to it. Oh then guard my hart against this!

I lay down on a filthi stank syd, and was feard for teads, and asks, and filthi creaturs, and venemous; yet my hart seemd wors earth, and filthier then that which I lay upon. Therfor I was cast doun. May filthines cum forth out of my hart!

19.—I was taken up inordinatlie about trash and hagg. Let not the Lord imput it!

22.—Morgan[a] cam heir and spok to me for choosing the Erl of Murray to the Parliament ensewing. I saw persons designd to al shyres. I was even astonishd to see the corrupt ways of men to establish ther purposes. I considered whither this wer lyk to stand: and for me remitted al to the Lord's wys disposing, and commended to Him His church in the midst of thes confusions. . . .

23.—Pat. Campbel spak to me anent his sone's going to Aberdeen or St. Androes, or to the school of Aldearn. I told him my complaint, That his son had so given himself for a livlihood, and to humaniti, that he had ward noe tym on the better things; yet, if he singlie desird and purposd to folow and pursu that studie, I would not stratin him. Desird him to cast himself on the Lord's providenc, and liv by faith, following the way of most advantadge toward his edification and spiritual furnitur, leaving other things on God. Oh that the Lord would mak a shaft of him for futur servic, and enlarg and guid my spirit!

24.—There wer 3 or 4 particulars which wer of great use for my instruction, that hitherto I had past by; and therfor cried out, and complaind, that I kept not His Word; al that he spok or did fell in the sea as to me. The casting away, and taking of the barq with the victual. Som of the poor peopl's distres for the cess. 3. The English Parliament, and the way of choosing. 4. The Erl of Murray his miscarying.

[a] Colonel Morgan, who at this time commanded a party of the English forces in the north, whither they had marched against the supporters of Charles II., in arms under Middleton. (Autobiography and Life of Robert Blair, p. 316.)

From the first by the Lord's Providenc in the victual, I see him reproving my covetousnes. 2. My straitnes to the pious uses that I bound myself to; the Lord can scarc wring a peni of his own out of my hand. 3. Nigardlines, projecting, distrust, nor bestowing freeli on the most necessari uses. . . .

Next I desire to be guided in the matter off the cess with the tenants. . . . 3. Anent the English parliament and this corrupt way of choosing and prescriuing, I lookd up to God, and soght grace to see snares, and to be deliuered from them, and from other men's sins, that I partak not with them, albeit I see that the wrath is not at an end against our King and nobles.

Anent the Erl of Murray his miscarying. 1. God's judgments against al our old great families: litle can wisdom, care or other overtours avail, quher the Lord is not soght unto, and his anger not turnd away. 2. For the unrepented sin of him and his fathers, is it thus: And I hau seen it acoming long since. 3. How great is ther sin and judgment, that ar given up to be slaues to ther oun lusts, and cannot resist them, but ar miserabli ouercom! . . . 5. I am sorri that I had to do with him, or anithing concerns him. . . .

26 Julie.—Mr Robert Campbell, coming heer, and advizing before the Lord, anent the disposing off himself, and what cours of lyf he should take in the world, said, he inclined to studie divinitie: wheron we thoght that, to one that would studie divinitie, it was first necessarie to haue a soul emptied of al self loue, and loue of creaturs, and to be denied to ourselus, and then to haue the hart and soul filld with the loue of God: This is mor needful than to haue a head full of knowledg: And if he would guie himself to that studie, that he should first guie himself to the Lord. This he was content of; and professing how short he had com in his dutie heertofore, and that the glorie of God had not been his chief aim, but how he might liu in the world, he did solemnli this day, befor the Lord, humbl and afflict his soul for the sin. 2. He acknowledgd much unsoundness in his hart. 3. That the Lord had not al his hart, as he wer weel worthie. 4. That he was unstable in his resolutions, and soon remoued: Therefor, befor the Lord, and in the faith of the Lord's command, and of the Lord's grace, he did this day renounc and disclaim himself; and gaue up him self, soul, bodie, mind, wil, affections, understanding, conscienc, and al his faculties, strenth, wisdom, learning,

parts, gifts, and endowments and members of his bodie unto the Lord, to be His; and desird to tak the Lord to be his God, his all in all, even al his strenth, light, joy, delight, pleasur, trust, confidenc, aim, wisdom, portion of his heart for ever: and besoght the Lord to confirm this couenant, and mak his hart stedfast in it, that he might never depart from the Lord, but that al the drift and aim of his hart might be to honour God, and to live to his glori, quhil he was on earth. Further this day he desired grace to liue in the faith of His prouidence for outward things; and did cast himself and his care upon the Lord for al that he needed; and was content to tak the Lord insted of all things; and prayd Him to becom his father, guider, and his God: for he should not lippen to father, friends, or means, but would lipen himself to the Lord for al that he needed; quhat counsel, light, outward subsistance, strenth, direction, and al things els. Thus he becam the Lord's wholli by a free couenant, and resignation, and a voluntarie surrender of himself to the Lord; and beleevd on the Lord as on his God: In testimoni wheroff, and of the unfeined desir and purpos of his hart to haue this couenant established, he did subscriu this befor the Lord: and he desired noe other condition of the Lord but to accept, confirm, and mak it good, for he distrusted himself; and for this end separated himself, the next day, to humiliation and supplication.

M. R. CAMPBELL.

I sent ouer the copie of this to Mr. Robert against the next day: But it cam back to me again, so that he got it not.

27.—This day was I desirous to afflict my soul under the growing evels of covetousnes, which I found taking root and mastering me. I layd hold on the Lord's rod in the loss of the victual, and considered that he had scaterd what I had unjustli and sinfuli holden in at the dores.

I looked on the elections and elected to the Parliament, and commended to the Lord his Church, people, and ordinances, and kingdom. For how could they be uncorrupted in such an age and tym, quhen al things ar so corrupt?

28.—This morning I warnd my poor son of his hypocrisie, and slighting the Lord, in his coming before Him consuming tym, and doing nothing. Oh this had a strang aspect in my ey! I desird to be afflicted for it. I apprehended it a mark of judgment and defection. I sett myself this

morning to pray against it, and that the Lord would not cast him off, albeit he has given Him mani a caus so to doe, but reclaim, and reform, and love him freeli; and he shall love Thee. Thogh he has not as yet taken ani delight in Thee, yet doe Thou tak pleasur in him, to doe him good, and to form him to Thyself. Alac! that my hope in the world, and my part of count in it should com to this, that I see as the best things a fool to com efter me; for they ar fools that depart from Thee, that wil hav non of Thee.

4 August.—Mr Jhon M'Gulican cam heir. I desird to know what was fit to speak to him; but I have noe word if it be not given me.

5.—I went to Aldearn, and did see the erl of Seaforth's distress, being strictli dealt with by his friends; and he could not find outgate. I desird to consider, and to be guided in it. That which they gloried in is becom ther ruin.

9.—The Laird of Innes and Clava returned from Edinburgh. I heard of the defeat which the Erl [King] of Sweden had goten; and the taking of Warsouia,[b] and the Polish success. I saw the vicisitud of human effairs. 2 Ther uncertainti. 3. That non may boast. 4. The unsearchable judgments of God. 5. I commend His Church to Him under al these confusions and changes. I heard the President was to be cald to London from his charge, for his inclination to the people of this nation: The Lord Cochran's burdens. Under al thes I desird to worship and adore the Lord. I heard the account of our Holland buisines; and besoght the Lord to ridd me of snares, and to direct the matter as he had begun, and that without me.

Mr. Rob. Campbel cam to me. I found my humour stoping freedom and communion. When he desird me to pray, I deferrd it to the publick: and ther was straitnd. He went to the chamber abou me, and prayd publickli:[a] this I stumbld at. I exhorted him to giue the Lord his hart, and to purg out hypocrisie, and aim at sinceriti: he complaind. . . .

11.—I went to Alves, and was frustrat of a meeting. At my return, I reaceavd letters shewing me the necessiti of my going south. I communicated with Mr. Joseph. He thoght the Lord cald me, and that I was bound to goe. I lookd up as I could in the short advertizment, and desird to be guided

[a] *i.e.*, prayed aloud.

[b] Warsaw

This day Judg Smyth and Moseley[a] cam to visit me. . . . I told them how I had taken the oath of Justice of Peac.

14.—L. of Grang and Francis returnd from Edinburgh. I heard Mr. Jhon Duri was removd by death. I heard what succes they had; and they gave Balcombi[b] a testimoni of justic. He renewd the necessiti of my south going; but withal added, if I wer not ther ere the President went away, it would be to noe purpos.

15.—I took journey to Edinburgh this day, and was in Forres all night.

20.—I cam to Edinburgh.

21.—I spok with the President in our buisines: he told me he would not hau been free to [hau] giuen us our releef.

22.—I visited Wil. Dounie's wyf, and the Lord Loudon, and herd ther was 22 confind and imprisond in England, and that the Council had determind and enclind to favour thes of the Assembli. Waristoun was desird to goe to London. I was casten doun, and desird the Lord to guid and direct him. I am feard for his undertaking. . . .

The E. of Lothian dind with us; by quhom I heard something of the effairs in England, and that the exercys of our profession was forbidden in Swed[en]. I heard of the disgraces which the M. of Argyl had met with at London; and I wonderd.

28. I cam to Waristoun. Then quhen I saw ther gouernment I rememberd and was taght that true saying: "They that gatherd most had nothing over, and they that gatherd least had noe lack." . . .

I did tak further confirmations of the lou of God to that man W. [Warriston], and durst not censur him or judg him, albeit I cam not up to him in his neglect of the world, abstractednes from worldli employment, zeal, fervencie of spirit. I desird to partak with him in al his cares, distreses, or burthens; and that in the unfeined desir of my hart. I heard his ouertour for setling the differs with the Assembli, and commended them to God, and lookd to God so farr as I was concernd in them I heard of the President's profession to him: the secret agreement betwix thes of the

[a] George Smyth, Esq., and Edward Moseley, Esq., who were appointed by Cromwell two of the Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Civil Matters in Scotland, May 18, 1652.

[b] Sir James Learmonth of Balcolmie, one of the Lords of Session. He died June 26, 1657.

Assembli, and the President: and I spok with Mr David Dick[a] anent the admitting of the deposd ministers[b]: he told me that non should be perpetualli deposd except it be for flagitious crimes. This I bewaild. He seemd to defend the letting in of gross ministers: shall I not mourn for this?

29.—I spok with Sir Jhon Cheislie anent the Lord's work among them: he told me he was put of the Presbytrie.

30.—We wer at Inglstoun Bridge: Cassils, Sir Jhon Cheisli, and Staire.

31.—Die Dom. We heard Mr. Ja. Donaldson[c] at Dolphintoun kirk. . . . We spok of several purposes suiting the day. Erl Cassils prayd after sermons.

2 September.—Cam to Edr. and found the stops in our buisiness. The Provost[d] prayd that morning, and commended our mater to God. I found he prayed; I was straitnd al day, and could not; onli in the evening the Lord did visit my soul. Swintoun cam up to us. I perceaud the il reportt betuix L. Cochran and Traquair: the fervencie in my Ld. Cochran to undertak this commission to the Parliament. I considerd, and desird to be instructed. Lothian desird to thank Cockpen, our Collectour-Generall. I sought help and counsel, and committed al to the Lord

3.—The Councel this day recommended our releef to the Session; and we obserud difficulties with the factors, with the shyres, with others that we wer liabl to, with our selus. Oh heer lies the great gulf! . . .

Why should the prouidenc of this day tryst with the day of Dumbar? . . .

7.—Die Dom. I desird to be duli exercysd . . . under the sad estat of His people that ar on fire, one against the other, as I perceavd by the discours I had with Mr. Douglas and Waristoun.

[a] Mr. David Dick or Dickson, was at this time, professor of divinity in the University of Edinburgh. See p. 23, note [c].

[b] The deposed ministers referred to here, and at page 179, were Mr. George Hannay, minister of Alves, Mr. Richard Maitland, minister of Aberchirder, and Mr. Alexander Innes, minister of Rothiemay. They had been deposed by the Synod of Moray, among other reasons, for refusing to subscribe the Covenant and Confession of Faith. (Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, vol. iii., p. 207.)

[c] Donaldson's name appears in the list of the ministers ejected for nonconformity in 1662. (Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 325.)

[d] Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield and Coltness, a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter. He died March 31, 1681, in the 73rd year of his age. (Coltness Collections, pp. 14—45.)

17.—Being Weddensday I cam hom.

18.—My son slept at morning prayer, and I was wroth, and cald him a dogg. I desir to be humbld for my own vehemenci, and carnal heat, and slighting of God.

I wryt south to Monk, to permit us to keep our arms. I had strugling in it, and besought the Lord that it might be noe snare.

20.—My grandchild Florenc, Granghil's second daughter, was born about 5 of the clock morning: she had speedie travelling, and was deliuer[ed] err ani of the woemen cam which wer sent for. I was on my knees praying to God quhen both the second and the eldest wer born. Having yesternight read the purification of Marie, I was taght how unclean were we in our birth, and wer the parents, and wer the children. Therfor, I did from my hart beseech the Lord for this poor yong one. It was in its blood, noe ey pitied or could loue it, so lothsom is it; yet then He loues, pities, and chooses, quhen non other wil.

8 October.—At Invernes. Heer I heard of the armies preparing to invad us for the King of French, Spanish papists. 2. I heard of the secluding 120 members of Parliament, and appearance of troubl. 3. Som imprisond; som confind. . . . All thes things did mak it appear to me that the Lord's anger from thes lands was not turnd away.

10.—I heard that Erle Seaforth[a] and Glengarie[b] wer taken and confind. Al this confirmd me in the aprehension of the Lord's anger, and of sor trials coming on upon the land.

12.—Die Dom. Having yesternight put the famili in mind of ther dutie, and stirrd them up to prepar for a solemn Fast again[st] this day, and having laid ther guiltiness, and danger, and the Lord's anger and wrath befor ther eys, and persuaded them to a serious turning to God by unfeined repentanc, and to prepar themselvs to meet the Lord, we separated ourselves to the dutie.

1. We haue and do acknouledg evri man's particular guiltines, and the evel of our ways, and wickednes of our hart, and coversation, and mor particularli that we had provoked Him by profannes, lying, cursing,

[a] Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth, was excepted in Cromwell's act of grace, 1654, and his estate forfeited. He was imprisoned till the Restoration.

[b] Æneas Macdonell of Glengary, who was forfeited by Cromwell in 1651. He was created Lord Macdonald and Arras after the Restoration.

whordoms, loosnes in words and conversation; by drunkenness, despising and wearying of religion, and al the exercises of it, hypocrisie, and deceitfulnes; not caling on the nam of God, ignoranc, and want of delight or desir to know the Lord and be instructed; refuising to be heald or converted, living our own ways, and hating the good ways of the Lord; making the nam of the Lord to be il spoken of by our wicked conversation, impenitenci, and hearts that cannot repent. Al of us did tak with our sin befor the Lord, and cried for forgivnes, and for repentanc. Let judgment begin at us and at this hous, but let not sin begin at it.

2. I did mor particularli acknowledg my sin for which the Lord had been provoked, my covetousness, unevennes, self love, envi, pryd, self conceit, forgeting my engagments, carlesnes to honour God in and with my famili and children, unwatchfulnes, and declining, falling away from God. 3. For my sin had thes outbreakings been in Wm. ————,[a] and the rest of the whordoms.

4. Former judgments in the family not receavd and made good use of, when my sisters and brother was left to commit whordom, and his judgment of madnes, and shame lying on them befor my eys to this day. 5 Not laying God's dishonour more to hart.

6. We observd the stopp and obstruction which the Gospel met with. Non reaceavd it, or card to reaceave it. Sathan with his baits cam speed, and manie wer enticd to giv themsels to him; but litl speed cam the Lord Jesus, and al his invitations and offers. Oh who reaceavs him!

7. We aknowledgd secret sins and wickednes which had not com to our knowledg; and if the Lord should destroy He wer just, if his fyr should burn up.

8. We made supplication to God for forgivnes, and for mercie; and prayd for thes that had noe conviction or repentanc; and besoght him to pour out a spirit of sound repentanc, and to clens, and tak away our sins for his nam, and purg our harts and the familie from thes abominations, both from the infection and from the guiltines of them.

9. That the Lord would dwel and set up his tabernacl yet among us, and pour out a spirit of holines and reformation, and for our provocations would not abhor nor depart from us, and would lead evri one of us to know and to quit the wickednes of ther hart and way.

[a] Name illegible, apparently a servant.

10. That the Lord would turn away his anger from us, and from the land, and would not proceed to execut al the wrath that seems to be gon out against us, and against his people.

11. That he would have merci on the poor land, and on his Church in thes lands, and forgive late and old provocations of al ranks of people, and that he would not defil his sanctuari, but would prepar us for trial, and furnish us with the patienc, courage, strenth, fortitud, and wisdom that's needful, that we miscari not, or be ashamd in the evel day.

12. That His kingdom may com, and tak mor rooting in our harts, in al the corners of the land, then hitherto; and he would overturn the kingdom of Sathan and Poprie. Let not ther devices against us prosper. Thogh we be in trouble we disclaim ther help; but "our help shal be in the nam of the Lord our God;" or els let our troubl remain ere we sin, and mak that our arm, which we desird may be broken. "Lord break ther arm!"

We also purposed each of us to engadg our selvs this day against our particular sins, and to serve the Lord, and choos him for al our lyf tyme. Oh that ther wer such a hart in us!

First, That I shal presentli tak car, so far as may be, to prevent further sin and dishonour to God heer. 2. That I shal tak mor pains to get faithful servants fre of scandal, and shall lay out myself mor for this. 3. Striv against sinful projects and designs of encreasing my estat, and so straitning myself, obstructing occasions of chariti, nourishing lusts of ambition, envi, earthlines, self lov, pryd, distrust, with love of the world, and myself. 3. I shall desir strenth to be mor diligent and faithful and serious in exhorting, admonishing, teaching, warning, reclaiming others. 4. I shall set up joggs, stocks, and penalties to restrain the lyke, if the Lord will be with us. 5. I shal frequentli enquir if ani such enormiti fal out to the effect it may be duli and tymli punishd.

Janet Fraser, that blaspheming, drunken, unclean wretch, did profess repentance and apprehension of God's wrath, and desird forgiuness in Christ; and vowd amendment in the Lord's strenth, and to resist the deuel, withstand temptations which hau ouertaken her befor, and to walk in a new cours of lyf al her days with mor watchfulnes ouer the hart, words, and ways then euer, and to tak reproofs in good part. Sicklyk Jhon Due, aganst his leudnes, drunkennes, profanes, and desird to renounc his former ways, and engadgd his soul to the Lord for tym to com.

Wm. Brodie, to walk mor soberli and holili, and in a senc of his own unworthiness, and to be litl in his own eys; and begd that the Lord would open his eys to shew him how unclean he was: and to be mor patient in bearing injuries and wrongs at the hands of others: and to tak reproofs in good part: and the glori of God should be deir to him as his lyf.

So Jhon Dumbar, to studi mor for knowledg, and be diligent in the use of al means that may lead him to the understanding of the misteri of godlines: against sloth: he should never be in the plac wher God's nam was dishonourd but he should zealousli testifi against it.

Will. Innes acknowledgd corruption, and promisd throgh the Lord's grac to endeavour to be mor aquainted with the evel of his own hart, and to be litl, and low, and vil in his own eys, and to studie patienc and humilitie, and that the glori of God shall be deer to him.

Sir Robert did undertak for himself and his servants to instruct, and admonish, and watch over them, and to engadg them to the Lord, and stir them up to repentanc, and for his wyf.

My Son acknowledgd his sin was mor than al; for non had such means of knowledg; non had been so oft and solemli engadgd to the Lord: this is not his first vow to God, and therfor took shame to himself for his forgetfulnes and slaknes, and promisd himself of new to be the Lord's, and to walk mor closli with God then ever.

Sicklyk Margarat, and to be mor diligent, watchful, and serious in following the Lord.

My Mother acknowledgd that she had not been so exercysd this day as was requisit; the sins of children and servants wer hers and myn in so far as we did not hinder it, and punish, and mourn for ther sins: she promisd to have more regard to the honour of God then ever.

Oh that ther wer such a hart in them! But alac! so soon as they wil forget, and fal away: so litl root has thes engadgments on the hart!

13.—I heard that that wretched woman Janet Fraser, and Isabel Tori, had even within few hours efter their engadgment, at least the one of them, broken out in execrabl passion and violent cursing. For this caus, not knowing how to help this, I purposd, if the Lord would, to rid me of them, and thrust them away.

[*One or more volumes of the Original Diary appear to be lost, embracing a period of nearly five years, between October* 1655, *and July* 1661.]

JULY. M.DC.LXI.

Juli, 1661.—I was straitnd what to doe with Lothian anent my ———.[a] I was wearie of this place exceedinglie. But it is my station and lot for the present. I visited Sir Ja. Stewart, and Sir Jo. Cheislie, and [we] worshipped God together. We spok anent the oath of allegiance, and the power of the civil magistrat in Ecclesi., and the Parl. 1612 and 1617

7.—L. Duffus told me that Lorn was restord to his honour and estat. Now my soul desird to bless the Lord for this, and I desird to understand it, and profit by his increas, that God heard our prayers and had visited that familie. Let it be for thy glori and the good of thy church.

9.—Besid this, I heard that ther had something fallen out betuix the Town off Forres and my uncle Francis with his sone. All this coms upoun me, and on my father's hous, as tokens yet of mor anger, and that "the Lord's wrath is not turnd away, but his hand is stretchd forth still." And yet further, heard that M'Leud was lyk to prevaile, and M'Donald, against my friends; and under this I desird to be exercisd.

11.—The matter of my friends and ther proces was delaid to the next Parliament. The ministers wer set at libertie: I desird to acknowledg the Lord in this. . . .

12.—The Parliament was adjournd. I met with much violence from Tarbet in the matter of my freinds; and I desird to look up to God under it, and comit ther caus and myn to Him.

13.—The Commissioner[b] took journey to London. I did tak leave of him, and reaceaud manie and larg expressions off his kindnes: But Lord keep me from trusting in man! From him Cromartie told me that I was too long agoing to the King; and if I cam he should not fail me. I was desirous to know his mind to me, so this was the return I had.

15.—I reaceaud a letter from Cassils, desiring me to com up, and sheuing that the King had prejudices at me, yet that it was best for me to goe ther. This, with the pressurs of my freinds buiseness, inclind me to goe, as being a cal from God; for albeit I might, and was willing to be under the King's displeasur (if it seemd good unto the Lord so to exerceis me), yet the Lord allows and commands me to seek the removing of it by all lawful means, so

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] The Earl of Middleton, who was the King's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament which met January 1, 1661.

farr as is possible. Therfor in obedienc of the Lord's wil, I am bound, as to seek and keep peac with al men, so especialli with my dread souerain, the Lord's great suprem vicegerent, officer, and anointed: so that now I depend on God for a blessing as weil as for allowanc. Many impediments and discouradgments have I in my way, of the ill wil of men, ther dislyke, my uncourtilnes, want of acquaintanc. This night I dreamd that being with the King I had no countenanc; yet I may not lean to dreams; and albeit it wer so, I sin not in undertaking my dutie.

16.—Sir Ja. Cuningham, took journey: I desir to comitt his undertaking to God.

17.—I did see Mr. Douglas and Mr. Hutcheson, and desird to know whither in ani thing I could be usefull; but as they did not see much, no mor doe I see that I can serv for ani use. I purposd to set to if the Lord did permitt, on the 20th Julie, in the faith of the Lord's providenc, and care, and presenc, and blessing, in what manner and measur he sees fittest.

20.—I did tak journey from Edr. to London, and cam to Heriot hous at night. I drew letters of recommendation from E. Calendar[a] to seuerals in my favours, and framd the letters myself, and was chalendgd for setting down ani thing to my own commendation, which in sight of God is not true, as that I should be a person of integriti, and the lyk. I spok in the sens and opinion of other men of my self, not my own thoghts; for God is my witness, I conceau it to be fals, for instead of integritie, I [am] an unsound harted wretch, doubl, unstable, deceitful: shall I not mourn for this? How can I tak such a testimoni from others of myself? Let this be no snare to me, for the Lord's sake; and ere this wer sin, I had rather be without the letters: and I lookd to God. I desir to tak Thy way, and noe other; and if ther be ani thing that's not approven by Thee, keep me from making use of it.

21.—I cam to Stow kirk to sermon, and Torwoodlie at night . . .

Anent my journey to London, I had fears and discouradgments anent the success off my friends buisines, and my own acceptance. First, It did in som measur content me that I was in the way of my dutie. 2. If I com back frie of snars, albeit without success, I shall aknowledg and ador the Lord.

[a] Alexander Livingstoune, first earl of Callendar. He was next in command to the Duke of Hamilton in the famous "Engagement," and was excepted in Cromwell's act of grace. After the Restoration he was in great favour with the Court.

3. God can bless and bring them and me also out of thes deip troubles, if it seim good to him; and I submit my cace to him, and thers, and depends upon his merci. Oh learn me to put my trust in thee! I am, alac! as a harlot or whoresh woman that wants but an offer: so easili will I yeld, nay, and cast myself into temptations, if God prevent not.

22.—I took journey from Torwoodlie: . . . Saw the E. of Lothian, and Mr. Leuingstoun at Ancrum. . . . I was guided by the E. Lothian's servant to his freind's hous at Sunisyde at night. I heard ther was something moud in the English Parliament anent a toleration to Poprie. Shall I not lament this? Let me not pass this by without observation. But thogh actuali it be tolerated, yet the Parliament did not ———[a]

23. I cam through the Fells, 14 long myls, to Alsbori, in England, and dind ther; and at night, to Durham, after I sent back the borroud hors from Newcastell. I saw a countrey full of grass, plentiful in comparison of us; and acknouledgd God in it. I cam by Sir Wm. Phenick's hous of Wallingtoun: with Midltoun's and manie other. I found the Service Book generalli up, and usd. Mr. Hamond had com to preach in the morning, to his independent congregation. I remarkd the statli palaces of the Bish. of Durham, ther prebends and courts; and alac! all his wealth, stat, and glori, mak litl to the honour of God; is litl pleasing to Him.

24.—Being Wednesday, I cam from Durham, to Faribridg, and found my bodie discomposd, and wearied with travell I croced Tyn, Tees, Aire, Weeld.

25.—Being Thursday, I cam throgh Turford, Newwork, Duncaster, Grantham, and at night, to Witham.

26 Juli.—Being Friday, I cam from Wittoun to Stamford, and from thenc to Stiltoun, and by the hous of Burlie. At Stiltoun, I took coach, baited at Okenberrie, whylst Cader went forward by post towards London. I heard som of the ministers at Stamford did not conform, nor read the Service Book; most did.

Thus I saw a larg beatifull countree, not straitned with the pouertie that

[a] Apparently something wanting in MS. to complete the sentence.

my nativ soil was under. I desird to consider and understand this. Thus I traveld throgh Northumberland, York, Durham, a part of Notingham, Lincoln, Rutland, Huntingtoun, Bedford. Manie thoghts haunted me, fear of the success of my journey, and buiseness with the king. . . .

I met Sir Ja. Hacket[a] at————.[b] He told me how much Sir R. Murray was burthend with thes things which the Parliament was doing, and that our euel proceeded from ourselus. I cam at night to Beaglsward,[c] and was exercisd with manie vain, impur, sinful, violent imaginations. Oh how miserabl wer I if the Lord gav me up to thes imaginations! I desird to look to the serpent hung up in the wilderness that I may be heald.

27.—Saturday—I cam by Sir Jhon Reid's park, and dind at Antfield[d] in Herfordshir, and saw the E. of Salisburi his fine hous,[e] park, and winyard; and cam by Baldock on the Chalk, throgh Bernhard, Hiegat, Islington, and to London at night. The Lord did visit and refresh my spirit with som smal thirstings and desirs efter him. But, as to my particular in this voyage, has not reveald to me what He wil doe with us as to that; and yet I desir to trust in him, wait, and be submitted to his will, albeit He not onli kept up himself, and held me in suspenc, but even thogh he should humble, and not grant my poor desire of acceptanc and deliveranc; for I must not cast off, thogh he tak a hard way, difficil, sharp and troublsom with me, and plunge into a thousand new difficulties. Oh! let him onli hold me up, direct my paths, accept of me, be my God, and I shall not complain.

28.—Die Dom. I was doubtful if I should goe to the publick worship. 1. Becaus I knew no part to goe to. 2. I desird not to be known; and the discouering of me untimouslie might doe me hurt, and preiudices might be raisd against me ere I was awarr. I desird to committ to God the clearing and inclining of my mind in this to doe his will. I desird to be learnd the dutie of the Saboth; the present duti of the tyme. I saw much vaniti, lightnes, wantonnes. Oh! that the seing of it in others may cure and mortifie the seeds of it in my self. God can mak use of poison to expel poison.

I saw a mighti citi [London], numerous, mani souls in it, great plentie of

[a] Sir James Halket of Pitfirran. He took an active part on the side of the Covenanters during the reign of Charles the First.

[b] Blank in MS.

[c] Probably Biggleswade.

[d] Ampthill, in Bedfordshire.

[e] Hatfield House, in the same shire.

al things, and thoght him a great king that had soe manie at command; yet how much greater is He that has al the cities of the world, persons, nations, things created in erth and heauen! Who will not fear him? This King knows not his subjects; and if he knew a few of them, he sees not what is within them. Oh! shall I not ador Him that knows al His subjects by nam, knows ther veri thoghts afarr of, from whom nothing can be hid; the most wise, holy, just, powerful, alsufficient, eternal, everlasting God, by and from whom al things hav ther being?

I heard one sermon in St. Margaret's, Westminster, quher the preacher prest holines as the souerain attribut in God, and the great duti incumbent to us to seru God without fear al the days of our life. He inferred that we should be holi in worshiping God; and that the Service Book was holie. 1. From this that He promises, quhereuer 2 or 3 meet in His name and agree: therfor peopl beforhand should know quhat is to be asked, otherways they cannot seek or pray aright. 2. Christ taught them a set form. 3. He usd not various expressions, but repeated the sam things again and again: He said, "Father let this cup depart," &c. So does the Kirk of England.

I marveiled to se men in the abstract speak of the holines of God soe weil, and yet in the application mistake. So natural is it to us to corrupt and mix the most pur truth, and the worship of God. Yet I found litle light or tendernes about thes things.

Unclearnes, and not knowing or having opportunitie of such ministers as I desired, together with lothnes to be discoverd, made me willing to forbear the publick worship. I desir the Lord may not imput it to me, and that ther be no snar in it.

I heard that yesternight the vote past in the Councel for 14 Bishops. I saw noe great appearance of much don by Sir Ja. Cuningham with the Chancellour. He desird to know if he should press it on him; and I, becaus it was the Lord's day, delayd it until I should enquir and seik the Lord in it. Alac! all things seim to fail: but Thou art my rock.

Adie went hom, who was one of the persons to quhom I was recommended to be taken to the Chancellor of England: I reuerenced the Lord's prouidenc in this.

31.—I was taken to the King, and kissd his hands; and did acknouledg the Lord in this, that I had sein his face in peace. Thus far has the Lord

helpd, and I will yet trust in him for what remains. I obserud the Lord's prouidenc ordouring this matter weil, and I adore His wisdome.

August 1.—I found the E. of Midletoun not soe careful to gett this remission as I desird, but to tak a letter to the Parliament. The Chancelor[a] promisd faire, yet matters stuck. God inclind the hart of Latherdail[b] to me. I desir yet to look after God for direction and a blessing, for I am blind, and can doe nothing. Ther cam word from Scotland that I was agenting for al the Protesters.

2.—I dind with Cassils quher wer Latherdal ———.[c] I took liberti to goe abroad to Spring-garden, Tredah, and other places, and was readi to debord: in tym spending, loosnes, unwatchfulnes.

3.—I found my barrennes and distanc, desiring to mourn under it. I found bodili infirmitie, and desird to be exercisd and humbld under it. I saw the Bishop of Worchester, Dr. Morliz,[d] and other Bishops. The Presbyterian Ministers wer admitted to the King.

I desird to be fitted for the Saboth, and the day ensueing. Lord prepare me! I read something of the romanc of Cassandra,[e] and was so impotent that my affections wer wroght on mor by thes inventions and fictions then by truth. I desir to be instructed, and know what the importanc of this [is]. Lord, teach me what is lawful, and what sin is in it!

4.—Die Dom. I desird to be dulie touchd with my own condition, and with the state of the Kirk of God in both thes lands. But alas! that which concerns Him or His glori lies not upon my hart. Is it not the common diseas of the tyme, that if we may be weil ourselvs, we becom indifferent how it fares with the Kirk of God, or with the maiters of God? I desir to mourn under this, as I may the day.

I desir to reflect on my own condition, and acknowledg His sovereintie that casts me into this place. He has cald and broght me to it; and what would com of me if he left or withdrew himself from me? I would soon com to nothing, and be confounded. "Let me not be confounded, for I trust in Thee." Let me know why I am broght to this plac, that it may be for

[a] William, Earl of Glencairne, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

[b] John, Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

[d] Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester.

[e] "Cassandra: the fam'd Romance, in five parts, translated from the French by a person of Quality." London, 1652, folio.

Thy glorie, and for good, comfort, edification to me, and al thes that ar concernd in me.

This day I heard Mr. Mortoun at his kirk in Foster Lane, and finding that it was a Sacrament day, albeit surpriz'd and unawars, and unprepard, I yet desird to lay hold on the opportunitie, and to reaceau that ordinanc which the Lord had appointed and instituted for the edefying and building up of His Church. Theirfor beseeching the Lord to forgiue the want of preparation and examination; and [to] look on me according to my need. It s appointed for the weake, and I am such. . . .

I know not if ever I shall reaceav a Sacrament again without some superstitious invention, tradition, or mixture of man. I have sein nothing in the ministration of this ordinanc but in simpliciti, according to the Word of God. I will look to Him to bless the Sacrament, the Covenant, the comunion of His bodie, blood, and spirit; for I must feed on his flesh or die, drink of His blood or die. This is noe fancie, but real, and ther is an inevitabl necessitie of it. . . .

5.—But on the Monday I heard from Scotland that our enemies purposd to obstruct. Rothes told me the King ———.[a] All this fell heaui upon me, and I apprehended that my labour would be in vain. I spread it befor the Lord; for I knew not what to doe.

I heard ther service at Westminster, ther musick, vesturs, gestur, turning and bowing to the altar; and I was in som measur greiud to se ther superstition. Wer it not a human devic, ther musick is pleasing to the fancie, and seims to work on the affections; but it is not of God, and therfor I reject it. Lord learn me to worship Thee in truth and spirit!

Mani and greivous ar my trials. I fain would be at rest; but the Lord puts a prick and thorn quhereuer I would sit down, and saies I must not look for it, but must be tossd and suffer, in other folk['s] cace; it must exercets me alyk as my oun.

6.—I dind with Cassils, and efternoon went and saw [St.] Paul's, Royal Exchange, Pop's-head allay, and other places. The varietie of fancies, objects, delights, wer manie; yet I saw the emptines of all, and soght grace to discern that one good, blest, and perfect object, the attaining and enjoing quherof could alon affoord me rest. It suffied me to hav alloud to me of al

[a] Short-hand in MS.

thes things what may seru for my accommodation and necessitie in my voyage. What crau I besid?

I spok with Sir Rob. Murray at night, and heard him expres his indifferencie to the world, and the things in it. Oh Lord! learn me the grace of moderation and mortification. He advized me to caus the Chancellor speak to the King, at least to Latherdale, for my friends. The way of compassing buisines seems mor and mor difficult. Chancellor appointed me to wait on him at Latherdale's, to speak anent that buisines. I waited ther the fornoon and was frustrat. I had unquietnes under al thes disappoint ments; and that the dealing of thes men seimd not straight towards me. Lord! what shall I doe? Litl doe they mind the troubl, perplexities, and woe of others. They are at ease.

Cassils cam to Court, and I saw how much favour others were in, and what disgrace he was under. Lord! sanctifie this to himself and to me.

I found Midltoun against my freinds: and the stop was lyk to be by him. And it seems to me invincible. Oh Lord! giue light and counsel; for mani ar they that are against my soul to destroy it.

Mr. Sharp cam and told me what conflicts he had heir to hold out unworthi men from being Bishops. 2. The English Bishops ther desir to hau men of ther choosing made Bishops. 3. The King's ———[a] the keys and disciplin and exercising of preaching also. He askd whom I would hau Bishop of Muray and ———.[a] He offerd kindnes to me, and to speak to the King for me. Lord! teach me what to doe, and let not this be a snare to me.

8.—I found E. Midleton my enemie, at least against a ———.[a]

Afternoon I went with Cassils to George feilds. I considered if I should let ani thing fal with Lll. [Landerdaill] of the reasons against fynning. Oh! for honesti and holi wisdom.

9.—This day I was purposing to goe abroad for diuersion. Let it not be a blasting, nor suffer me through unsavourines, leviti, or inconsideratnes to sin. I din'd at Smythfield, with Cassils, saw Bedlam and the Artileri yard, Moorfeilds, and returnd. Much matter of humiliation did I see in thes objects at Bedlame. I desird grace to improu it to the humbling of my soul, and to the subduing of sin and increas of mortification. Grant this in Jesus Christ.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

10. . . . I saw the Ladie Balcaras[a] who told me of her husband's christian departur.[b] I walkd to Chelsli Colledg, and desird to acknouledg the Lord in his daylie prouidenc, and in what I lookd on and obserud.

11. . . . Die Dom. I cam to heer Mr. Watson,[c] and afternoon Mr. Ley. I acknouledgd the Lord in the euening in his visitatiouns of judgment and mercie: how this night finishes 21 years since my beloud wyf died: I obserud the Lord dealing with me since.

12.—I saw Mr. Charles Pitcairn, an old acquaintanc. This day the Lord Cranstoun kild Captain Scrimgeour[d] befor our door almost. This was a cace to be exercised with. 1. How miserabl man is quhen left to his own passions and unruli affections. Oh! giv me not up. 2. Oh! how litl he had to boast off that had slain the other. 3. I desird the Lord to keep me from blood guiltines. 4. That it may not be laid to the charge off the land. 5. God giv him mercie and forgiunes that had fallen in the sin. 6. I adord God in his judgments, and desird to walk humbli befor him, and to fear; for if the Lord gau me up, I wer miserable.

Dr. Sharp dind with me. I moud to him to speak to the King, and to my Lord Rothes for me, and my freinds. Let not his favour be a snar to me; for his principls ar full of danger; neither let anie stumbl at it.

I heard that Sir Geo. M'Kenzie and Duffus wer to be on the Comission for excepting from the indemnitie. This raisd much fear and jealousi to me. Therfor I had recours to God; for al things seim dark.

13.—The Lord M'Donald cam to town, and I was troubled. Litl outgat as yet doe I see from thes troubls; yet dar I not mistrust. Earl Midleton told me I needed not fear; but the King would doe nothing to ani particular person.

I dind with Lauderdale, Cassils, and efternoon went with him to Neuingtoun and Lambeth.

He complained to me ———.[e] Why should I complain on ———[e]

[a] Lady Anne M'Kenzie, second daughter and co-heiress of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, and wife of Alexander, first Earl of Balcarras.

[b] His Lordship died at Breda on the 30th of August, 1659.

[c] Thomas Watson, minister at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London. He was ejected for nonconformity in 1662, and lived many years after the Restoration. Many of his sermons have been published, of which the most popular are his Sermons on the Shorter Catechism.

[d] William, third Lord Cranstoun: this event, not noticed in the Peerage, happened at Leathin in a duel. See Lamont's Diary, p. 140.

[e] Short-hand in MS.

Dr. Sharp. And I in the Lord's strenth desires to remember his warning, least that matter stumble other, or be a snar to me. Lord prevent!

I writ hom anent the Earl of Mortoun.

14.—I found the Earl Craufourd inclined that I should let all ly to the Parliament and the Comissione. I was troubled, and lookd to God. I sent to Calder at night to him. I did purpos not to mak mickle use of Mr. Ja. Sharp, becaus others stumbld: albeit I thoght I might doe it lawfulie, and through the grace of God asisting, not sin, or necessarli fal in ani snare. But I perceav ther is small tendernes in me. Oh help Lord, quhen tendernes fail!

17.—Latherdal told me that if Chancellor or Middletoun did not concurr he could not doe me ani good. This smot me, for I find they ar not sound, or sincere to me. I was readi to giv ouer; but thoght I should not to abandon my trust and dependenc on God. In the meantym what he puts in my head or hart, I shall prosecut in his strength, and in the faith of his nam, faithfulness, al-sufficiencie, wisdom, righteousnes and truth. He can deliver, if he will, and thogh he should not I will follow and put my trust in him so long as I live.

This efternoon, I went for natural refreshment with Cassils to the Bridg, and above I saw the plenti of the land, a populous citie; somethings of God's prouidenc, and acknouledgd the Lord in it, who had divided the kindreds of the earth, and giuen them their several habitations, not al alyk, but as his wisdom hath sein fit.

I saw the Copres works; and acknouledge the Lord in the gifts and faculties which he gau to the children of men. . . .

Ther cam to me one Moorhead who claimed kindred to me; he had been with Montros; still I found my facil natur: lead me for thy nam's sak.

18.—Die Dom. I heard ——[a] at Titl feild. How great a sin ignorance is, and the miseri of a land or nation quher the light is put out, or quher a famine of the word is sent. This is wors then a famin of bread. It brings night on a place soon, as the taking the sun out of the firmament would doe. Quhen the word grows scars or is corrupted, al manner of profannes and looseness breaks in, and increases. Parents should be careful to bring children to the knowledg of God, and to instruct them in his feare; for their blood will be required from negligent parents.

[a] The name is blank in the MS.

My mind was variousli tried with the thoghts off ther trouble for whom I was broght hither. My own thoghts seimed to feed me with hope of an issue from one external mean, or cours, or another: yet all hitherto had faild: soe thes wer all a lie or vanitie. Yet I sung Psalm 62, desiring to exercise my hop, expectation, and confidence in God, though he shutts euri dore. "Befor Him pour you out your hearts, God is our refuge hie." Oppression and roberi is not to be trusted in, nor yet is the hart to be set on riches and welth, thogh they increas. "POWER ALON DOTH BELONG TO GOD, and mercie also; for He will reward euri man according to his work." I seek grace from God to understand and applie this aright, and to exerceis my hart upon it solidlie throgh thy Spirit forming Christ in me, to bowing my hart to His pure and perfect word. Lat not roberi and oppression avail thes that ar seiking to spoil others, and mak up themselus therby.

Whyl I was on this meditation, I had a chalenge within myself for the ———[a] Hatton in the year 1645 or 1646; for it seimd to be robbing, aud lyk M'Donald's ———.[a] I desird to search; but I fear my hart to be deceitful. Wer it soe, I would hold myself bound both to repent and restor. But I was doubtful, and forgot indeed if I had ani hand in that man's lending or tynning. 2. I did not persu him; nor is Glengerrie's caces lyk; quherin I tak the Lord to bear witnes, albeit I desir to be humbld, if I spok a word against that man for my ends. Ther wer laws against intercommuning with ———;[a] albeit now I am in som sort convincd that ther was too much seueriti in that law. In the caus, in the suffering, in the design of the one and other the caces differ. But let non prosper by oppression or roberie, wer it myself.

I desir to obtain forgiunes of ani secret sin, in that sam ———[a] cleans me; and the veri hidden sin to hav it forgiuen, and to obtain sound repentanc for it through the blodd of Jesus Christ. Oh! if I wer through examind, and al that's within me broght forth, quhat a monstrous creatur would I be! How great would my torment, reckoning, and condemnation be, if God wakend conscienc and did but let me see clearli what wer in my bosom! Much dirt and foul abomination is ther hidden in my breast. Lord! abhorr me not: I sie man and myself no better then a diuel, void of sinceriti, uprightnes, and in quhat we doe ourselus, judging others; nay, without tendernes or conscienc, condemning in other, quhat we approv in

[a] Short-hand in MS.

ourselus, blinded, mislead, plungd in deip snars of unrighteousnes, deceit, uneuennes, throgh self love ; not louing others, nor judging for others, and in ther caice, as we are redi to doe for our selus, and in our oun cace, or our relations. Lord! enter not into judgment with us; for in thy sight we (but abou all I) cannot be justified.

Efter sermon, the thoghts of the Ladi Devonshir's[a] asistanc to my poor friends did tak up my thoghts. I prayd against it. 1. Becaus mani imaginations that hav promised me something has faild, and prouen abortiv and uneffectual, and disappointed me. Therfor I desir to lay them asid, 2. They are unseasonabl, and importunat; and my poor silli mind soon listens. I see my weakness; and the Lord for a quhil helpd me againe them.

I hav engadged my soul in it, and ingadgd for thes poor men of my ————,[b] that if thou bring forth out of their teeth, and help us to be faithful and stedfast to thee, and in thee, and if thou wil inlarg our harts, and keep it in our remembranc, then this night I vow, and engadg my soul to thee,—That this deliveranc shall never be forgotten ; we shall hav a day, a meiting to mention it ; we shall mak a memorial of it, and it shall not be forgotten ; and shall offer our presents to thee, as thou wilt inlarge our harts ; for we are in great danger, hav none that care for us, ar verie lowe and helpless. But thou art the Lord.

The cutting of the spirit of great ones, disappointing, bringing down, casting to the ground, breaking ther power, insolencie, and prid is propper to Thee, and Thee onli, who "cutts of the spirit of princes, and maks thyself terribl to the kings of the earth." Oh ! doe soe, but be merciful to the King of Brittain, and give him a sight of his own and ————.

19.—I went to meit Midltoun, but could not find occasion of him. I returnd and acknowledgd the Lord.

I writ to Mr. Sharp, Chancellor, and Treasurer, and sent Major Innes to Highgat to them : and committs the ishu of this to God. At night, I heard Mr Sharp did, but the Chancellor did not, tak weil with my letters, and lykd not my plainnes. If I hav dealt sinfulli, discouer, and forgiv

[a] Christian, only daughter of Edward Lord Bruce, of Kinloss, and widow of William, second Earl of Devonshire, who died on the 20th of June, 1628. She survived the Earl many years, having died on the 16th of January, 1674.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

me, Lord; if my failings hau been throgh imprudenc and want of wit, or policie, let it not turn to my hurt.

I found the ways I yet had falen on, not tak the effect that I desird; yet I remembered how God mad my dealing with Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie[a] and the ministers uneffectuall, and yet had saud me from ther hurt: and yet they had don al that was in ther power to ruin me. For this I will hallow and bless the nam of God, acknouledg and beleev on his wisdom, merci and kindness to me and myn, albeit he tak not my way, to bring my desir to pass.

The Chancellor and Rothes did this day tak journey to Scotland. My cares and solicitud is upon me. But thou art the Lord for leading, and upholding, counseling, and bringing me throgh al my trubles.

20.—I writ hom by Generall Major Robert Montgomrie to Wm. Douni, E. Mortoun, Spinie, and others.

Again I desird to consider the Lord's humbling rods upon my brother and his wyf, and my freinds; and to entret the Lord to sanctifi ther sicknes to themselvs and me; and to giue deliueranc and a merciful outgate in Jesus Christ: and that I be keepd from slighting thy rods.

Whilst I was thus considering of the Lord's dealing, I heard that Joseph's wyf was departed. This is a superadded stroak unto all the rest. I could not pass by this hand of God on me, and evri famili of my father's hous. Thus is my poor brother made desolat, and his children orphans. Leathin, Francis, elder and younger, ar under rods not to be despised. What means this? Mr Jhon, Joseph, William, ther families ar not. Oh! for grace to consider.

I heard that it was not going weil with ————,[a] alac! That Latherdaill his ————.[a] I considerd all thes and ponderd them in my hart, desiring to observ the Lord's dealing, and [to] cleav to him qhuil I liud, let others tak what cours they pleasd.

21.—I sent to my Ladie Devonshir anent my freinds, and did commit the ishue to God. I found new promises from Midltoun to speak for a letter of recommendation. But I dar build on nothing: but relies on God.

22.—I heard from Dumferling that Latherdaill said, that my freinds must compound, and ther was noe other way to get them off. This did lie

[a] See foot note, p. 181.

verie heauily on me, and affected me veri deepli. In the night tym I had a dream, quher I thoght I cam to a great brae, and steep, and I could not goe down without great danger, thogh others with hazard had gon that way befor; and as I was perplexd, wearie, feard, and disquieted, I imagin'd I saw a safe way to goe about, and get weil ouer al the danger, which way was hid from me and befor not sein. This left som impression on me: I desird to know if it did import ani ishue that my troubl should haue Howeuer, lead me in thy way, and straight, plain path, for thy nam's sak.

I found my expectation of the Ladie Devonshir, and that friendship vanish, for she was out of Town er I could meit with her. I acknouledg the Lord in it. I renew my praier, "Lead me in thy paths." Major Innes going to Rohampton, hurt himself sore. L. of Glenurchie promisd to speak to Lord Candish[a] on our behalf.

23.—I cam to my Lord Chancellor of England,[b] and spok at lenth to him off E. Mortoun's buisines, and found that all which E. Midltoun and Sir Jhon Straquhan had been making a work for, for so long, God had giuen me a fit opportuniti of it without them . . .

The Ladie Cassils spok to me to deal with her Lord to permitt her stay: I desir to know quhat to doe. I most desir that shee should goe home for his good, and hers, and the familie. But her affairs were pressing; in that respect I reuere God's prouidenc, and would adviz him to satisfie her desir, thogh I hav my doubtings. Turn it for good to him, and to his familie!

I had in the efternoon occasion of conference with Cassils for mutual edification. I found him veri ———.[c] But I did ———[c] diswad him. We spok of the lyf to com, the truth of the scriptur, and the difficulti to beleev them: thogh ani bodi think they beleeu. Finding som bodili infirmitie and frailti on myself, we spok of human frailti, and what our lyf is: mortification, the solid joy, and blestnes of the children of God in obeying and enjoying him heir beyond al natural pleasur in the world: the good of the croce and death; and that ther's nothing but sin to be compted insupportable, and the wrath of God for sin.

Finding som distemper, I took som aloes. Oh! mak me readi for my chang; for "I am but a stranger heer, as all my fathers were." I hau som

[a] Probably Earl of Cavendish.
[b] Edward, Earl of Clarendon.
[c] Short-hand in MS.

apprehensions of death, and knows not if I shall see my poor famili againe : let it be in merci both to me and them.

24.—I din'd with Lorn, and efter diner went to Lambeth with Cassils. We met Dr. Fraser who told us that the new sicknes did spread much, and he feard the pest; which God auert . . .

I heard E. Sandwitch had taken Algier. The Dutch wer high.

25.—Die Dom. . . . The ministers preach weil on our natural corruption and depraudnes, which I found true, and worshipd God in the acknouledgment therof. I cam hom and found bodili distemper, and was under som apprehensions of a chang by death or some other croce.

In the sens of this my soul was exercisd, befor the Lord for preparation and grace to meet and come under what he cald me to. I enquird and desird to search my own hart, whither ther was ani matter or object on earth to detain me, and I found none. I loud my son and my parent, and my famili and relations; but I can without much perplexiti trust them to God, and trust in God for them; and I have noe mor to ask wer this my last day. 1. That in death he would be my God, and efter it, as he has been all my lyf, and help me throgh death, and to conquer throgh Jesus Christ, that last enemie, and mak me ouercome the first and the second death also; and [that I] may, with thes sam eys, see God my Redeemer. I trust this bodi to him til he rais it up at the last day; and he is faithful to whom I commit my bodie : and to him I commit my soul lykways, that he may, at the last day, present both the one and the other without spot at the coming of the Lord, raising up this mortal bodie, and making it lyk his, incorruptibl, and with him may meet the Lord in the clouds . . . I die in this faith, in the confidenc and weak assuranc of it such as I may attain to. . . .

I die praying for King Charles, that God may bless his person and gouernment, with lenth of days, peace, and aboundance of truth; and for that end God [that] may lead him in thes sound counsels that may be for the one and the other. Let al them perish that hate him. I had never the least intention against him.

I leave on God's car my deir and onli son, his wyf and familie and seed, my aged beloud mother, my child Grizel, her husband, children, and familie, my kinsmen according to the flesh, euen thes of my father's house. They ar a generation of uncircumcisd lips and an uncircumcisd hart. Oh! that God may forgiue and tak away their guilt and corruption, may forgiv and

reform them for his nam sak. He that has bein my God, let him becom ther God, and ther seid's efter them. I hav bein witnes to ther solem ingadging to thee. Lord! confirm and establish them in thy way. Ther ar mani wolves about them, and they are persecuted and hated. That God would rescu them, and be ther God, and giue them proofs off his forgiuing, deliuering mercies, as he often has don to me.

I am not mor jealous and sollicitous of ani then of my nephew; my affection has bein to him as if he had bein of my bodie. If the Lord would tak it of my hand, I would leaue him particularli on the Lord, that He would becom his God, and acquaint him with himself, and bring throgh the snars of the tym to which he is laid open, and preuent, confirm, and bless him: euen soe Lord! that Thou may hau glori of him, if Thou tak ani pleasur in him.

I doe not conclud of the tym of my death; nor can I promis my self one day: onli I find frailtie and desir to be found readie, and loosd from al my comforts, euen my sweit children, my dear parent that bore me, my yong ofspring growing up, my christian beloud freinds, my natural deir freinds, kindreds and relations, my pleasant dwelling, houses, lands, rents, walks, woods, retirment. Yea, though they wer in all protection, they ar a smal temptation to mak me linger an hour, wer it to see them once, or to tak leau of them: noe, euen here I desir to say from my hart, Oh world, adieue! I had as much as might detain me; for of all that's aboue writen I had something. Weil lou'd I my deir relations; and they me. Willing was I to be useful for them; soe wer they for me. I had as much ground of contentment in my hous, dweling, freinds, neighbours, relations, countree, as much credit among them as my hart could wish. My enemies that hated me, and for noe ill I did them, yet I doe pray for them all; and now desir to bidd all things created farweil. The offer of a world, a croun, a pleasant dwelling, to be assurd to see thes com of me mani and honourable, to be in the cheif honour and plac in the world: I would desir to say to it (if Thou cal me to Thee), Begon! I desir not to delay one hour to enjoy al thes; yet desir to submit to His will if He think fitt to keip me heir for 40 year; thogh I hope He minds good to me, stay I short or long. . . .

26.—I din'd with Cassils and Coll. Henderson, and Mr. Erskin. I travailed betwix ———;[a] for His glori, and ther good and comfort, and seeks grac and a blessing from him.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

27.—This day I had a fitt of sicknes, which lasted from 7 to 2 or 3 efternoon. I sent for Dr. Wederburn: I beg of the Lord that I may not be barren under al thes rods; nor may they return without working that effect which Thou intends by them.

I heard that good Mr. Rob. Burnet, Crimond,[a] was remoud by death. "The righteous [are] taken away and perishing, none considering or laying it to hart, that they ar taken away from the euel to come."

31.—My sicknes by fitts kept me till Saturday; which was the greit and last fitt (as I hope), quherin the Lord exercisd me with much sicknes and pain, so that I was readie to giue ouer; nay Dr. Wedderburn feard my cace: yet as it wer by a miracle (so did the Lord ordour it and bless the means), I was heald and recouerd, and my sickness did not return, but past away at once. Shall I not bless, ador, and acknouledg the hand of the Lord in this? Yea, and shall doe, so long as I liue.

Onlie let it be in mercie; and this is the token that it is in mercie, quhen al is broght to Thee: my health, bodie, spirit, recouerie ar forthcoming not to myself, but to the Lord and him onli; for for quhat other end should I liue, or desir to liue? Mr. Lighton did visit me, and gau me this lesson. Lord! seal it on my hart.

1 September.—Cassils did visit and comfort me oft by his presenc and exhortations. Let the Lord requit him! He took journey to Scotland. My hart was much cast down for Scotland's cace, under the euels that ar lyk to com upon it. I heard that Mr. Wood and the ministers of St. Andrews wer much distasted with Mr. Sharp. I heard soe much of this, that it would seem to alienat me from such a subtil, unsound person, and the ways of such.

4.—I writ to Midltoun anent my friends, by Mr. Mouat, and I prayd for a blessing, but with submission to His will to use quhat instrument or means he pleasd. I was instant with the Lord on the matter of my poor brethren, and my remoual from this place, and that I might goe from London praising God; and I beleeue I shall soe, com of al quhat wil.

[a] He was the fourth son of Alexander Burnet of Leys, in Aberdeenshire, and was admitted Advocate in 1642. Having opposed the Covenant, although brother-in-law to Johnstone of Warriston, he spent some years in exile. After the Restoration he was raised to the bench, and took his seat as Lord Crimond, 1st June, 1661; but died within three month, on the 24th August. He was the father of Bishop Burnet.

I heard that the Lord had remoud Mr. Lenard the L. Lorn's . . .;[a] and I desird to be instructed by it. 1. That a youth is remoud in the flour of his age. That's a warning to me indeed, and shews our frailtie. That man might hau been as certain of his lyfe as ani man. I met him walking on the street supl and healthful: he was yong, ingenious, setting up, and yet witherd in a moment, and is not. Soe uncertain is my lyf vereli.

2. What this speaks to Lorn, teach him; to me it would seim to rebuk his curiositie about thes trifls that ar below him: and the Lord would tak his mynd of the lyk, by his giuing him something els to doe: so he does humbl him by it. But let al be in mercie, and not this to be the presag of anie anger, or to bring on wors: but let it be in mercie.

6.—I visited Lorn, and with the night air found my health distemperd. I heard that the E. of ———[b] E. Twedal[c] of som words, and that it was ordourd he should goe to the castell of Edinburgh for som ———.[d] This is a remarkabell ———[d] to humble us.

This sam day Latherdaill fell sick: I saw in what cace we ———.[d] I lamented it befor the Lord. This day Lorn's buisines was mentioned, and som hop gatherd. Let the Lord perfect quhat he has begun. Seaforth gav in a petition which reflected on Crafourd.[e] This lykuys has appearance to produc mor emulation, and trouble, and faction. Lord turn it to good! For weak, low, and freindles ar they.

I heard of the D. of York, or as Crafourd for ———[d] Tweddale.

7.—Calder took phisick. I kept within doors. I reaceaud letters from Spini anent E. Morton's Signatur Pension, and withal I desird in simpliciti to seek his good: but I am feard of snares Lord ridd me, and mak my path straight, and purifi my affections, mind, and conscience to do the acceptabl wil of God!

I read much of the Turk's Alcoran, but saw nothing to stagger me, or to seduc. I was confirmd in the truth of that religion which I profess, in the Bibl; and that it and noe other is the Word of God; and that Jesus is the

[a] In the MS. it reads "Lorn's turner."

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] John, second Earl of Tweedale, had opposed in the Parliament of 1661, the passing of sentence of death on Mr. James Guthrie: the only member of Parliament who did so. His words were misrepresented to the King, and he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 14th of September.

[d] Short-hand in MS.

[e] John, first Earl of Crawford-Lindsay. He counselled Charles the Second against the restoration of Prelacy.

Messiah, and the object of my faith. Noe other doctrin or profession agrees with the Prophets, Moses, and the Old Testament; and the Old and the New agree together.

That I saw thes deluded Pagans and Infidels mention the nam of God, press duties of prayer, faith, chariti, and the lyk, did put me to it to seik from God in Christ to be instructed mor fulli in the way of his servic, and to discern betwix ther prayer and worship and ours, both in regard of the object, subject, principl, rise, end of the duti, efficient, and rule. The Lord's giuing up soe great a part of the world to follow this fals prophet is a misterie, quherin the justic and soueraintie of God is to be adord. But we must not stumbl at ther success, and prosperiti, and spreading.

9.—I took som mor phisick, and was exercising my hart under the cace of the Kirk of God, and the poor ———.[a] I heard that the King discharged the monthli fast in London. The ministers in Irland that would not conform, all put out. I had ane foolish imagination that Craford and Latherdaill had a mind and ———;[a] I was exercisd about it, as if it had been real. Yet the Lord helpd me to seik [with] som sinceriti that he would auert it, and I would count it a merci; and let me return without a snare.

I saw my Lord Crafourd and heard from him ———[a] al things seem dark, yea, veri dark.

I did see the E. of Midltoun: my heart was redi to murmur that others wer ———.[a] I spok to him of Morton's buisines, and of my familie.

He told me Mr. Douglas had said that thogh he would be noe Bishop, he could liue under Bishops: and al in Scotland wer quiet. Mani wil be readi to stumbl at this, that he soe easilie submits to, acknouledges, and yields to them. ———[a] 1649, ther purging, and that they would tak none to be soldiers that had bein sogers in 1648. This was ther sin, superstition, and darknes; one of the spots that they haue to be humbld for. So of setling off men; Mr. Andro Cants indiscreet and imprudent zeal and freedome. Alac! I could not refus or deny but ther was too much of this true; yet his affections wer right, and I hope he was and is accepted, and infirmities blotted out through Jesus Christ.

I had been earnest with Sir Jh. Straquhan to dine with me, but he cam

[a] Short-hand in MS.

not. I went, efternoon, out to the feilds with Lorn. He told me they had a mind to se Neubrugh conjunct secretar with Latherdaill. We obserud the ———.[a]

12.—Sir Jh. Stracquhan din'd with me.

I went, efternoon, with my Ladi Balcaras to the burial of Mr. Tailour; and heard Dr. ———[b] preach: Revelations 2, "Be thou faithful unto the death, and thou shal hau a croun of lyf." Oh! sermons, and sights of death litl enter or work upon my hart. I desir to bewail my barennes. Such honest, faithful, and able men taken away, and I not considering or laying it to hart.

13.—I saw Sir Tho. Cuningham, and he told me of the E. of Sandwitch his engadging at Algiers, and his loss.

I did, efternoon, see the Inner Templ, Temple Barr, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn; and heard of the King's proclamation anent the setling of Bishops in Scotland, and aresting rents belonging to them.

I did not see ani appearanc of outgat as yet to myself and my poor brethren, nor a dore opend for my return. Therfor I look up to God. Lorn sup'd with me. I receau'd letters from Duffus, and the bil from Joseph.

14.—I heard Bishops wer set up in Scotland: the rents that did belong to them arrested. Oh! I am dull, slow to understand, and farr of from God. I was feard that the pleasur of profan Histori should expel the loue of Scriptur, and that which is diuin. I besoght the Lord against this snare.

15.—Die Dom. . . . I heard that yesternight wer 20 bodies raisd out of Westminster [Abbey], and buried without the Kirk: Dr. Tuiss,[c] Dr. Strong, Mr. Marshal, &c., by the King's command.[d]

That ther cam a voice to one at Court thris, giuing him command to rise, repent, or els he should be sudenli destroyd. I was exercisd with the consideration of my weaknes, ignoranc, infideliti. . . .

18.—I went to London, and saw varietie of creaturs for delight and accommodation, and desird to use al things aright; for I am readie in evri thing to sin. I saw the defect and weaknes of my parts and induments,

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Name blank in MS.

[c] Dr. William Twisse, an eminent and learned Nonconformist divine, who was chosen Prolocutor of the famous Westminster Assembly.

[d] The Royal Warrant is dated Whitehall, September 9, 1661. See Collectanea Topographica Britannica, vol. viii., p. 152.

and desird to be humbld and be content, and to glorifi God with thes gifts he hath vouchsafd, for accordinglie would he requir, and not according to what I had not. It's grace, and not gifts, that he looks to. Oh! for grace to know and glorifie Thee as God.

19.—I was cationer for Mr. Wm. and Sir Jhon Cheislie for 209 ℔. sterling: and did this unto the Lord, and bound to be sencibl of his troubles, and as being liabl to troubl my self.

I desired to be dulie affected with the corruptions of our ———.[a] What can we look for qhuil it is thus? We hau no help, but our eys ar towards God.

Mr. Wm. Cheisli told me of a Captain Constoun, a sea captain, that had fortold mani things ———[a] Bishops in Scotland or England befor 1664: January or March: Monk should ———.[a] I desird not to lay much ———,[a] but to obseru and committ all to God.

20.—I went to London, and saw the Savoy, the Sutton's Hospital, and books. My nephew was unweil, and I had som fears of him. I heard from Cassills that ———.[a] I obserud the Lord's hand in it, laying impediments in [our way], and disappointing. Lord! turn it to good, and let not anger be in it for thy nam's sake! I spok with the E. of Midltoun, and apprehended that ———.[a] I desird to withstand thes thoghts, and acknouledg the Lord in it.

21.—I was doubtful if this day I should giu my ———[a] signature to Latherdaill and Crafourd. . . . I obserud in my self a great desir of knowing natural, moral, historical things; and was readi to admir them that had great induments in thes things; yet I perceaud that I had none, and my memor retaind nothing, nor did I conceav mani things I read. I desird to be humbld under this, and to be content with my measur. 2. The Lord requirs according to what we hav, and not according to what we hav not. 3. Ther is wisdom, and I hop mercie, in keeping me low; for if I had ani thing I would be soon puft up, and be fild with conceit. 4. Uprightnes is better then witt, learning, gifts, or the knouledg of al natural, or moral, or historical things. 5. A good understanding hav they that keip Thy commandments, and they will mak wise; and that's the wisdom which I seek.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

I besoght the Lord that the E. of Morton's buisines may be noe snar to mak me sin. Oh! help me throgh this short cours off my lyfe.

My desir was to the Lord to ridd me of this place. It is a place I have noe fellowship in. 2. I am in noe particular calling. 3. I am doing noe good in it. 4. I desir to be restord to thes I am tied to, for the Lord's glorie. That he may be serud by us ther. 2. That I and they may be helpd, one of another. 3. Comforted one by another: and in all thes respects I submit my will to God.

23.—I thought to hav acquainted E. Midltoun that I had giuen the signatour to Latherdaill; and aprehended they had bein at one, but found otherways and missd him. I reuerenc the Lord's prouidenc. I met with Mr. Lighton, and he exprest much of a tender disposition. Oh let it not be a sin or snar to him! He said ther was not that differenc betwix Psts. [Papists] and us as to put us to excommunicate and condemn, judg, and persecut one another: we might forbear one another. He said ther was as much for the sa[k]cloth, as for the surplice. He had a great latitud. Lord deliuer him from snares! I found my inordinatnes in reading Lucan. I saw the Lord's hand in chaunging gouernments, raising and bringing doun; and albeit we be readi to judg and censur the Lord and his ways, yet they ar al right. But neither ar our affections nor our judgment right.

24.—I saw E. Midltoun, and my hart chalengd me for saying to him that I found ther was som stopp, and that som had carpd at the word Assignais. I should hau said nothing to the hurt of ani, or to irritate. I desird to be burthend with the humours, factions, prid, and passions of men. I commended the cace of the land to God that was in such a cace: rent betwix them.

E. Twedal subscriuing the act of Councell for Bps. [Bishops]: men would mak al sure. I blest God from my hart that had mercifulli kept me out of employments; for alace! the snares that they fall in. Lorn din'd with me. I heard from him what past betuix the King and the 2 Lords anent Twedal.

25, 26.—I heard that Twedal was set at liberti, and confind to his oun hous. I acknouledgd the Lord in this; and in ani favour or ground of hope that Lorn had from the King quhom he met with. I heard also that Crafourd had gotten the sole commission for the Excyse. I saw the uncertanti and unstablnes of all human effairs. . . .

At this day ar we not in danger by the prid, ambition, covetousnes, lusts. and injustic of men to be broken, and torn, and destroyd.

I did goe and see seids, and enquir for trees, and other things that I had som desir to hav.

27.—I din'd with Lorn, and help'd his signatur. He was with me at night. . . . I heard Sir An. Ker and Neutoun wer put in prison at Edinburgh.

28.—I was soght by thes in ———,[a] L. Forbes, Sam. Leving[stoun], and others ———,[a] yet I found my self much straitnd towards them. Lord inlarg and guid me in Thy love, and loos my bands: and Sam. Levistoun.

I went to the feilds in the evening with Calder. I found that al thes places and pleasurs can afford me litl contentment in respect of home. Lord! should not Thy presenc then content much mor, and draw my longing efter Thee?

30.—I saw the great heate and animositie betuix Midletoun and Latherdaill, and besoght the Lord to remov it, and, if not, that He would bring forth good out of it, and in His wisdom ordour it for His glorie, and the good of this peopl, and the poor land. I found difficultie to carie among them with uprightnes, and simplicitie, and due discretion, and wisdom. Let the Lord ordour my steps, and what concerns me. This day the Sweds Ambassador had his entrie, and I observd sin, vaniti, and ungodlines in the contest betwix the Ambassadors of Spain and Franc. Railing and blood was lett in the mantenance of ther humour. I desird to be humbld under this, and to reaceav instruction by it.

I heard Mr. Lighton inclind to be a Bishop, and did obserue his loos principils befor anent Surplic, Ceremonie, and Papists. I desird grac to discern what to judg of this, and if the Lord cald me to speak to him or not. Their appeard nothing of my own buisines a doing. I desird to reuerenc the Lord's wisdom, and to be guided and stablist in his way.

October 1.— . . . Kirkmichel was with me, and desird me to lend som money to Sir Da. Cuningham. I was doubtful what to doe, not knowing whither it proceeded of design or not. I lookd up to God for councel, and saw noe ground to yeeld to this proposition, and therfor laid it by.

I din'd with ——,[a] and efter dinner missing thes, I went to visit. I

[a] Short-hand in MS.

went to the Tour, saw one of them dead who had bein the day befoir kild in the contest betwix the Spainard and French: heard that the watermen wer conducd by the Spainard, and helpd him.

I weighd what to doe anent the patronag of Kinlos, and desir to be guided in it. I warnd ———.[a] I found indisposition on my spirit to the drawing near to God; and under al my exercises desird in His light to se light, and wil wait for Him. And I writ my letter to Scotland by D. Stewart.

4.—I spok with E. Midltoun and Chancellor, and found my L. Mortoun's buisines ticle; and his professd freinds not sure to him. I told Crafourd that the signatour was to be broght into the Council . . .

I was desird by Sir Da. Cuningham to help him with money, and I knew not what to doe. Therfor I lookd to God for direction, and purposd in my hart to follow him in it soe far as he would giv light, and direction, and strenth.

I went for this end to London, and boght som histori books, but nothing of diuinitie. This feard me that I was withering, and I desird to search. Oh! the studi and knouledg of the one thing necessar, and the use of al means to that end, is that which should be cheife.

5.—Sir Rob. Muray[b] counseld me that E. Athol should get the fyne of my freinds. I desird direction, and lookd to God.

I heard the King was raising forces to Tangier in Africa. I read the undertaking of the King of Franc against Naples, his success, the chang of it, and in a short tym loses al he had wonn: craft, malic, doublnes, drivs men to counsels, which thogh men hop to preserv themselus therby, yet destroys them. Oh! it is a miserabl cace to be in subjection to ani lust.

6.—Die Dom. . . . I did goe in to the Abay Kirk, Westminster, and heard the Sub-dean, Dr. Helen,[c] preach the Real Presenc, but did not explain it. I saw the superstition, bouings, external gesturs, heard ther singing, liturgie, affectation in vesturs, kneeling at the altar, bouing to the elements. Thes ar things which pleas not God; they ar man's: and let man hau neuer so much esteim of his own inventions, they ar not com-

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Sir Robert Murray was a great favourite with Charles the Second. He was made Lord Justice Clerk in June, 1667. His counsels inclined to moderation.

[c] Dr. Peter Heylyn, the author of numerous works, was a learned English divine and historian, but no friend to the Puritans. He died in 1662.

manded, therfor not warranded. They corrupt, mix, sophisticat the pur, simpl worship of God; therfor I desir to count of them as the Lord counts, and to keep a due distanc with ani thing that has not authoritie or warrand from God.

This night D. Stewart shew[ed] me that my nephew Alexander was dead of the shot of a pistol at Ardersier on the 14 September. I desir to com under this sad stroke as from the Lord to me, my nephew and his famili. Oh for the understanding of soe loud and terrible a judgment! . . .

8.—I perceaud my L. Midltoun had not purpos to goe home soone. I acknouledgd the Lord in this, and desird to be instructed what I should doe, as to my oun staying or remouing.

I din'd with Kirkmichael, quher Mr. Dickson, apothecare, was with us, and spok that our nobiliti and gentri had the caus of our troubls. I saw his violenc against the purpos of the reformation in Scotland, his bitternes against Latherdaill. . . .

9.—My hart did chalendg me that I could so freeli lay forth money for books, plenishing, cloths to myself, and the lyk, and was so straitnd and loth to lay out for the Lord. Oh! what does this presage and witnes, but that I am of the earth, and beleevs not, and my portion is not blest, but my goods ar rather accursd. I desir to lament this befor God. My nephew was instant to be home, and I was loth to let [hinder], becaus of danger and his unsetldnes. I counseld him to stay, but would not straiten him. Lord! giue him and me counsel. Moovd with Lorn's want, I gav him the lend of som money. I desird to doe it to the Lord. I was veri desirous to be ridd of this plac if the Lord thoght fitt, but submits my will to God.

12.—I heard of the appearanc of a breach betwix Franc and Spain about that which fell out heere, and saw how much the liues of the poor was subject to the lusts of the great. This is a sor vaniti under the sun!

I had som burthen by my heir being, and mentiond it to God, with submission to his wise and holie will, and put my burthen ouer upon the Lord.

I found that Lorn's buisines made noe progress; and albeit my aprehensions of it be of danger, yet ther is nothing too hard or impossibl with God. . . . I suped with Lorn and observed ———.[a]

[a] Short-hand in MS.

13.—Die Dom. . . . I mentiond this day among others Mr. Lighton to God, that the Lord would minister light, grac, direction to him, that he stumbl not upon the one hand or the other, and be noe occasion to mak others stumbl or sin.

The Lord Crafourd had said to me that ———[a] 2 stools. I desird to consider his word, and to search that the Lord may deliver from al doublnes, unsoundnes, deceit, sinful craftines. In simpliciti, I warned him or others whom I lovd (for no by-end) of ther danger, or ani thing that might concern them in ther honour or safeti. But I did not ———.[a]

I desird that this may be to me an advertisment to watch that I be not found in ani crooked, evel, wicked or deceitful way. I am cast on His grac for this, that He may prevent me, for I hav noe help, hop, strenth to prevail or be safe but in, from, throgh Him.

14.—I saw the ladi Willars [Villars] this morning, and at noon went to London, and saw beyond Bishopsgate varieti of trees, plants, floures. I am apt to be inordinat about thes earthli delights, and to lay me doun as it wer in my nest; but my thoghts ar not Thyn. I hav found a prick when I would have siten doun, and been at rest, and my flouer has witherd, and I hav found disappointment. Oh! that I wer learnd to use thes things aright, and al that's in the world, to know what Thou allows; and to tak that and noe more. Let thes things lead me to the paradis and garden above wher the admirabl trees, and fruit, and flowers grow "which ey hath not sein, nor enterd in man's heart to conceive," and that never chang or wither. Kirkmichal[b] and Mr. Arch. Campbell wer with us. I was at great pains in travelling about thes things. Oh! that I could tak as great pains for things that never end, and ar mor worth the seiking.

16.—I did goe to see the Register,[c] but found not occasion. His son din'd with me. I went out efternoon, and found bodili distemper, and continud under it this 2 or 3 days, and in it saw my frailtie, and unsetlednes of my condition in the world.

17.—I kept the hous by reason of my infirmitie. Mr. Wm. Cheislie told me that ther was noe hop to doe anie thing heer (as he thoght) for my buisiness; and aduized me to goe home: That Register had said, They would hau al find who opposd the King thir 23 y[illegible]ar: They would haue the

[a] Short-hand in MS.
[b] Or Carmichael.
[c] Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington.

comission absolut to fyn and forfeit, life or death, and that he should declar now quhom he would remitt, and remitt all others to him, and stopp all recommendations and ordours to the contrar. This did disquiet me, and I desird to goe to God under it, for light and direction and grace.

I read Tailour's[a] treatis anent Original Sin: That albeit we wer bruised by our fall, and had lost our first perfection, yet we retaind a will and power to help it: We ar not by nature corrupt, nor has Adam's sin actualli infected us: We retain will and fre-will and power to obey. I desird to have my eys opend to discern truth from errour, and to glorifi Him in the receaving of truth, and the lov of it, and to be kept from pestilent errours.

18.—I did see the Register and Newbrugh, and spok anent my nephew's buisines. In the efternoon I did tak up an account off his debt, and saw the burdens of his hous veri great. I did grow impatient at it, and yet was ashamd of my inordinatnes, quhilst I rather should hav acknouledgd the Lord in it.

As to my nephew's going doun, I commend it to God. Let him doe what seems good to him. Let him get glori, and me hav his presenc, and be comforted in him. I heard the Register had noe mind that Duffus should be on the Commission, or that ———.[b]

20.—Die Dom. I had resolvd to hear sermon at Hiegate this day, and ther to seik occasion to speak with Ll. [Lauderdale] ———[b] estate of our ———[b] and appearanc of rain I staid.

21.—I went to Higate, and met with Latherdaill, and observd the Lord's providenc in tristing me to the moment of his coming out. He told me as to my self ther was no dealing til ———.[b] I saw ther ———[b] ther statlines ther in Higate, and desird to be instructed by it.

22.—My nephew was disquieted anent his voyage, and found impediments and stopps. He desird, and I also, to observ the Lord's dealing in this, and to revere his wys prouidence . . . I did see E. Midl., Chan[r], and Crafourd, and found evel determind as ———.[b]

22.—I heard that a sadd accident had befallen Inglstoun, by a gun, and that ther was noe lyf looked for for him. This was a verie humbling prouidenc. I desird to be instructed by it.

23.—I heard that the buisines betuix the British and natius of Irland was

[a] Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Doun and Connor.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

in agitation, and might produce dangerous effects I heard to my joy a certain report that the King Charles I. gav them neuer comission to rise: and I saw alac! how apt men ar throgh suspicion in ill tyme to fasten fals reports, whereto men throgh hastines and preiudic ar too apt to giv credit. I commended to God the matter of Irland that he would setle it for his glori and the good of his church and thes lands.

I saw the Courts at Westminster, and did perceau that my nephew would not get himself loosd from this so soon as he desird: and reuerencd the Lord's prouidenc in it. I heard Mr Sharp and the Bishops of Scotland would not tak ordination from the Bishops of England. I acknouledg the Lord in this.

I din'd with Lorn, and did see Mr. Progers efternoon. I knew not what the Lord purposd with me heir, but by Midlton's stay I was disabld from expecting much heir. I lookd to God in al this.

24.—I din'd with Sir Ja. Primros in Jh. Campbell's. Being loth and auers from other compani ther, I spok to Latherdaill, and he told me he feard that his signatour should be restricted to the airs of his bodie. I saw my oun ignoranc and dulnes which did not gainsay that, wherof the inconvenience did afterward appeir.

25.—Mr. Lighton din'd with me ———.[a] I perceaud he was not auerss from taking on him to be a Bishop: al was clear to him: ciuil places fre from censurs: he approu'd the orgains, antheams, musick in ther worship. He said the greatest error among papists was ther persecution and want of chariti to us. His intention was to doe good in that plac, and not for ambition. He was against defensiv arms: men in popri holding all ther tenets might be sav'd. He had no scrupl in ani thing which they did, repeating oft this word—Religion did not consist in thes external things, whether of gouernment or ceremonies, but "in righteousness, peac, and joy of," &c. I prayd for him, as for myself, and was feard that his chariti misguided might be a snar to him.

I desird to mourn under thes darknes which hid us from one another, and hids the mind of God from us, that we see it not clearli. How great is our darkness! He said, he signd and swor the Couenant, and had thes sam

[a] Short-hand in MS. This and the subsequent notices of the celebrated Leighton, cannot fail to be of special interest as illustrative of his conduct at this period.

thoghts then: That the couenant was rashli enterd in, and is now to be repented for. They placd mor relligion in ther ceremonies then in the most material things of religion; and we placd mor religion in opposing ther ceremonies then in the weightiest matters of the law of God.

26.—I spok to Dumf. anent ———,[a] and efternoon with Latherdaill, who told me that the King would reduct ——— ;[a] smal contentment in al my laboure, and did see the corruptions of men and ther factions, but was barren, and could not tak that instruction by thes things which I might and ought. And I met with E. Newbrugh, and found smal appearanc of setling my nephew's buisines.

27.—Die Dom. I found much distemper, deadnes, and disorder on my hart, and desird to be exercisd with it . . . I heard Mr. Rood on the doctrin of sinceriti.

I told Midleton the Session's ansuer to Mortoun's signatour; wherwith I was troubld. I saw the ———.[a] I found that ther was noe appearanc of doing ani good in Calder's buisines. This does humble. Lord! sanctifi this ———.[a]

29.—I did see the Lord Maior of London his solemnities, and desird to be instructed by what I saw 1. Ther was something of the witt and invention of men therin. I desird to acknouledg the manifold wisdom of God that gius common gifts to them. 2. The varieti of the Lord's creatures on other parts of this earth was represented. In this I acknouledg him. 3. That the creaturs of God ar broght from farr to us: al the earth is the Lord's, and al his works praise him. 4. The glori of thes things ar for one man, and this soon passes away. Such is all human created earthli glori, vanishing: it neither bides nor can mak man the happier: it cannot be laid hold upon: it is not solid: it is but in conceit. Oh! learn me to die, to be crucified to all this and the lyk, and giu me grac to seek that glori which [is] in God and fads not: and to lay up thes, mak me "wyse unto salvation."

30.—I spok with E. Midl. and found him (as I thoght) not affected to me. I heard that they purposd to have an excessiv sum to thes ———.[a] I found my Lord Crauford ———.[a] I did see Dr. Sharp, and was straitnd in myself whither I should see him or not: I desird the Lord to clear me. I

[a] Short-hand in MS.

was in doubt if I should mak use of Dumfreis ———.[a] I saw Mr. Jhon Lockhart.

November 1.—I spok with my nephew Calder, and found him under much ———,[a] and troubld with it, and feard the distemper ———.[a] I did also exhort and incourag him. I intended to se Dr. Sharp once and again at his lodging, and was disapointed. I found that buisines heer wer drawing a great lenth.

3.—Die Dom. I found much indisposition on my spirit, and was cast down under it, acknouledging the Lord to be righteous if he should mak this darkness the beginning of hell. I was straitnd in the publick also, and had som mean esteim of the minister Mr. Rood: yet the Lord made me find good by the weak means, and I worshipd the Lord. I beheld the administration of the sacrament in Westminster, and albeit I was stumbld at ther affected gesturs, bouing, and cringing at the tabl befor ther altar, aud bouing at euri tym they namd the nam of Jesus, ther clothing, ther kneeling, ther twice consecrating of wyn, becaus they broght som mor then at the first, yet I thoght they might partak sauinglie with them. They had materiallie the sacrament of the Lord's bodie rightlie administred. He cal'd it a sacrifice of prais.

Lord! let not this condiscending be a snare. Thogh with thes things, and som appearances of euel and superstition I was unsatisfied, yet with reuerence they did goe about it. Mr. Rood preachd weil on 1. Cor. 3. 1., "You ar carnal and not spiritual: babs in Christ, hauing neid of milk rather then strong meate."

4.—L. Neil Campbell[b] cam in and staid with us. I found my nigardli and sauing natur incroaching upon me, and I feard to be ouercom with it, and made my supplication to God for grace to escape. I met with Latherdaill, and understood that Sir Th. Cunningham was not to get his plac. He was willing to procur my signatour of Kinlos, onli he desird to know who was patron of the wther kirk. I desird grac to walk uprightlie and straightli. I heard that ther was soim euel determind against Calder, and som aduizd him to goe to Franc. I desird to look to God in this matter. I spok with Sir Rob. Muray who cried out on Warristoun and the ministers: and ther

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Lord Niel Campbell was the second son of Archibald, Marquess of Argyle, and was sent by his father to London at this time to act on his behalf, but in vain.

opinions and ways wer madd and dangerous. This cutted me to the hart: That Warristoun, Rutherford, and others wer phanatick and madd. I desird to be exercisd under this. Alac! in me is the seid of al thes extravagancies mixd with unsoundnes and carnal policie on the other hand. Oh! how shall I be deliverd? I look to God in Christ. I reaceaud letters from my brother: he diswaded me from returning. He shew me what the contempt and misregard was that our friends wer under. I desir to spread this befor God; and now trusts in him for direction, both against fanaticknes and distrust, and to be lead in euri right, lawful and approuen way for releif and comfort.

I did communicat with Willi Chiesli, who advized me to ———.[a] I inclind to it, but durst not ventur on it, being but from myself, until I had spread it befor the Lord, and soght direction and his presenc and blessing.

5.—This day was kept the memorial of the deliuery from the Gunpowder Treason. I did cast myself on God's prouidenc to speak with my L. Midlton; and found him not inclind to accept of my ———.[a]

6.—This was a day of money that I can scarce render ane account of: din'd with Lorn. I acquainted Major Innes with my purpos anent the patronage of Kinloss.

7.—I writ to my sone and Joseph, dated 8. I did travel into the citi, purchasd som things, visited the Ladi Kirk., and returnd.

I heard that Sir Ja. Stewart had ———,[a] and I desird to reverenc the Lord's wys providenc that lets not anie of His own children pass without som exercis.

Nour. 9.—I went to London, and dind at Billingsgate: saw the prison of the King's Bench in Southrick, and the workers of glass: in al which I saw the manifold wisdom of God in the gifts and faculties which he has given to men. In comparison of al thes whom I see in the world, how litl is my part of action or doing! Oh! that I could attain in my generation to be faithful, and approven, be my condition, or facultie never so meane. But alac! so barren as I am of ani thoghts of God; and soe have I found my self this day, and at al tyms.

I read Charles 5th his laying doun the imperial croun, and taking him to

[a] Short-hand in MS.

a cloister or monasteri in Castil, near Placentia. He causd celebrat his funeral befor himself er he died. This did affoord me matter of exercise.

10.—Die Dom. I found my inclination not auers from a form of Liturgie. 1. Becaus albeit it be not soe liuli as otherways; yet with som measure of affection may God be worshiped. 2. I hav sein, and dayli, much disordour in conceiu'd prayers of som, and extravagancie, which does afflict me. Oh, let this be noe snar nor stumbling block to me! I find much barrennes, dulnes, ignoranc, unstedfastnes, and under it desirs to mourn to God. For great does the distance seem that's betwix my soul and God.

My vain mind was exercisd with imaginations of contentment and hope to hau som letter or testimoni from the King of aprobation, and recours to the Parliament, and to effectuat it. But the Lord discouerd soon to me how apt I am to feed on such wind. 2. How I hau deceaud my oun hart with the lyk mani tyms befor, and fals joy and hop hau therby stolen in upon me unawares. 3. The Lord hath, and in His wisdom, I hop in His mercie too, layd impediments to me quhen I hav nourishd such imaginations befor. 4. My lyf, and the true joy of it, doth not consist in the aprobation of men or ther favour, but in Thyn, and to hav a conscienc void of offenc towards God or towards men sprinkld by the blood of Jesus Christ. This is that which I would desir to cum at if I could attain it, and submit al things els to his wyse and merciful disposing.

11.—I did see litl appearanc of Lorn's effairs to tak ani speedie effect: and I desird to bear burthen of it. Som smal differs arising betwix ———[a] I desir the Lord to avert. I did efternoon goe to London. I was desirous to bui [an] Atlas and som books, but was straitnd betuix lothnes to trespas against God in my condition by extravagant, and unnecessarie expens, and to be wanting in ani allowanc on my oun lauful and sober contentment and comfort in the use of the creaturs: *in licitis perimus omnes*, on the one hand and on the other.

I was discontent that smal differs and jarrings cam betuix us and our host. I desird onli to be keeped from sining against my condition and what God requirs of me: and doe what seims good to him.

14.—I heard how ———[a] spok against ministers; an'd he cal'd them

[a] Short-hand in MS.

a meeting of diuels. He thoght noe mor of ministers that wer not ordaind by Bishops in that right manner then he did of, &c. He blasted out much malice and euel. I leaue him on God, that He may convince and shew him the euel of his ways, and giue him repentanc: may I say "Forgiv, for they know not what they doe?"

This day my letters wer writn hom to goe with Calder. Let the Lord ordour his journey, and turn it to good, and extend his providenc towards him for good!

15.—This day the L. of Calder took journeye to Scotland. I found he had taken on som smal things without me that wer trifls; which he denied. . . . Alex. Brodie, my cosen, cam and saw me. I heard that my familie and freinds were weil. For this I ador the Lord, and give him thanks.

16.—I returnd to London, and the night last wakd a great deale, and found my thoghts much taken up and imployd about my buisines. . . . But not a thoght of God. I was afflicted in som measur for this.

I heard from Sir Jhon Straquhan and my L. Midltoun off the conclusion off the E. of Mortoun's buisiness, which was made. I said that one had said that the word assignais behou'd to be dashd. I said that ani thing my L. Mortoun did meet with was for this caus. In both thes I challendg my self of indiscretion and witlesness, nay, and unfaithfulnes to God and Christ. . . . I besoght the Lord for pardoun of my infirmities in thes, and in all the managing of this buisines: for I found how kitl it was and hard to walk uprightli, and safelie, and wyslie. Oh, for that wisdom which is indeed from aboue, and from the Holi Ghost!

I writ to Spini for my exoneration, and saw that things wer not lyk to goe right for the E. of Mortoun and his familie. I desird grace to be faithful, and wisdom to walk beseemingli in this, and does commit it to the blessing of God.

18.—Die Dom. I had thoghts of getting som testimonie and recommendation from the King; this broght som joy and contentment to me. But I know not Thy thoghts, Oh Lord! neither what is pleasing to Thee. . . .

Dr. Reinolds, Bishop of Norich,[a] heard sermon with us: Mr. Rood on 1 Jhon 2. 6, "They that say they abid in Christ oght to walk as He also walked." He shew[ed] that beleeuers and Christians hau a being in Christ,

[a] Dr. Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, 1660—1676.

subsist in Him, hau an union with Him, and that's mor then a communion of som benefits. 2. They that professis [to be] Christians, and to hau an entres in Christ, should walk in holines, and be conformed to him; and therby prou ther profession not to be counterfitt, unsound, formal, imaginarie, and meerli external. "They that ar joind with the Lord ar one Spirit," as marriag conjunction maks one flesh.

21.—Dr. Sharp told me he had reaceau'd word from Scotland that I did give inteligence to peopl ther, and shew them of seueral plots, and kept the peopl in a distemper, and had writen the state of buisines in dark obscur terms; had said that the King's mariage was not lyk to goe forward. Now all this was a great burthen to me; yet I had som quietnes that it was fals, and maliciousli forgd. But it testified litl of Dr. Sharp's affection and respect, that he had told my L. Midltoun of it, and others, ere he had told myself. I desir'd to be instructed by this. This is the man by quhom I was looking for freindship, and behold the Lord maks him the instrument of my croce and troubl, that I may not lean to him, nor to ani man. 2. That I may rest on God. 3. Watch over my words and writting. 4. And keip a distanc with evri thing that may either hav the appeiranc of evel, or a snare. . . .

I heard yesternight Mr. Rood, at a funeral, on "The Lord wil bring al to judgment, and mak al things manifest, both good [and] evel." This day I heard Mr. Palmer[a] and Mr. Simson. . . .

I found that by thes things the Lord was not to mak me of use for the liberating and serving of my poor friends. I desir to reverenc the Lord's providenc, to be directed by Him, and submissive to Him and His will.

22.—I found Midltoun, Register, and Sharp not unfreindli to me, and I acknouledgd the Lord in it. I din'd with Kirkmichael, and spent the day travelling with him. I met Midlton going in to Bedlam, Register and Aboine. I desird to consider this and be instructed.

I desird to consider if I should put myself under ani mor intimat fellowship with Aboin, and ere I should follow my inclination and imagination I did desir to spread it befor the Lord.

Dr. Sharp spok of the wrong which the Church had gottin in giving the Teinds from the Kirk to the Patrons in the year 1659. The Register told

[a] Anthony Palmer, ejected for Nonconformity in 1662.

that Dr. Chrighton had gotten 3000 ℔. sterling for entries, and had given 2000 to the poor, and for building the Kirk; and Mr. Henderson gav none, and now that which he left to ani behind him the deuel had taken it away. I desird to be humbld under this, that they should be mor fruitful, and be mor enlargd than faithful men. Oh, that we may be helpd to adorn the Gospell!

23.—I read something of the troubls in the Low Countries, and the blood, crueltie, confusions that they cam throgh; the mixtur of ends, counsels, and aims; and what a glorious work the Lord broght forth out of it all, with advantadg to religion.

The seiming pieti of som Jesuits to ther christianti. Oh! wer I not dull, shallow, and blind, I might understand and learn much. But alac! my dulnes, and alac! so readi as I am to miscarie, mistak, and goe wrong.

1. God givs to wicked, and the worst of men, gifts, common gifts of witt, invention, skill, actiuiti against His Church; yet He is a holi God. 2. How lyk superstition is to pur worship, and how zealous will the worst of men be for that which they apprehend to be relligion, and yet ar void of relligion. 3. What a mixtur of ends, aims, counsels was in this work. The enemies thinking they did God servic in killing, burning, murthering thes that withstood ther idolatrie. The wys Papists, Kings, and Councelours of the earth joining heads and hands to root them out, calling that heresi by which way we worship God. Som wer joind for the lou of ther countre, liberti, to be ridd of the oppresion of foreign sogers; others with som other end; and few out of lou to God, truth, his word and warrand. Yet how glorious things did the Lord bring forth out of this confusion! He brok the tirants and the oppressours one efter another; yet [they] did not, could not consider that it was the Lord, and that they fought against him. How much infirmitie and sin was mixd with al they did! yet the Lord did pass by that, and wroght for his nam's sak. It is not soe now. They had a couenant at Gant;[a] and befor, at som other place. Oh, how it was broken! What shall we say of our couenant, and leaug and couenant? They had the lyk in Germani. I desir to stand still, and obserue what the way and works of the Lord doe tend unto.

24.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Sharp and Lighton wer re-ordained, and

[a] Gand, or Ghent.

scrupled at nothing. It is a difficulti in thes tyms to know quherin true sound worship and godlines does consist: men readi to use the[ir] liberti for the hurt and destruction of others, and as a stumbling block to manie.

I read how Charles 8 of France gav his oath to restor Pisa to the Florentins, and perform som other conditions; and efterward hauing noe purpos to keep his oath, he alledgd that he had promisd the contrar to Pisa befor, and therfor could not perform to Florence. God will not be mocked.

25.—I did see the Ladie Balcarras and her children. I had letters from Scotland, shewing Burgi and Mr. Tho. Gilean's informations against me. I desir to be in the dust and ador the Lord, who so exercises me. All ways to help and bring of my poor bretheren seimd to be stopd. I lookd up to God, under all my pressurs and darkness.

I saw the condemnd prisoners which wer broght from the Tour to the Parliament. Ther is a spectacl to humbl, Tichburn, Lilburn, and the rest: yet thes wer professours of relligion. Alace! quhen they suffer for euel doing, how great is the sham, and how ar the mouths of men herby opend to speak ill of the gospell. To suffer for righteousnes wer a comfort. But this suffering is with much reflection and discredit to ther, and the common proffession. I am barren, but wer I enlightend I might gather much from this, and be instructed. Oh, leaue me not to my self!

27.—I reaceaud letters from the E. of Mortoun and Spinie complaining on the convoy of that buisines of Orkney. I hav neid to guard against sin that it break not in. 1. Pleasing myself with the aprobation of men. 2. Secret ———.[a] 3. Leaning to carnal ———,[a] or my own ways, counsel, or understanding.

I mett with Mr. Lighton, and anent his undertaking did express my self freelie to him. He shew[ed] that he retaind the sam tendernes and bowels to thes that feard God. I desird him to use his liberti not to stumbl, but to edifi others, and not use his liberti to pleas himself, but rather others in the Lord. He said, he thoght he was bound to use his liberti to the utmost; and if he did forbear to use his liberti in things quherein he had freedom, he thoght he sinn'd. I exhorted him to guard against Poprie. He said, he had not ani thing he mor desird then that they might hav liberti also, and not for ther consciences to be prest; he would indulg them, and Anabaptists,

[a] Short-hand in MS.

and Quakers: he lykd [the] Liturgie and som of thes things best. These opinions wer dangerous. I besoght him to watch, and prayd the Lord for him. I desird him to use his credit that the Ceremonies might not be broght in upon us. He said, he wishd soe; but he hop'd they should be prest on none. Alace! efter introducing, force will soon ensew. But, good man, he does not perceav or suspect it. I desird him also to use his credit with his collegs [colleagues] and the King.

I was considering if I should mak use off the Lord Dumfreiz.

I heard that something had fallin out anent the E. of Murray his going to tak possession of his sheriffship.

29.—I spok with the Register. He told me ther was nothing could be done heir for my friends.

I did speak with Sharp, Fairfall,[a] and Hamilton[b]; and did perceav they were inclind to press the Ceremonies. I said, that we wer weil befor the year 1633.

30.—I spok with the Register and heard how much ———[c] Latherdaill ———.[c] What is sinful discover. I desir to hav my secret sin and infirmiti pardon'd, and that the Lord may convinc me of sin and reform. But I desir to tak better heed to my words. I did not gainsay; but in what had ani seeming ground, I assented. Alace! I may fear and suspect my self in evrie thing. My L. Midltoun was indisposd through som sornes in his eys. I din'd at Chelsey with Lorn, and heard Mr. Calami at night preach a funeral [sermon] at the burial of Sir Wm. Waller's ladie on 1 Thess. 4. 14: "For if we beleiv that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."

December 1.—Die Dom. I heard Jhon James at Tiburn was executed for words against the King, which he ever denied. He was a Sabatharian in keeping the days, otherways Christian.

I heard Mr. Rood, and found much deadnes upon my oun soul. I found not that aversion from ther liturgie and som other things that I had had, and others godli persons hav. Oh! that this be noe snar to me. . . .

Dr. Pearl in St. Margarets. 1 Cor. 9. 24: "Soe run that ye may obtain."

[a] Mr. Andrew Fairfoull, minister, first of North Leith, and then of Dunse, who was preferred to the See of Glasgow on the 14th of November, 1661.

[b] Mr. James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan, who, after the Restoration, became Bishop of Galloway.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

[After an outline of the sermon.] This was sound, but alace! it was without prayer. He said, Let us pray for this and this, and the King, &c., and a cataloig, but praid none except the Lord's Prayer, and not a word efter sermon. Lord! is this to worship Thee? Is this prayer? My hart chalendges me for going in there without necessitie, and indeed I could not liv on this diet, without prayer and communion with God, and pouring out the hart befor God, and in his bosom throgh Jesus Christ. Lord! deliver us from seeing this form of worship introduced.

3.—I spok to Mr. Lighton, and found his satisfaction in the worship of Ingland, and al the ceremonies of it, and I could not but be troubld. He preferd liturgie and set form to other prayer. I read the pamphlet anent the unlawfulnes to press or injoin the ceremonies or things indifferent.

I did see Mr. Bains and found he could not help Leathin anent M'Loud's buisines.

3.—[I heard] from Scotland that Hopton[a] died 23 November. Aboin refusd to let the peopl of Lochaber ansuer the courts at Invernes. In al this I desir to acknouledg the Lord.

4.—I spok with La[ll]. and he declind to move anent ———.[b] Sir J. Straqn. din'd with me. I did unfold my self and my ———.[b] I went to Midlton afternoon, quhair I was chalendgd for ———.[b] This convinces me of the sinful evel of ———;[b] and now guid me out of the snars in which I hav broght myself.

E. Midlton did fall on E. Allerton's buisines and desird not to medl ani mor in it. The E. of M. was so vihement and passionat.

In that matter, I hav not had ———.[b] Thus my words, and discourses, and rashnes, and imprudenc, is made my exercis and affliction.

5.—I did meet with D. of Lenox and found nothing anent Calder succeid. I heard the Parliament wer to chang the Train Bands into a constant militia: that they wer to bring in a Bil to the hous anent 1200 hors to be payd by the Bishops and Clergie. Now by all this I see that ———.[b]

7.—I did shew E. Midltoun, my letter anent his buisines with Morton: and on that ground I sought for som favour. I met with the Register. I found his displeasur at me for telling Lorn what he had spoken. I was

[a] Sir James Hope of Hopetoun. [b] Short-hand in MS.

much perplexd out of the fear of this, ———[a] to other things they veri falsli chargd on me, albeit I am convincd of my ———.[a] I desir to be instructed by this prouidenc of God in casting for suffering this to fall in betuix them and me. I see not the Lord's end in it yet, but I shall see it. 2. I cald Sharp Lord. I desir to examin if I sin'd in it.

I did go to the citie. I heard that the Parliament had outed al ministers that entred since the year 1649: that Mr. Alexander Spotswood[b] had got a gift of Wariston's forfeitour.

8.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Calami,[c] Ps. 84. 11, 12.

13.—I went to Chelsie, and spok with Collonell Scot anent his designs for potashes, saltpeter, corn, myns, draining. I desird to observ the Lord's dealing, the gifts he givs to men, and oft withholds the success, that we may learn to ascriv all to God, and find it impossible to goe by his dor, or to prosper otherway, then by hauing his blessing.

14.—I had som meditation of the Bishops[d] which wer to be consecrat the next day, and read 1 Cor. 12, the offices which God hath appointed in his hous, and could not find this offic, as it is administred, comprehended in ani of thes.

Whateuer be in it, let them not be a snar to thy Church to lead them to errour, or to corrupt the worship and ordour of the hous of God. 2. Whatcuer they be I hold my self bound to pray for them, that our fears of them may be disappointed. 3. They might not err, and caus others to err. 4. God may mak his wil known to them. 5 His Church may be comforted and built up by them, and they may hav the wisdom and grac that's needful to deal tenderlie with the poor members of Christ that they are set ouer. They may mind that the power which God givs them, is not to destroy but to edifie, not to usurp, impos, tyranniz ouer the heritage of God, and ther consciences; and God may indu them with moderation, wisdom, and grac. Shew them the evel of ther own way: this in Jesus Christ. 6. That ther joy may not be our sorrow, and we shal not joy the next day. For they ar to feast, and we ar to mourn. Iff they be not from the Lord, and be not

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] The grandson of Archbishop Spottiswood.

[c] Edmund Calamy, minister of St Mary's, Aldermanbury, one of the authors of the celebrated work against Episcopacy, entitled "Smectymnuus."

[d] Bishops Leighton, Sharp, Fairfoull, and Hamilton: they were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, on the 15th December, 1661.

to us that office for the Lord, euen in merci to his church may they then be plucked up.

I was veri doubtful what to doe with ——,[a] and desird light and counsel. I heard E. Eglingtoun had som commission to deal against fynning. Let the Lord giv him wisdom, and that success as may be for the Lord's glori and ther comfort he deals for.

15.—Die Dom. I desir to exercis my soul with fasting in this day of ther feasting and consecration, for the causes in the day befor, and what further the Lord shal mak out. It might be a day of sorrow to them for quhom this day's solemnities are appointed. We declar this day that the nam of God was taken in vain, that we swor falsli in the Lord's nam: We ar condemning al that we hav bein doing and endeauouring for reforming the hous of God; reproaching and raising a slander on our mother Kirk of Scotland, her ministers, ordinances, officers, as if we had non and wer no church, but dwindel from this superstitious form, and they onli wer a tru church, and al other churches had noe power of ther own officers, ministers, ordinances, ordour, gouernment, and disciplin. Thes men [our new Bishops] ar they which did renounc and abjur what now they tak on them, and glori in. How shall they be beleeud next when they preach, or quhen they swear? They hav dealt so falslie and perfidiouslie in this. Shall not both they and we mourn for this?

I heard they had surplices, albs, and all other ceremonies. He that preached said, ther wer noe laik elders, but ther wer diuersities of dignities in the preaching Presbyters: much spok he against Presbyterians; God's declaring against them at Dunbar. Al thes things we spread befor God. I heard that our Bishops bou'd to the alter, had on ther surplices, rochetts, and other ceremonies, took the Sacrament kneeling at the alter quhen consecrated. I desird to consider and weigh thes things soberlie, and with understanding.

I heard Dr. Goug[b] in the evening. Prest good works, and quhen the scriptur spok of faith, it meant a faith accompanied with such works. . . . Ther was no internal nor external impediment, but we may keep the whoil law of God. Albeit not without infirmitie, yet in a measur . . . if we wer

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Probably Thomas Gouge, son of Dr. William Gouge, a divine of some eminence, who resigned his living of St. Sepulchres', London, when the Act of Conformity took place.

willing nothing could hinder; we hav abiliti enogh thogh not to keip the law perfectli, yet sufficientlie. . . .

I was troubld with Dr. Goug his sermons. He ascrivd soe much to works, and to man's abiliti to keep the law. Oh! what shall I say, but cri to God that poor souls be not poisond by misapplying such dangerous and suspicious doctrin. He said men wer not converted in a moment or an hour by infusions as Ps. [Papists] and Anabs. [Anabaptists] dream, but by good works in the cours of ther lyf.

I did observ our new consecrat Bishops com out from the servic with the prebends.

19.—I receau'd letters from E. Morton and Spinie. I heard that the Parliament wer about to setle the King's power to choos magistrates in al the incorporations for som years; that no minister should injoy ani liuing, nor other person ani employment, that did not abjur the Couenant. I desird to consider thes things, and to be duly instructed.

20.—I did speak with E. Midlton anent Morton's buisines and took aprehension that I was mor acceptabl then ———.[a] But the Lord helpd me to suppres this thoght. I saw him desirous that M. should ———.[a]

I heard Dr. Nicolson, Bp. of Glocester,[b] on the funeral of Bp. Monk,[c] Math. 19. 28.

21.—I heard this night that Midlton and La[ll]. wer at som agreement, and Lorne's buisines and restitution: and was desird to draw up a commission. In this I did aknowledg the Lord, and praisd him for it.

24.—I did yesterday moue to Caldcots, that I desird to be under freindship with my L. Aboin, and would be readie to doe him servic. Caldcots cam to me this day, and told me that Aboin was willing to meit with me, and quhen [I] could shew him quherin I could doe him ani servic, he would be readi to doe me ani kindnes he could. But he would not medl with the publick. Thus I perceaud he declind me. Therfor I said, I was not desirous to intrud my seruic on him. I could not promis to be usful or seruicabl to him al my life; but from a tru respect to ther famili, I was willing quhen occasion offerd, and they requird or made use of me then

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester, 1661—1671, was the author of Expositions of the Catechism of the Church of England, and of the Apostles' Creed.

[c] Nicholas Monk, brother of General Monk, Earl of Albemarle. He was Provost of Eton College, and had recently been consecrated Bishop of Hereford.

to express my respects to them, and I would not press it further then he thoght fitt. But if he thoght fitt to entertain my purpos, I should not spar[e] ani pains or travel to doe them servic to ani part of Brittain.

He dealt with me to interpose for taking away that buisines betuix Seaforth and Murray. Midltoun had said to him, I spok favourablie of it. Let not this be a snar to me. I said I would not undertak ani thing. When I had anie proofs and assurances of the E. of Seaforth's affection and sincer kindnes to my self, it were tym for me to promis much to him. But he was a person I was not oblidgd to, but on the contrar. Therfor I would doe him noe wrong, nor speak ill of him, but perform al ciuil respects to him as a person of his place. But I would not medl myself further. Quhen he did express or shew kindnes to me, it was tym for me to stretch my self to doe seruic to him

25.—I heard Mr. Rood,[a] and one in St. Marg.[b]: and a third in the Abey. I found noe temptation in my self to allow or favour ther worship . . . nor the keeping of thes days; yet I was in my self persuaded that I ought [to] hear what was spoken and preachd, and desird to mak use of it as I was able.

26.—This day and befor, I was much exercisd with the apprehension off the danger which I was in, and my f[amilie], and that al my travel heir was in vaine. The E. La[therdaill] was failing ———;[c] and I had non for me, but was in som sort forsaken of al. I did from this hav my recours to God.

27.—The L. Lorn told me that he had spok Latherdaill and found him not auers; yet it seimd something did stick. I adord the Lord in it. E. Eglington told me that he had spok to the King, and he had promisd ther should be no fynning. In all thes things I had not quheron to rest: but I did of new acknouledg and ador the Lord.

I was doubtful whether I should speak to Sir Robt. Murray to speak La[ll.] for me or not, or to Crafourd. I depend on God for counsel.

28.—E. Egl. told me that Midlton was verie vehement for fyning. Wilm. Stewart and Math. Innes din'd with me. I saw the vanity of my counsels and thoghts in the matter of my ———[d] freinds and other such things, and in drawing other letters from Mort. for me and my freinds, which seimd to be unto smal purpos.

[a] Mr. Onesiphoras Rood, minister of the New Chapel, Westminster.
[b] St. Margarets, Westminster.
[c] Short-hand in MS.
[d] Illegible in MS.

30. . . . Kilcour was with me, and told me how ther famili acquird ther estat, and with what blood, and fir[e], and wasteings. I desird to be instructed by this.

31.—Sir G. Murray told me that I would get nothing done. ———.[a] I was much cast down under this, and desird in the midst of my thoughts ———.[a]

I saw Dr. Sharp, Bishop of St. Androes, and cald him Lord. I desired that his moderation might commend him to that people. He told me of a proclamation that the King had sent him, forbidding Presbyteries to meit on ani former warrand or authoriti, but al thes should be authorisd by the respective Bishops. Oh my dulnes, blindnes, barrennes, fleshlines!

1 Januarii, 1662.— . . . The E. of Eglingtoun and Lorn din'd with me. I desird to examin my oun hart in all the actions of this day, and to obtain forgivnes and peac throgh Jesus Christ.

I reaceavd letters from my sone, mother, daughter, and had several ground[s] of exercis. That my famili was in some health and weilfar was to me a ground of prais and thankfulnes to God.

2.—I was desird to represent my L. of Murray's buisines, and Tarbett's.[b] I had smal encouradgment to it both in regard of snares, dangers, and offending of men also, and drawing prejudic on my self for ther caus that ar my . . . freinds.

6.—I was fainting, and at the giving over. I saw noe issue of my buisines, but that the Lord had shut evri dore against me. In this darknes and confusion I had noe recours but to God, who had bein oft found and never left me; and in the hour of temptation he will not leave me, but point out a way for me to walk in.

7.—I spok with Latherdaill, who gav me som hope, yet durst I not lean to it. I found E. Midlton and Register straitnd to me. I did se the Bp. of Dumblean, and heard ———.[a] I could not but acknowledg the grace of God in that man, albeit he was ———.[a]

8.—Coll. Henderson was buried at Westminster, and alace! I found my

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Sir George M'Kenzie of Tarbet, who was appointed one of the Lords of Session in February, 1661; and Justice General in October, 1678. In the reign of Queen Anne he was created Earl of Cromarty.

self as dead as he that was put in his grave, and under this I desir to mourn, that thes occasions doe not teach and affect me. I heard that the L. of Panmoor[a] was dead. I din'd with Lorn, and went afternoon to the feilds I was under much perplexiti anent my ———,[b] and what step to tak next. Now I desir to commend my cours and way to God.

11 —I did see M. and L., and found thes men not at one, and I desird to consider it, and be instructed I did yesternight read the Inglish man answearing the Nonconformists, and obserud ———,[b] I say strong reason to qualifi the publick prayers of ministers, for they had and would deboard,[c] so as the congregation could not join with them; and the Lord had humbl'd us in that matter. 2. I could not condem al liturgie, and forms, or directories, albeit this form of thers does not satisfie. 3. The authoriti of the magistrat for things indifferent injoining does not suffic, especiali in things stumbld at, and superstitions. 4. I desird to examin ther design of drawing neir Ps. [Papists] that they may gain them, or stopp ther mouths the more. He said, som had mor furie, but others wer mor solid opposits to Papists then the most furious was.

Nidri din'd with me, and efternoon Mr. Innes, and Wil., and I went to Chelsie. Mr. James Metland cam yesterday to me, solliciting me in his buisines. I desir an upright hart in it. I writ hom to Sir George M[c]enzi and Stair, and warnd him of his letters. Let this be noc snare to me, or doublnes.

I heard that Sir Lewes Stewart's son[d] had left him a great estat, and he was a deboched man, lying in adulteri, and now his daughter was taken away by a deboched man. I desird to consider this and be instructed. Lord! keep me from sinful gain, and increas, and greid, and couetousnes, and unrighteousnes, and inordinate desirs.

I heard that Midltoun and Latherdaill wer not agreed. I desird to consider this, and to beseech the Lord to turn it to good, for I see not what the Lord's end is in it. It would hav bein our desir, but it seims not to be Thy wil, and we must reverenc His providenc.

That ther was appearanc of troubl betwix Franc and us. Lord! turn it away, if it may seim good unto Thee; and if not, Lord! ordour it to Thy glori, and for the good of Thy kirk.

[a] Patrick, first Earl of Panmure, died 22nd December, 1661.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] To 'deboard,' from the French, to overflow, run to excess.

[d] See note [b] to p. 122.

12.—Die Dom. I heard that Papists giv the Sacrament now in both kinds, to allur us, as is said. They yet dispenc indulgences, thogh not so grosli, and for money, yet frivoulouslie. Oh deliver us from seing such a relligion set up! . . .

I dind with Eglingtoun, and liberallie, and found heaviness in the worship of God. I heard that Register and others purposd to prosecut ther design of fynning, and did cast of al bands. I again remitt this to God.

Ther was this day a fast intimat for the season, to be on Weddnesday next, the 15, which I desird to concurr in; and to consider what further the Lord is calling to; why he threatens and contends.

14.—I spok with Register anent Cromartie. I heard that M. and L. wer not agreing weil anent Lorn.

I din'd with Carmichael, and had mor liberti with Kinlos, and Mr. An. and Thom. stay, then I should weil allow myself; therfor I desird grac to reflect on myself aright and to consider. I met with Dumfreis, and spok to him anent what concernd himself. My darknes remaind, and I knew not quhat to doe. I desird to mak this knoun to God, who sees al things.

15.—This was a solemn fast throgh al this Kingdom for the season. I did desir to exercis my soul on the grounds mentiond 12 Jan. last. Mani days hav we fasted and prayd in our late troubls; which this day is a reproach unto us, and a snar to manie. Now I yet desir to thank the Lord who, passing by our sins and transgressions in the publick matters, yet did not giv us up to the will of thes men. And now qhuil al thes seims to be rejected, and He [is] angri at our prayers, and at thes exercises, quhil al is overturnd and broken doun, I desir to acknowledg the Lord, and ador His wisdom, righteousnes, holines, for it has proceeded from our selvs.

18.—I heard that Latherdale and Midl. wer agreid, and that they had condescended ———.[a] I desird to acknowledg the Lord's wisdom and goodnes in it, and to be instructed. Lorn fell sick. These ———[a] of hope that I seemd to have. Kirkmichall[b] desird me to put Eglington on it to oun me and my f[amilie].

19.—I found my self immoderatlie troubld with the uneffectualnes off my being heir as to that purpos which concerns my fa[milie]. And with Latherdale this ———.[a]

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Or Carmichael.

20.—My perplexiti continues whither I shal move now or not, stay or return, hold by Latherdaill, or mak use of Bp. Egl. Midl. Dumf. ———.[a] Woe to me if I be left to my oun counsel. Oh, so blind, witles, and unabl to bring ani thing to pass!

26.—Die Dom. I did this day go to Martin's, Ludgat, with the Ladi Cassils, and heard Mr. Jacomb,[b] and thoght to hav heard Mr. Beats.[c] I desir to be exercisd on his word which I heard, that it might edifi and build me up.

27.—I met with the Bishop of Glasgow, and wished that he might expres moderation, and by that comend himself to the affections of the people. . . .

I did see the 3 prisoners dragd in hurdles; from which spectacl I desird to draw som instruction. 1. How could I bear such contempt, and scorn, disgrac, and ignominie. My soul ansuered, Lord! with Thee, or for Thee, I would desir not to refus the lyk, thogh it be bitter enogh. . . .

I spok with B. Dumblain.[d] He told me he feard he shold be disappointed in them he was to be joind with; and he exprest his desir and purpos to know and doe the wil of God. Oh, let the Lord grant him and me also this mercie!

I did see Dr. Burnet; and heard that the Bishop of Edinburgh[e] was a stomacked proud man. Oh Lord! bring forth good out of the euels, sins, and corruption of men. . . .

29.—The next day is a Fast in memori of the King's death. I desird to hav a due consideration of the occasion, and off the manner.

30.—Ther was caus to reflect on this day as a day of darknes in regard of the wrath of God on thes lands; wherof the death of the King by the hand of the subjects was one effect, which speaks much displeasur and confusion from the Lord; and the long bloodi war in thes lands, quherby one has bein dashd against the other.

February 2.— . . . I desird to reflect on my complying with Bishops,

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Samuel Jacomb, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, and pastor of Mary Woolnoth, Ludgate, London. Ejected for Nonconformity in 1662.

[c] Dr. William Bates, the eminent Nonconformist divine, at this time vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London.

[d] Leighton, Bishop of Dumblane.

[e] Mr. George Wishart was at this time Bishop of Edinburgh. He was formerly minister of North Leith, but was deposed in 1638. He was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh, 1st June, 1662. He wrote in elegant Latin the History of the War in Scotland under the conduct of Montrose.

and speaking fair, giuing titls and the lyk. Oh Lord! let this be no snar to me, but keep me from euri appearanc of euel.

3.—I was convincd of the vaniti of my strong imaginations of effectuating ani thing by Sir Wm. Davison. I found Latherdale changd to me, and now gav me smal ground of incouradgment or hop. I desird to spread this befor God.

I was efternoon in the feilds, and cam in with . . . and Sir Jhon Cuninghame. I heard by the L. Andouer that ther had bein great debat in the hous anent ordination, and the putting out or keeping in these ministers which had not bein ordained by Bishops; and it carried that we should be continu'd. I heard som Jesuits had put out Theses, that the Pope in cathedra could not err, and ther was ansuer giuen against it by som Papists.

Wil Chisli returnd hom. L^{d} [Latherdaill] desird me to stay till M. [Middleton] was gon. I heard that ther was som purposes against myself of fynning. I desird to remitt all this to the wisdom, goodnes, and merci of God.

5.—Mr. Rob. Gordoun was with me this day. I found him of an unsound judgment, and therfor desird to be watchful how I mad use of him, or was familiar with him.[a] He told me Liut. Strang was a feirc sanguinary man.

I had convers anent the E. Murray, and was veri passionat and zealous for him. 1st. I desir to reflect on my affections, earnestnes, and to obtain a sober mind, and to hau my affections guided by the spirit of a sound mind, right understanding with thes parties, and sobrieti.

6.—I found that L^{d} [Lauderdale] had don litl for E. Murray. I am discontent and frets when al is not don for me that I would. This may be a motiv to sobrietie and patienc. I saw L^{d} [Lauderdale] passionatli angri. I desird to be stil. He exprest him self against Rr. [Rothes?] I could doe no mor for ———.[b]

7.—My cousin Alexander cam to me, and his wyf and his child. I desird to hav a du consideration of his cace. Egl. told me he aprehended that K.'s favour was something alterd. I did in this see how unstabl ar al human things, and noe trust to be put in them. Midl. was sick. "Our breath is in our nostrills." . . . The King went to goulf in Titl [Spittle] Feilds.

[a] See Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 338. [b] Short-hand in MS.

12.—I heard that ther was new differs falen in betuix La[n.] and M[idelton] anent Craford's buisines in the excise. 1. This disturbd al our privat matters and retarded them. 2. I see how unsur human friendship is. 3. They that ar most prosperous want not ther croces. . . . I heard the L. Dun was dead.

14.—I heard what had fallen out at Kineil, for Mr. Wm. Wishart,[a] and I desird to acknowledg the Lord. Let not thes poor souls be forsaken that ———.[b]

I heard of the dangerous condition of this land throgh the humours of discontented persons, one and another. . . . On the 12 died the Queen of Bohemia, the last off the Scots birth[c] of the royal familie; and manie of other peopl had died heir this short tym past. I desir to observ and consider it.

16.—Die Dom. I dind with Eglingtoun, but regreted to see ———.[b] I did at night goe to the burial of Sir George Mushet, quher I was lookd on, as I thoght, as a speckld bird.

17.—I spent most of the efternoon with Lorne. I heard Latherdaill had yielded much in the matter of the docketting: he had lost ground in Lorne's buisinese, and was in danger to los in the matter of Crafourd. I desird to consider and be instructed by it. This night the Queen of Bohemia was buried. The night and the day followuing wer veri tempestuous wether, wind and som rain, mani houses fell, chimneys and walls. The King's ———[b] fyre, but did no great harm. I was dull and could not get that use made of the Lord's mighti voic and speeking by his creaturs as I ought to doe. Sea and winds do obey and fulfil his will; ar but his messengers. Oh, so great and dreadful a God is our God!

18.—I spent the efternoon with Sir Jho. Cunningham. Som words we fell on that might edifi; but of the lyk discours I soon weari, and hav no pleasur in it.

19.—Hearing that the E. of Murray had written, and not to me, my hart ———,[b] until I was ———.

20.—I found my mistak anent the E of Murray his not writting to me:

[a] Mr. William Wishart, minister of Kinneil, was imprisoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, September 20, 1660. He was liberated, after fourteen months' imprisonment, on condition that another minister should be planted in his parish. (Wodrow's History, vol. i., pp. 75, 222.)

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and daughter of King James the Sixth.

and I may get mor of it, if I could wish. Oh! so blind and feebl minded a creatur as I am.

21.—I heard ther wer som inconsiderabl amendment in the Servic Book: That the King was to send the Lord Hollic,[a] Ambassador to Franc. I markd the sobrietie of the ———[b] ther differs besid us. They will trust thes that hav differed and bein contrair to them, and to the King. But oh! the factions and passions of poor Scotland.

25.—I did this day and yesterday offer to see my ladi Balcarras, and to hav spok to her anent my ———.[b]

I heard off the robberi and murther committed by the E. of Dorset's two sons, the L. Bukhurst,[c] a parliament man, and his brother Sackwill: the L. Bellix [Belasyse][d] and his brother, and a son of the L. Falconbridg: and that such things should fall out, and by the hand of parliamentary men, members of the privie Counsel: and that the suprem judicatour should be constitute of such persons, and that ther ———.[b] I desird to be afflicted under it, and burthend. For this may these poor lands mourn.

E. Midleton gau in 5 signatours to Latherdaill for the stat of Huntli. I did see euel determind against that poor famili of Argyl.

26.—I was sent for to my L. Midlton, and sent by him to my L. La[ll]. anent Morton's buisiness. I found and observd L[ll]. ———;[b] *fiat justitia, et ruat mundus.* Alac! we ———.[b] I had gon 3 tyms to [the Lady] Balcaras and misd her. I was purposing to hav made use of ———,[b] if the Lord thoght fitt, and that it be noe snar to me.

27.—At my L Midlton's I fell in a veri great strait. For my lord had fallen to ———[b] of Laitherdaill, and I chanc'd to be in the hous, and was loth to hear ther secrit, and loth to remoue. I cried to God in my perplexiti. He knew I was not ther of ani purpos, presumption, deceit, or design. The Lord was pleasd to ridd me of the inconvenience; and for it I desir to bless his nam and to beleev in him. Oh! if I could attain to uprightnes, he would tak the guiding of me, and the ordouring of what concerns me, and would not leav me to my self, my own guidship or councel.

[a] Denzil Hollis, who was created Lord Hollis after the Restoration. He wrote Memoirs of his Life from 1641 to 1648.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Charles, eldest son of Richard, fifth earl of Dorset. After the Restoration, he represented East Grimstead in Parliament.

[d] John, second son of Thomas Belasyse, first Lord Fauconberg. He was created Lord Belasyse, by Charles the First, Jan. 27th, 1644–5.

I said that I feard som new objection because my Lord Latherdaill would not tak the signatour to the King without my L. Midlton wer content. He asked if Orkney was comprizd. I told him I had spok freli, and desird him to do a favour to my L. Midlton and it might perchanc meit him ; and his favour would appeir mor quhen he did it alon. I desird to speak the truth with a singl hart, yet I feird both my own corruption in speaking this and also the wresting of men, and that it might be misconstrued or misrepresented. I commit my cace and way to God. This day, Major Innes and Coldcots dind with me, and I did efter dinner hear Mr. Cace on 1 Peter, 1. 5.

28.—I heard that Morton's signatour is al wrong, and the King refusd to pass it.[a]

March 2.—Die Dom. I did this day reaceav the communion of the Lord's bodie.

3.—I heard that Morton's buisines was restricted. I did acquant Midlton with it, and found him in passion. I dind with Latherdaill, and found his spirit as the vthers. Oh ! the advantadg which they have who lie neir God. . . . I see how litl the favour of men is to be accounted of.

I heard from Scotland of the Chancellor's ill will to me and myn, and of other men's. The Advocat faild them. I will ador the Lord, and be quiet. I yet doubted whether I should stay or return, if I could leave my buisines on anie heir, for I found great obstructions and thes wer readie to increas.

4.—E. Midlton told me that the King had ordained the E. of Morton's buisines to pass, with ane enlargment. I aknowledgd the Lord in al this. Oh ! and it portends litl good to find our ———.[b] I heard Dr. Burnet[c] ———.[b] I dind with Eglington.

5.—I heard the Chancellor, and advocat, and Tarbet wer unfriends to me and my friends. I was troubld at this, and made to faint, and could not get trusted in God under this discouradgment and enmitie. . . .

6.—I went to London anent Egls. [Eglington]. I returnd and heard Mr. Cace[c] at St. Martin's: How we ar "kept by the power of God throgh faith unto salvation."

[a] A new grant to the Earl of Morton of the Islands of Orkney and Zetland.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Probably Dr. Alexander Burnet, successively Bishop of Aberdeen, 1662 ; of Glasgow, 1663 ; and of St. Andrews, 1679.

[d] Thomas Case, at this time rector of St. Giles in the Fields, but ejected soon after for Nonconformity. He died in 1680.

7.—I heard by Coldcotts that E. of Aboin said, I had written hom to the creditours to supplicat against the hous of Huntlee. The Lord knows this is fals!

9.—Die Dom. I declind to goe to the Quakers to diner. But I found the euel spirit within me, which turnd me from the servic of God. This indisposd, and I had much drowsines and indisposdnes, and noe delight in the drauing neir unto him. Lorn, his brother, and I, din'd with Eglingtoun. Our discours was litl savourie, and smelt litl of grac. Let not the Lord charg this upon me.

10.—I din'd with Mr. Manton[a] at Kirkmichels, and spok of the dangerous lyk estat of the Kirk of God in thes lands: corruption ouergrowing all persons and ranks, declining, much . . . pollution upon professours, through quhom the way of truth has bein il spoken of. Faithful ministers ar lyk to hav noe countenanc nor forbearanc, errour in doctrin, profannes and loosnes in practis and conversation ar creeping in; magistrats, ministers, people ar corrupt. Our light lyk to wax dimm. All thes mani years troubl has not reformed nor mended us; but our filth breaks out, as it is this day: neither judgments nor mercies does reclaim or doe us good; ———[b] lyk Germani wher God once had a glorious church, ouer which ther is a vail drawen, as it is this day. We ar noe better then they. We mentiond wantones in opinion, loosnes in our judgments, errour, dangerous heresies, shisms, superstition, idolatrie, inclining to Popri, increas and grouth of Popri, noe cares for the publick, euri man seeks his oun things. "Ther is noe truth, nor mercy in the land."

11.—I was overtaken with a fit of an ague.

12.—La[ll.c] was unweil, and I did reflect on that as matter quherin ———;[b] for the Lord is God; yet I am apt to trust in men, and not in God, to fear men mor then God, and ther hurt and wrath mor then God's, and to seek ther favour mor then God's.

14.—The Bishop of St. Andrews[d] com to sie me. I spok to him to indeavour that honest ministers quher I liue may hav countenance and indulgenc. He said, They should, if they caried weil, and declard nothing

[a] Dr. Thomas Manton, the eminent Nonconformist divine, rector of St. Paul's, Convent Garden, who resigned in 1662, and died 1677.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Earl of Lauderdale.

[d] James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

contrari to the King, and established ordour and gouernment. They should be establishd for a quhil till they inform themselvs.

15.—I had another fit of the ague, which kept me from befor 6 til elevn. I desird to reverenc and ador the Lord in his visitation, and to be taught and instructed by it. . . . Seing the doctor did not think fit that I should go to sermon next day, I desir'd to tak occasion therof, and to sett my self seriously to seik the Lord in it.

18.—I reflected on the Reformation in Germanie, and what ishu it had. The mixturs of counsels, ends, affections, undertakings, the cloud now drawen ouer them. The Battel of Praege, the insulting of idolatrous papists, sacrificing to ther fals worship, ther blasphemi, ascriuing ther succes to the Virgin Mari, and giuing that which is due to God to creaturs. And now, is not al thes things reacted—that sam blasphemie and abominations—a do[o]r opend to all superstition and profannes—the faces of the children of God confounded and couerd, put to shame—wild men exalted? Now I desir to be exercisd with this. But alace! my ignoranc and barrennes is so greate that I can attain to noe understanding or profit.

20.—I read ———,[a] and what befell the poor princ Palatin and his famili, and the Protestants that asisted him in Bohemia and off the prevailing of Poperi again in that place, and the doun bearing off the reformed religion.

22.—I went to Marrowbone[b] gardens with Kirkmichel, and returned to dine with him; and I again had a proof of my oun inordinatnes in eating, and challendging myself for it before God.

23.—Die Dom. I reflected on the estat of the Church in Germanie, in the year 1625, quhen the reformd religion was born doun, and Popri advanced in Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Pal. &c.; godli ministers evri quher expelld, and other placd and set up; authoriti and countenanc quit taken from al professing the truth; banishment, death, forfaitour, confiscation of goods inflicted on thes that had stood for the truth: besides al this, divisions by Anabaptists, Libertins, and about the Sacrament, quhairwith the Church was broken; Loretto Chapel in St. Nicolas burgh in Ungarie consecrated, and 10,000 resorting hither, mani falling from the truth; the Emperor, and his power and authoritie, set up and prevailing;

[a] In the MS. the name is illegible, seemingly Carritfa!

[b] St. Mary le Bone, (now Marylebone,) formerly an obscure village in the vicinity of London.

men saying, that thogh Archduk Ferdinand did swear to maintein priviledges of religion, yet he might lawfulli break the oath if the Parliament found it efterwards in ther power. In all this soe lyk is ———.[a] I desir to be exercisd heerwith, but to [be] kept from stumbling.

This night I read the Act of Conformiti, which was to pas in this Parliament,[b] enjoining the Book of Common Prayer, Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making Bishops, Priests, and Decons. In it, 1. All ordain'd to conform befor Jhon Baptist's day: ther unfeined assent to evri thing therin conteined; and they that declar not this to be deprivd. 2. Not lawful on ani pretence to tak arms against the King: and they abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authoriti against his person or his commissioners: and that ther lies noe obligation on them or ani other person by virtew of the Couenant, and that it was in itself an unlawfull oth, and imposed on the subjects of this kingdom against the known laws and liberties therof: and to get a certificat of this his declaration. 3. Reordination; and if ani shal administer the Sacraments befor they be so ordained by a Bishop, they pay the £100. 4. Subscribing the 39 Articles of Religion. 5. All lecturers must be licencd by the Bishop, as the guardian of the spiritualitie, and assent to the 39 Articles, and to approv and use the Book and Ceremonies. 6. If ani preach that by this act is disabld, he is to be imprisond 3 months without bail or mainprize. Befor the lectur, the service must be read, and the lecturer present. 7. Evri parish to hav a Book under pain of 3lb. *per mensem*. The reseruation to the King to dispence is onli of the surplic and croce in Baptisms, to thes onli who hav bein and ar in possession of ani benefice sinc 29 May, 1660, prouiding [that] som other minister baptiz with the croce for them, and that they speak not against the Ceremonies and Liturgie.

I desir to reflect rightlie on al this, and to be instructed.

24.—I heard from Scotland that ther was a great discoueri of witchcraft in the parish of Dyk; and in my land, they had purposd euel against my son and his wyfe. I acknowledg the Lord's merciful prouidenc over them; and ascrivd soverainti and power to God, and commits me and myn to His alsufficiencie and truth. I was exercisd under this, and the mani troubls that myself and my poor freinds wer involvd and plungd in; and seing it is

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Statutes at Large, Car. II., 13, 14, cap. IV.

so also with the Kirk of God, and thes that fear him, I desir for my particular to be quiet, and be humbld under His hand, and to exercis faith in His nam as I may.

I heard of Calder's troubles, my friends, and others, E. Loudon his death;[a] and under all thes desird to exercis my soul, and to be instructed.

26 — . . . I took a potion of phisick this day; so frail ar thes bodies, and subject to decay. In my infirmities I did see how litl man was to be counted of

I considerd if I should imploy my Lord Midltoun for a warrand to guard against the repeating off the exempted cess, and the £10,000. I desir to commit my ways and counsels to God.

29.—I heard som hop of my buisines to be don; but I did, out of a rash and inconsiderat desir of preoccupying them, aquaint the Advocat with somthing of it in the general. But I was instantli convincd of my witlesnes and follie, and saw how I had marrd myself; and if God prevent [not] I will find it ruind. Under this I was aflicted, and desird to be humbld for my sin and follie in it, thogh I had noe wicked purpos.

Apryll 2.—I found new impediments in Morton's buisines. I aknowledgd the Lord in it, and desird grace to walk uprightlie. Mr. Mouat din'd with me. . . . I did travel efternoon to Kinsingtoun with Kirkmi[chel].

4.—I din'd with Eagling[ton], Lat[ll.], Craf[ord] at the ———.[b] I heard sermon, Mr. Manton: "Caus Thy face to shyn upon Thy servant, and teach me Thy statuts." I intended for the Sacrament, but by compani was diuerted from that solemn and du[e] preparation that was fit. I went to the feilds efternoon with Kirkmichael.

5.—I din'd with Lorn, and efternoon the L. Neil.[c] He spok of the condition of lyf he would tak him into, and inclind to a plantation in Jamaica. I desird to be in som measur sensibl of his condition, and ther familie, and to bear burthen with them. Oh for grac! I desird euen to believ in God in the expectation of an outgat and comfortable return to them. He has raisd the King's famili, Palatinat, Huntli, Montrose, &c., and it is not hard for Him to rais Argyl's out of the dust; and if He will

[a] Sir John Campbell, first Earl of Loudoun, and formerly Lord Chancellor of Scotland, died at Edinburgh, as here stated, in March, 1662. In Douglas and Wood's Peerage the year 1663 is erroneously assigned.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Lord Niel Campbell.

not heer, we are to let Him do what seems good unto Him. What am I that my lott should be soe easie in comparison of others? Oh! let it not be in wrath; but let lov and merci accompani my lott such as Thou cariest it out to be. E. Kinnoul spok anent the place of public repentanc in Scotland, and taking lyf for adulteri. I did desir to bear som weak testimonie.

6. Die Dom. I heard of the straits that the King of Portugal was in by the Spaniard; and in thes things I desire to observ and be made to see the glori of God.

10.—The E. of Eg[lington] took journey on the 8th to Scotland. This day the E. of Midlton cam to me anent ———[a] his busines which did surpriz me. I found him under perturbation. I did to him express my disaprobation of ani that medl'd in the affairs of Huntlie, who were not concernd, and did it ont of noe affection to them. This would be thoght officiousnes. I desir to reflect on thes words, and examin what sin was in them of flatterie, doublnes, secret blaming of thes I profest it to; and albeit nothing that coms from me be pur or clean, yet in som measur my hart and tong agreed together in what I said, albeit, perchance, I spok it to gain favour, or to clear myself of approving al other men's ways, or out of som other selfish end or other, and not with that discretion, prudenc, simplicitie, loue, as I oght to hav don.

12.—I did see Midltoun and spok to him anent the difficulties that his buisines might yet meet with. He told me, that he had heard Lorn had bein with the King: but the King had assurd him he would chang nothing, and had giuen ordour to prepair the papers of Huntlie. I wish he might tak som moderat cours to mak his buisines and his freinds pas smoothlie; for mani did fear the wors of ther contests and differences. He assurd them he had wrongs of Latherdaill's freinds. I mentioned Tweddal and Lorn. He said he might hav destroyd Twedal.[b] But he had resolvd to bring him off. He neuer withstood Lorn's restitution efter ther agreement. I said, they complaind that he had not stood by that agreement. He said, that it was neuer an agreement: he denied that he had mov'd the Chancellor of England to be against Lorn's restitution. He said, he would not hav mor adoe with Latherdaill, and declind to hav ani agreement. He mentiond the matter of

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] At this time, the Earl of Tweddale was confined, but soon afterwards was restored to favour. He opposed the violent measures of Sharp and others of the Church party.

Excis ; and I said, that to pas it without him, quhen they wer under freindship was not right: and I was sorri for it.

I found him straitnd as to myself, and he declind to writ to Gray for me. I acknouledg God in this, and giv him thanks that kept me from ani snar in my words, albeit I see not what good it did. It was grac to walk uprightly which I desird from the Lord, that I might not be found in a crooked, crafti, wrong, deceitful way, but in a way of right, truth, simpliciti and holines. I went efternoon and did see the Charter Hous, and boght som books.

13.—Die Dom. I saw a thick dark cloud on the efairs of Lorn, and I desird to be duli exercisd with it, and instructed by it. I did see, and apprehend, much troubl and unquietnes to aris, to myself, my famili, and affairs; and the ill will of thes men towards me, which govern. I desird to committ my soul to God, that He may keip me under the shaddow of His wings.

14.—The Marques of Huntlie's signatour passed: Lorn was refusd. I desird to consider this and be instructed. How uncertain and changabl ar all human things! The Chancellor of England, I heard, movd the King to giv the Ladi Balcarras 300 lib. Ster.

16.—I did confer with L. Neil anent the ———,[a] and prays that the Lord may rebuk ani evel spirit from creeping in among them, such as befor this strok did divid and break them.

The 3 triers Barkstead, Corbet, Okie,[b] wer condemnd. I adord the Holines and Justic of God. . . . I heard from Scotland that my son was chargd for all bypast mantenanc[?]: and that they had clos'd evri dore. I desird to look on this as a pairt of my exercis, and to be guided in bearing of it.

17.—I went to Greenwitch and Wollage,[c] and saw Mr. Euelin[d] and Coll. Blunt ther dwellings, the one at Detford, the other beyond Chatham; in both which I saw much of a natural man's contentment. 2. I acknouledg the Lord in the gifts he gius to men, and their faculties. . . . I found in the morning Midlton straitned to me. I gave Mr. Mowat som money to

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Three of the Regicides, who were seized in Holland, and sent over to London: Colonel Barkstead, Miles Corbet, and Colonel Okey. They were executed at Tyburn, on the 19th of April.

[c] Woolwich.

[d] John Evelyn.

procur a letter to me. I was doubtful if I should allow it to others, or tak it on myself.

18.—I went to Smithfild, being sent to by the E. of Marshall. . . . E. Marshall, Midlton, &c., did fall on a new mould of Morton's busines. I am not so feard for snars and sin as I oght to be in this verie particular, that I partak not of other men's sins.

19.—I was with Midlton and did see Latherdaill com in to him. I desird to observ this, and to be instructed by it. This day Barkstead, Okie, and Corbet, wer executed at Tiburn. I desird to reflect on ther sin and miseri wherto they, and in them, all man is lyable. Who can keep himself from the grossest euels, or who can contriv and ordour his own lot? Though God left thes men to that act ———,[a] it is not that ther is mor wickednes in them than in our natur, whom He keips and prevents; quhilst He gius them ouer to ther own counsels and imaginations. How great a judgment desertion is, and to be giuen up does appeir by this example. They ar enterd into eternitie; and alac! mani hav som thoght of bodili pain and sham, that hav slender or no thoghts of the lyf endless in happines or miseri that is beyond this. The soul is as in a prison heer, and the opening of a window sets it free.

22.—The Advocate told me he found Midlton would not writ in my favours. I reverenced and adord the Lord's prouidenc, and perceavd by that what I might look for at his hands. Against al this, and the ill wil of men, I hav noe refug visibl, but cast my burden on the Lord.

23.—I did efternoon see Sir Th. Cuningham and observd his bodili infirmitie, and distress coming on him, and ———,[a] and from all thes desird to piti him, and observd how much corruption is in man, evri man, if the Lord did but discover and draw it forth.

I read the strang words which conjurers had, ther prayers, passions, zeal, expressions, and was astonishd to see men profan God's nam and his words so impiouslie.

24.—I heard that my Lord Midlton had it left to himself to press the abjuration of the Couenant or not.

I did see the Bishop of Rochester[b] buried in great state. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, preachd. Litl did I see or hear to edifie.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Dr. John Warner.

25.—I heard that the D. of York and Richm[ond] had obtaind from the K. that the instruction might be left out with the Covenant and it should be in ———.[a] I found the cloud growing darker and darker.

26.—This day, Register[b] took journey to Scotland.

I spok with Marshall. Grandison subt. [subscribed] Morton's papers. Ladi Lath[ll.] was veri unweil.

27.—Die Dom. I was exercis'd fornoon on 26 Is.; and did see the universal corruption of al flesh, and my own with the publick confusion and darkness, and was much dejected and cast doun.

29.—I found Latherdaill not free to giue me Morton's signatour; and telling Midlton of it, he was in anger. E. Midlton took journi for Scotland; obtaind great things from the King; and I beseech the Lord to bless his prosperiti to him, and that it be for the hallowing the nam of God mor, and for the good of al that fear him. His prosperiti, honour, greatnes, is so observd, and for what end the Lord has raisd him up.

I dind with Kirkmichaell; and efter dinner, walkd out. We had som discours of Argyll, and I was sensibl of the loss of that man, and that it was ———.[a] I did fear the sam sins in myself, for I find the seed and root of them in me, and therfor desirs to be deepli exercisd under it, especialli couetnous[ness], desir of greatness, and to encreas my estat inordinatlie.

30.—I din'd at London, with Mr. Innes and returnd in hast, but I did not meit with La[ll.], nor found I ani issu appeiring in my busines. I desird to reverenc the Lord's prouidenc, and to wait for my counsel and direction from the Word and Spirit of God. I was in distress and was desiring to be exercisd under the Lord's hiding of his face from us.

May 1.—I heard from my L. La[ll.] that Midl. declind me to get the papers of Orkney.

Dumfreis told me Marshall had said to him that I was a friend to the King's enemies, and such lyk discourses. Now, I could not but be affected with al this, and desird to be exercisd under it befor God. 1. I found unavoidabl malice, and uncurable. 2. That it was upon fals grounds. 3. Mixed with lees. 4. Ther purpos to oppres, and bear doun *quovis jure, quavis injuria.*

Now what is incumbent for me to doe in reference to my brethren or my self, I know not; but I doe depend on Him for light and counsell.

[a] Short-hand in MS. [b] Sir Archibald Primrose.

I was shaken in my comming heir, and the occasion of it, and reflected on my ways, and thoght it had been good had I not com heir.

2.—I did see the mirth and confluenc in Hid Park,[a] and was desiring to be dead to it.

I was under great indisposition of mind, and dejected under the sadd cloud that seimd ouer my head, from the fear of men, and apprehended such darknes, and affliction, and oppression, as I could not look up.

3.—Latherdal told me, that he had hops to doe the busines of my friends. I bowd doun, and adord God in his wisdom and goodnes, who does rais me, as it wer, from the dead, and opens a crevis quhen all seims lost. I was desird to com to Higat on Monday earlie, and I was doubtfull whether to goe this night, and spend the Sabath ther, as I intended, or stay till Monday, but desirs to be guided by the Lord in this. Efter I had resolvd to goe ther, rem[embering] that I had purposd to approach to the Sacrament the next day, and that non wer at Hig[hg]at but such as reaceav it kneeling, I resolvd to pass the Sabath, and exercises of that day, at London.

5.—I went to Highgat earlie, and din'd with Lorn. I heard that the King had harsh expressions of me. I saw my Lord Midlton's wrath and was troubld, yet the Lord supported me. I soght to God that He would yet hold, and guid, and not leav me in a strait. . . . I hav bein in my duti heer, albeit with much sin and guilt. Lord! let it not turn to be a snar to me, but perfect that which Thou hast begun. If ther malice, fals, vindictiv sugestions pleas Thee, then convinc me, and do what seims Thee good. If I meet with this in Thy way, and that ther cours displeases Thee, oh! leav not without som sign of Thy good will and favour.

6.—I heard that Midlton had bound up the ——,[b] for that nothing could be gotten done. Poor man Kilcowie, after so long spending of tym, effectuated nothing, and was dismissed. I looked on that, and desird to be instructed.

I spok to Cap. Broun to mediat with my Ladi Marshal to befreind me.

10.—This day I heard that the King had past a remission to my freinds, but had exprest prejudic against us.

May 11.—Die Dom . . . I heard yesterday that the estat of the Kirk of God in Germanie was not altogether so badd as I had heard. Our relligion

[a] Hyde Park.

[b] Blank in MS.

protestant was profest in most of the free Cities, Colen, Mets,[a] &c. Auspurg and Strasburg wer wholli of the reformd relligion, magistrats and people. The hereditari dominions off Austria, Carinthia, Bohem, &c., ther wer mani off the reformd relligion, and had free exercis of it. Soe in Brandeburgh, Hess, Palatinat. I desird to lay up this in my hart, and to aknouledg and ador the Lord and be thankful. Blest be he that has not put forth that light.

12.—I was attending yesterday euening and this day waiting to tak leav of the King; but in vain. I was cast down, seing, as it wer, al men against me, and non caring for my soul.

I heard that Lambert and Vain[b] wer impeachd off treason, and lyk to die for raising warr against the King.

13.—I found Latherdal deal veri strictlie with me in the ———.[c] I desird to aknouledg God in it. I was impatient of my unnecessari stay; but since it was not willing, but from the Lord, I desir'd not to mak haste but comitts events, isus [issues], and consequences to the Lord.

14.—I intend this day (if the Lord permit) to tak journey. Let the Lord be with me in setting forth, and let him accompani by the way, giv grac to serv him, and let my return be comfortable, and for his glori. I soght that meassor of bodili strenth that was neidful, and that his creaturs may be made useful and comfortabl to me.

Yesterday, I had access to the King, and kissed his hand. Now I desir to reckon this as a merci, considering how men hav labourd to prejudg him against me. It was mor then I almost lookd for: now I lean on him all that concerns me. It was thoght the Queen Catherin would land this day.

I took journey from London, Wed. 14th instant, a litl efter 12 of the noon, and came to Royston at night, being 3; and to Grantham the next day, being 6 posts; and to Duncaster on Fryday, being 4; and on Saturday to Borrowbridg, being 3 posts. I had much infirmitie in my journey, of bodili weaknes and indisposition. I found that I could be at much trouble and undergoe pain for eschewing but the fear off a temporal euel; but alac! would shrink, were I put to undergoe pain, loss, or affliction for the caus of Christ, or for his truth; by which my sensualitie appeirs.

[a] Cologne and Mentz or Mayence.

[b] Colonel John Lambert and Sir Henry Vane. Both were condemned: Vane was executed on the 14th of June, but Lambert was reprieved.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

18.—Die Dom. I staid at Borrow bridg, and heard at Oldburg,[a] sermon, 51 Psalm. "Creat in me a clean hart, Oh God; renew a right spirit within me." If the joining of my spirit with the petitions and worship of the Servic Book could warrand my use of it, I might say that in som measur I was helped to join and concurr sincerelie, so farr as I could discern for infirmities, in their worship. Albeit I do not like the formal, stinted, devizd form of ther answears, repetitions, nay the matter of ther prayer, yet I durst not refrain from it. 1. It has the form of a publick worship, and aknouledgment of God; which I dar not despis. 2. Several good things in it, which no man can disprov. 3. It's better then [than] to want a publick worship altogether. 4. God has bein dishonourd by conceivd prayer; for men hau much digressd, and profand that ordinanc, and misapplied it. 5. To withdraw from it would countenanc profan and ungodli men that cast of al worship. This is a tym quherin is much contempt of God; and a casting off off all worship.

19.—I cam to Newcastell, and on the 20 to Cockburnspath, and on Weddensday 21 to Edinburgh. In my way, I desird to direct my eys to God. I did see and aprehend a great storm against me.

23.—I did see the Commissioner[b] and did vindicat myself to him. I found him straitnd to me: so the Chancellor,[c] yet he wes ciuil. I deliuerd the King's letter to him. I heard of Register his bliatering[d] against me his lies and calumnies; and desird to commit my caus to God, til he clear me and bring forth. I did imploy the Lord Advocat[e] and Innes to deal with Tarbet. Oh! let it be noe snar to me.

I did meet with Mr. Douglas and Hutch[ison]: and found them both verie fixd. Oh! farr am I from that stedfastnes of spirit that appeirs in them. They declind al meiting with thes Bishops, nay [were] against all liturgie and ceremonies, and could not meit in a Presbytri with them, nor giu them titles or the lyk.

28.—I found noe abatement of ther malice; but it increas'd continuallie. I did see the Bishop of Murray, and with reluctancie. I proffest that the chang was against my will; but God hauing sufferd it to be broght about,

[a] Or Alborough, near Borough-bridge, in the West Riding of the County of York.
[b] See note infra, p. 260.
[c] William, Earl of Glencairne.
[d] Or blattering.
[e] Sir John Fletcher.

the King and laws hauing establishd it, I was purposd to be as submissive and obedient and peaceable as anie. I had noe desir of him, nor ani other: had met with much unkindness from his freinds and him; but I had not, nor should acquit them.

This day, Mr. Jhon Kirstairs,[a] Mr. James Nesmith,[b] and som other ministers, wer put in close prison, for refusing the oath of alledgianc.[c] The Parliament had put power in the hands of the Bishop[s], that with the King's consent they might establish and injoin what they thoght fit in the matters of religion. Ther seimd to be a ground laid for the High Commission. The Act of Restitution was past; Act 1592 repeald. Under al this I desird to look up, and to see and ador the Lord.

I did see the friendship of men faile, and prov of litl use, not to be leand to. I was much troubld with Calder's buisines, my own hastiness, Sir Jhon Straqhan's impertinencie and unsobernes. Joseph staid with me, and I suppos I was helpid by him in praier. I desir to be rightli exercisd under the consideration off the oath of allegianc, and what lawfulnes is in it.

29.—This day was kept for the King's restitution and the Queen's arriual. Justly mayst Thou turn our joy and mirth into mourning, for we ar a sinful peopl, and going on in a disobedient rebellious way, in defianc and in contempt of Thee.

Mr. Douglas on Is. 49. 22, preach'd sound and smooth things; but noe word of warning, reproof or admonition to the present estat of the church. Oh! I know not what this wil turn to. I did goe out efternoon with Innes and Spinie.[d] I did persuad Spinie to stay with Morton. Albeit as to ———,[e] I see him have smal government. I was dark as to my own cace, and found aversnes from suffering, and that ther was a complying natur in me, unstedfast, carnal, selfish, loving ease, that for noc truth, thogh never so cleeir or precious, would be content to suffer.

I know not how soon the oath of alledgianc and other things may be put to me, and litl wott I then what to do. I look up to God for light and strenth.

30.—I did goe to the Court to meit with the Commissioner, but could not

[a] Mr. John Carstairs, minister of the High Church, Glasgow.

[b] Mr. James Nasmyth, minister of Hamilton.

[c] See the account given by Wodrow in his History, B. I., ch. 3.

[d] George Lyndsay, third Lord Spynie.

[e] Short-hand in MS.

find occasion. I had great aversnes from seiking and waiting, considering ther alienatednes fro n me. It is my lot, and I must bear it. The ladie Innes cam yesternight to toun.

I reaceavd a letter from Cassils, and an exhortation to be fixd on Him that does al weil, and not be troubld with events. Oh! for grace to receave this word; but fear of events does much disquiet me. Lord! correct this.

June 1.—Die Dom. I was exercisd on Ps. 78: "He stirs not up al his anger, but has compassion." Mr. Douglas show[ed] som properties of faith. God's children ar oft pusld and shaken quhen ani of the Lord's providenc seim to croce his promises. But God knows what we ar liabl to; and quhair we ar in danger he tymli prevents, and steps in with his help; so he did to Jairus quhen he was staggering.

In the way of God, and quhen we hav a promis and word for our warrand to uphold our faith, yet we may meet with many difficulties to brangel us, as heer Paul and the passengers efter the vision, and that God had promisd al ther livs to Paul.

I desird to apply this word as I could.

2.—I heard that the E. of Dunde[a] had said that my ——— [b] I desird to be guided under this new ground of feare, and to beleev in the nam of the Lord, and to giv up myself to him.

3.—I heard that the Commissioner was unexoribl in what concernd my freinds or me; and that the Advocat had said to him, er he offend him he would quit us. I was chalendgd for saying that the Commissioner had not credit to mak Sir Geo. Kin.[c] a Viscount.

4.—I writ to the Advocat anent my freinds and my self. This may turn to be a snar to me if the Lord prevent not, and doe not sanctifi and bless my counsels. Leathin cam yesterday to toun. I heard what heaps of new troubl was rising to me, from the Bishop, from Gileans, from others heer, for maintenance: with thes from a thousand things besid, against me in my person, libertie, credit, estate, freinds, snars, conscience, contempt; and I could not winn to look on al thes aright.

8.—Die Dom. As to men, great men stird up against me, I remitt my

[a] John Scrimgeour, third Viscount of Dudhope, was created Earl of Dundee, in 1661. He died without issue, in the year 1668.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Sir George Kinnaird, a zealous Royalist, became a Privy Counciller in 1661, but he was only raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Kinnaird of Inchtoure, the 28th December, 1682.

self to plead my caus with them, and in the mean tym to be kept from snars and evri evel way, until Thou giv an ishue, and mak an outgat to me.

11.—The faithful ministers (as I heard) wer appointed to be banishd, thogh they ascriu'd as much to the King as ani sober and conscionabl persone could desir. Nay, one, Mr. Weich [Veitch], offered to tak the oath with the interposing of the word (ciuil) gouernment, but was refusd, and notwithstand all this, to be banishd.

I did see the Bishop of St. Androes, and reflecting on this—1. I feard it might be a snar to me, and besoght the Lord to open my eyes, and to discover quhat sin is in it, and to prevent and see al in me. 2. That neither may it be an hardning of him, nor an intanglment of me. 3. That my words may be wrested, for he is ———.[a]

I did this in the persuasion of the Lord's warrand and allowanc, sinc in mere civil things, and ecclesiastical, he had power by the law, that it was lawful for me to mak application to him. Onli that I may be kept from stretching my conscienc and light to please or gain favour. 2. Thogh I did this as using a lawful probabl means, yet I dar not trust to it. The Lord may blast it, and mak it litl effectual, as I hav found befor.

I cleard myself of thes fals reports anent the Commissioner, and anent my oun justification. I would not deffend [16]49, and mani things don befor, in carying on of buisines. I had my shar of thes things, albeit I was non of thes who pursud thes things most. That I might not fare the wors, that I had walked in simpliciti, and do not seek too fast to the gate, and force myself into imployments as others did. I had walked without ani by-end.

I mention'd Tarbet and Register and ther malice against me; and soght his favour to vindicat and free me. He said, he would do in a priuat way what he could, but not oun and out me in a publick. He desird me to speak to Rothes and [the] Chancellor. I desird him to right me with the Bishop of Murray, and that he would adviz him to moderation in ciuil and ecclesiastick things. I told him the Advocate was told at London of the remission; but desird he might not suffer for it. He denied that La[ll.] had told him that discours with Lorn which was put on me.

I did see the Ladi Balcarras, found her in som affliction. Shee inclind to hav somthing from Cromartie. I was pusl'd and knew not what to doe, but

[a] Short-hand in MS.

remitted this to God that he may giv me light, and ordour the matter in his wisdom for his glori and ther good.

12.—I desird grace to consider rightli my dealing with the E. of Murray in the litl meddow of Kinedward, and in my slounes about the kirk building: if ther was ani iniquity in me, which the Lord is now punishing, or if ther was only right dealing in the one, and his prouidenc in the other. Oh keep from self justifying quhen I should condemn, and from ignorant condemning quher thou doest not!

I purposd to expostulat with Cromartie anent his dealing with me. I remarked my instancie for him, my ingadging myself for extricating him out of his troubls, nay and stretching myself (oh that it may not be sin to me!); and now how he requits me.

13.—I was again disquieted anent fynning,[a] hearing they wer about it, and trying men's rents. Oh! so litl as I could submit unto, and see God in thes things. I heard the Chancellor was unfriendli, and said he would oppos the remission, and would declar that we onli opposd him.

I did see the Ladi Balcarras, and saw something of her straits, and desird to sympathiz as I could, and to be instructed by it. I did speak with Moortoun anent the patronag of Kinlos; and I acknowledgd the Lord in it, that had guided me in an open singl way, thogh it displeas and prosper not.

14.—I writ to London to La[ll.], Lorn, Sir R. M.,[b] and heard to my greif that my ———.[c] We did mention about the fields, the consideration of the Lord's dealing with this kirk and with this land, and with our selvs. 1. What God cald for at this tym. 2. Why he humbld and brok us, as he is doing. 3. Our unsensiblnes of what concerns his glori, people, truth, worship. . . . 4. Too great aversnes from the croc and suffering. 5. Not laying to hart other men's distress. . . . 14. To be exercisd under our own guiltines and provocations, as weill as our afflictions and straits. Mani ar they that ar against us, and would swalow us up, M. Ch. R. Tarb.,[d] &c. quhom we hav not maliciousli wrongd. That if it seim good to him he would assuage their violence. 2. Or withstand it and defend us against it. 3. Or uphold us under it, until he gav an ishue in his mercie.

[a] Referring to the heavy fines which were arbitralily imposed by Middleton in the Scottish Parliament, in 1662.

[b] Sir Robert Murray.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

[d] These letters evidently refer to Middleton, the Chancellor, Rothes, and Tarbet.

Leathin stayed with me to supper. We soght God together.

15.—Die Dom. This day, Leathin, D. F. &c., and I set ourselvs apart to lie in the dust befor the Lord, for the causes mentiond yesterday, and others. Oh! for grace to see our oun wickedness, and to abhor ourselvs.

Among other things I am desiring this day to lay to hart the prevailing of the Devil by witchcraft. Oh! that's a sadd token of displeasur, quhen Thou permitts him to deceav, tempt, and to prosper, and that his visibl kingdom taks issue expressli. As if thou hadst given up that place wher I had my residenc, and the inhabitants of it, to be the Devel's propertie and possession, what comfort can I hav in it? Shall I not bemoan . . . Sathan's success, the spreding of sin, the destroying so mani immortal souls? And even in that place quhair I live, what does this say to me? Oh teach, teach for thy nam's sak! Discover in the mean tym mor, and destroy as thou discovers his works. Let the land be purgd and not given over, for thy nam; nor doe thou charg this sin on my, or on my father's hous, nor the causes of it, nor our accession to it.

16.—I did see L. Coupar, efternoon, Balmerinoch, &c.

17.—I read the depositions of Park's witches; the Deuil's deluding of silli wretches, working on their imaginations, making them aprehend, and beleeu fals things, deceaving with fals pleasur and profit, and cann mak nothing good that he promises; and yet tho' they see he cannot giv a counter or a sexpence, but bits of stons or brass, yet poor wretches beleev in him. I desird to look into this mysterie of wickednes and to be instructed.

18.—I did see the E. of Morton and his Ladie, and did see him litl capabl of buisines, and could look for litl from him. Yesterday Andro Gileaus cam to me, and I aknouledgd the Lord in it that should ridd me of that troubl or snare. . . . I did writ for my Son to com heir, and remitted it to himselfe. The ishue, ordouring, and blessing of the counsell I put over on God, and desir to rest on him in the use of evri means.

I receavd a lyn from Lorn, showing that the K. [King] had been prest for recalling Leathin's remission, but took it ill to be urg'd to it. I desire to aknowledg God in this, and committs to His wisdom, car, power and faithfulnes, to finish what concerns them or me, for we have no power.

19.—I heard that the E. of Morton durst not speak of me to the Comissioner. This troubld me; but oh! that it may not driv me from God, either from his ways, dependance on him, beleeving in him, following him, trusting

and hoping in him, his word, direction and injoyment of him. Oh! I found Crom[artie] his ficlnes, professions, unsoundness, so litl is man to be trusted in. I perceav'd what overturning is lyk to com on ther resolution of excys, and considerd. He said, som look on the Comissioner as a blazing meteor, that would disappeir in a short tym.[a] Lord! Thou art God.

Mr. Yong din'd with me. I did see the Ladie Kenmoor efternoon, and found much bitternes, passion, and heat in her against the tyms, defection, prelats, and courses. Oh! I want much of that zeal, vehemencie in her. 1. I desird of that spirit of fortitud, courage, love to God, his truth and servants that seim to be in her. But 2. I suspect that miel[b] of it was carnaly mixd wtih natural heat and passion, and therfor desird to examin and eschew that. Both sinful lukwarmnes and complying with evel, and sinful hastines, violenc, and perturbation of spirit, working unwarrantabli and blindli were, I know, not consistent with His Word.

21.—I heard letters wer intercepted, and I suspected myself of rashnes and imprudenc, which God might mak a snare to me. . . . I was exercisd in ordouring the depositions of witches, and saw how grossli the Deuel fooled thes poor wretches.

22.—Die Dom. . . . I met with Mr. Alex[r]. Coluill,[c] and conferrd anent witches. He told me, 1. A deposition that they saw persons ther, [which] cannot without other euidenc prou them present, becaus the deuel can mak appeirances fals. 2. He said the mark is not infallible, becaus phisicians think by natural means the flesh may be deadned and feeling taken away. 3. That they could not realli transport themselves whither they pleased, for they would be oft at that sam instant in other places visiblie lying on ther back or faces, quhil they seim'd in ther imaginations to be caried to other places farr off. 3. Lykways as to shap[e]s. But what to say as to shapes I cannot tell. He said, he would hav me on a particular commission. But I desird not; nor will I put myself on anie employment, albeit as to seruing God in this, if cald, I would desir grace to glorifi him, and to follow his

[a] John, Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner to Parliament, in 1661 and 1662, and also an Extraordinary Lord of Session, but two years later, in November, 1664, he fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his offices, to the great joy of the Scottish people.

[b] 'Micl,' or meikle, much.

[c] Mr. Alexander Colville of Blair in Fife, a zealous Presbyterian, and a correspondent of Rutherford's. His name appears on the roll of the Members of the General Assemblies of 1645, 1646, 1648, and 1649, as an elder of the Church.

call. But 2. The men of the tymes hav me in that dislyk that they will not think fit to hav me made use of in ani thing. So I reverenc the Lord's providenc. But my hand shall still be lifted up to God for mercie to the land in this particular, and that he would glorifi himself in discovering and destroying all thes and other works of the Devel; may rais up zealous and able men, and with inlarged and of good understanding for this end; and that he would not giv over the land to be posest by devels; for the land is his, he has set up His nam and tabernacl in it, and we ar cald by Him. Oh! giv not over as thou art threatening, but recover for thy nam's sak. Destroy this dragon; for he fights against our Michaell, he and his angels, his wicked angels. His natur, operations, working, subtilti, is remot from our sens and reason; nor can we get it learned without thou open our eys, and tak away the veil that's on our mind's and on thy word. He knows what we ar about; but we know not what he is about, or when, or how he works. Al that we doe or ar is obvious to him; but nothing that he does is obvious to us, nay, nor to the poor wretches quhom he deluds. This is ther disadvantag and his advantadg. But let this be made up in our head, Jesus Christ; for He has far mor odds of him then he has over us, being God, the Son of God, over al blessed for ever, to quhom is committed al power in earth and heaven; quhom devels ar forcd to acknowledg and obey; who has conquerd them alreadi in our nature, spoild, disarmd, vanquishd and triumphd over him; the blest Seed that should bruis the head of the serpent; in quhom al the nations of the earth ar blest; who has redeemd lost mankind by his blood, and deliverd us from Sathan his rag, dominion, power, temptations, wyls, violenc, that we may serv the living God al our lyfe. Sathan is that evel spirit which fell from his place, the father of lies, a murtherer from the begining, the serpent, old crooked, the dragon, accuser, tempter, the leviathan, Lucifer, enemi to mankind and our salvation, the roring lion, the adversarie, head of his members and instruments, quhom he helps and strenthens to work all ungodliness and unrighteousnes, opposit to God and his natur purelie and perfectlie, the destroyer, keeper of the bottomless pitt, prince of darkness. But our head and Lord is by natur the Son of God as weil as man, so that God is Sathan's parti when he has to doe with us; the Saviour of mankind; Jehova our righteousnes; the holy One of God; ful of grac and ful of truth; in whom the Godheid dwels bodilie; who has reaceavd the Spirit without measur.

23.—24.—I did hear Mr. Tho. Garvie.[a] Crom[artie,] Cesn[ock,][b] and others told me of the intercepting of Lorn's letters which containd dangerous reflections on the Parliament and Chancellor of England; and mentiond L. B.[c] that they minded to writ up anent this to the King. I desird to lay this to hart, and to be duli affected with the troubl that the young man (throgh God's permission and providenc) had broght himself into: could not so much bless myself that had not fallen into the lyk, for I might hav don it, and yet may doe it.

This sam day, my uncl Francis was troubld about his horning.[d] . . . I was hoping that the bitternes of death was over, and was looking for an end of our troubls, expecting a fair outgate and ishue, and behold new clouds overspread the skie.

26.—I heard som expressions of the Chancellor against us. They did aprehend plotts. Now let the Lord clear the innocent. . . . I reaceavd a letter from Cassils, chiding my faintnes and discouradgment, and stirring up to look beyond tym and present things. Oh! sanctifi this warning.

I was troubld with the troubl of my poor uncl Francis and his famili; but desird to hav my will subdud to God, and his wys providenc. . . . I spread befor God ther end, if F[rancis] be pure, and honest, and just. 2. His innocencie. 3. Ther oun law. 4. The ground of obtaining it, and without limiting the Lord, I put it over on Him. . . . I read some part of Mr. Jefray's papers and desird light to discern.

27.—I heard how the Lord Duffus, by his imprudenci, had discouerd quher Lorn's writs wer in Innes, and so wer all seizd upon. The fataliti seims irrecouerabl. Oh! I cannot get the understanding of this contrari providenc of God, how He walks contrari to that familie; and it seems the lot of others also.

I desir to be touchd with Lorn, La[ll.], and others ther estat and distress, thogh I cannot help them. Oh! that the Lord would mak ane outgate, and rid of snares

28.—I read Mr. Jafray's discours of forms, and why God contends, and

[a] Mr. Thomas Garvan, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He was ejected by the Privy Council for nonconformity in October this year.

[b] Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock.

[c] John Elphinston, third Lord Balmerinoch.

[d] 'Put to the horn,' a law phrase in Scotland, used when letters are directed to a Messenger to inforce payment by a debtor.

anent discerning the tyms, . . . and I desird to examin it aright. Ther is in it a casting loos off all ordour and ordinances, a judgment of the estat and constitution of Churches and members. Oh! for grace to discern and "trie the spirit[s]."

I indeavourd to persuad Sir Jh. Smyth to dissent with the rests; and I desir this may be noe snar to me.

I heard that it was said, the indemniti, and the fyning wer to be remitted to another tym. Great ar the confusions, disordours, darknes that we ar under; non knows how long. I went abroad with Leathin, and we worshipd God together when we returnd.

29.—Die Dom. I found bodili infirmitie upon me which did hinder me from the publick worship efternoon. I found my inclination pron to lean to frets[a] and superstitious observations; but it's thy Word which I wil hav recours to, for light to direct my steps.

30.—Moortoun dind with me. I found that the Register had alienated Ladi Midlt[on] from making use of me in M[orton] his buisines with Panmoor; and I reuerenced the Lord's prouidenc in it. Thogh they hav don it for ill, and not for good, perchanc, unbeknown to me, He may turn it to good.

July 1.—I heard of the differs falling in betuix my Son and Granghill, by letters from my daughter and her husband. This is a new trial, which the Lord is raising up against me, that my comforts, and they who might and should affoord any consolation to me, they ar made my greif and exercis.

I heard that ther was euel determind against me. I desird to ador the Lord in it, and to reverenc and submit unto his will, for good and holie is it. I see noe means to eschew it. Let him prepar me for it; for I committ myself, and my cause to God. It wer just with the Lord to do it, for my unthankfulnes, barrenes, nigardlines, straitnednes. Becaus I hav not imployd my welth to and for the Lord in charitabl uses, therfor does the Lord tak other ways mor greivous to me to scatter what I have sinfullie kept in.

I heard that ther was great nois about Lethin's remission, and it was lyk to be brangled[b]: that Tarbet was violent to hav it recald. I was much affected with it, but desird to cast my care upon God.

[a] Or 'freits,' omens.

[b] "Brangled,"—confused, complicated.

I heard lykwys of ther purposes against my self, and I adord the Lord in it, and resignd myself and what concerns me to him. I din'd with Innes, and heard that the Comissioner was not lyk to consent to the petition for the exemptions, so that nothing seims to prosper; yet God is true and just, shall I not say, and kind to Israel.

3.—It was rain al day. Cromarti did see me; but I found him not free as to me. I heard from my Daughter, that she would come south with my Sone.

4.—I did see a letter from London, shewing that ther had been much noice about Leathin's remission. The K[ing] did as yet stick to it; but it would light heavie on B.[a] The Comissioner and they saw the letter.

I found my friends failing; and they had not the confidenc or the courage to moue ani thing that might displeas others either for my rept. [respite] or the public. In this I desir to aknouledg and ador the Lord.

5.—This day I was induc'd to goe with Spinie to Aberdour and with reluctanci; for I did not perceav what call or warrand I could hav by him to goe to another man's hous. Let it be noe snar, or imputed as sin. I did meit my Son and his wyf in the way, and was surpriz'd with ther so coming, yet desirs to reverenc the good providenc of God.

7.—I returnd to Edinburgh, having heard som report from Mr. Alexr. Coluil of the witches he had causd to be apprehended and brunt. . . . Bp. Haliburton of Dunkeld[b] cam over with us. I desird to consider and be instructed. My Son and his wyf went out to Newbotl. Oh! Sathan's buisi with thes poor children of myn.

I desird to reflect on the Lord's dealing with Lorn, and leaving ———,[c] and that his infirmitie and imprudenc, throgh God's permission and prouidenc, has broght him to this troubl. 1. ———[c] alac! I fear not. 2. Why may he not in justice even so break doun as never to rais again? 3. Is the Lord intending by ———?[c] 4. In what befalls him, is the Lord intending to humbl ———?[c] 5. Is it that others ———?[c] 6. Is it to ———?[c] 7. Is it to bring yet lower, that his power and merci may be mor magnified in lifting up? 8. Is it that he may be soght unto, and to waken them and others?

[a] See p. 162. note [c]. Lord Balmerinoch for his compliance with Cromwell's government, was fined £6000 Scots by the Earl of Middleton in the Parliament, May—September, 1662.

[b] Mr. George Halliburton, formerly minister at Perth, was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld January 18. 1662. He died in 1664. (Keith's Hist. Catalogue.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

9. Is it a preludium of that which Thou art to bring on others of us? 10. Is it that Thou will not be intreated for him, and that familie? 11. Will thou hav them a becon, quhen judgment begins at them? Oh! Lord teach me, for Thou knows I am without understanding.

8.—I did employ Sir James Stewart to speak to Register anent me, and to allay him; but he told me he could effectuat nothing, for he was implacable, and so impatient and furious that he would not admit ani speich or discours off me, but I behoud to be find: and it was lyk few but thes would be deipli fynd. I desird to reverenc the Lord's providenc, and to ador His wisdom, righteousness, and holiness, in what befalls me.

11.—I went to Bogie, and found noe comfort in my voyage. He exprest noe favour to me or my caus, nor my freinds; was irritat against Francis; and purposd to hav all exemptions and precepts recall'd. . . . Sick lyk, I heard that, if the remission stood, they wer to lay an unsupportable ham[m]er on me.

12.—I did meit with the Bishop of St. Androes, and recommended my cace to him. He said, he should doe what he could. I sayd, I should not put an il caus in his hand: I should not be found seditious or troublsom. My cariag in the publick was known: thes of 49 wer not greater opposers against the King then the Parliament befor, which had transcended 49 by mani degrees, and therfor should not be stigmatizd mor then other parties that wer involvd in the common calamiti. I said, I would onli hav his assistanc to deliver and free me from oppressions and malice. He said, he thoght himself bound to doe for me or ani to deliver them [from that] which I cald oppression and malic. I said, I was far from fastening oppression on anie or malic, or violenc, but to be freed from being soe dealt with, and to hav it prevented; for iff the Register and the Commissioner had determind once against me, I shold then reverenc what they did as justice, and should be loth to giv that nam to ani thing that proceeded from them. He advizd me to speik to the Bp. of Glasgow and Ross; which I desir to examin, and to doe in it as God will asist me. I spok lykwys with Cochran, and he promisd much.

15.—I heard that the King had recal'd the remission to Leathin,; &c. had thankd the Commissioner for stopping it, and left them to censure. Soe that al seimd to be ouerturnd, and our pains lost, and our confusions increasd.

I heard the Commissioner said I was fals, and pretended freindship to him, quhil I was plotting to his hurt with Latherdaill: that I was disingenuous. I desird to examin my hart with such honesti and simpliciti as I could; and albeit I had manifold infirmities, yet the chalendg was fals, for I dealt not falsli. I never had the least correspondenc with Latherdaill. Lord! thou knows if I be, and if I knew or heard frome him ani thing of ther differs or designs, or if I consulted with him. I said noe more, but that I had my dependenc on him, and had it not bein so I had not gon to that place; and I did fare the wors for Morton's buisiness.

Lord keep me from framing answers to miss intent, but to have the ansuer, not of a doubl conscienc, but of a good conscienc. His personal good I soght it, and would hav soght it mor then I had caus, or could hav don, perchanc with a good conscienc; for his courses I durst never approve. If I coverd my dislyk of his courses, let not this be imputed to me; for I did not profess the dislyk which I did bear in my hart to his ways.

I begg grace of God to examin my sinceritie, and to discern quharin I hav dealt falslie with him. . . . The Register lykways against quhom my offence was more (and the Lord has punished it), whither it was officiousnes, hastines, or som other selfish respect, mixd with lov to Lorn, I cannot clean myself. But, 1. Ther was sin in my telling. 2. Imprudenc that I soght not leav. 3. Indiscretion. 4. And a trespas against Register in my opening foolishlie what he said without a saluo. 5. Thogh ther was much added falsli which I neuer spok, yet something I denied which I had spok. But all is forgotten. I desir to mourn under this.

I did see the Bishop of Dumblean and found him affected with our distempers. I did see Mr. D. Dickson, and found him under som darkness as to the publik: That evri one behoved to stand by themselvs and ther oun light. Alac! our Sun is doun upon our prophets. I saw Mr. Jafray, and reflected on the Couenant. We agreed, 1. It was not Scriptur, nor deliverd by men unfallibl or diuinlie and immediatli inspird, but by men of infirmities; yet by good men that had good ends, but could not forsee all inconveniences, snars, and caces, which might occur. 2. Some things wer moral, therfor lawful, being cleir and definit. 3. Som things wer indifferent and in our power. Thes we wer bound to. 4. Som things unlawful, and we wer bound to repent of this.

God's name was interposd, and therfor not lightli to be broken and shaken

of, least He hold us to be guilti. Wer it to swear again, it would stumble mani of us, seing quhat has ensewd.

I spok with Mr. Huths. [Hutchison], and he told me the ministers of Edinburgh had refusd to aknouledg the Bishops. He did presage their ruin; and told me of som visions in Irland. I feared this good man, and I besoght the Lord for him. I saw the Bishop off Glasgow, and sollicited him; but I found litl by him.

17.—The Lord Lorn was committed to clos prison. Oh! this does afflict my soul, his sufferings, and that I cannot see him or be comfortabl to him. I desird to be instructed by this. . . . It's observabl how much he sufferd for the King by the usurpers; the danger that his lyf was in by them; and now that he suffers by the King's authoritie. This is a providenc not to be neglected. Oh! a good conscienc in suffering is of great worth.

18.—I was spoken to put my son in my estat, and I desir in this to be guided and counseld by the Lord, for I depend on Him. If this be the mean or way by which He thinks fitt to ridd me of this hatred and malice, I am willing (if the Lord allow) to imbrac it.

19.—Mr. Jafray staid with me efternoon: he reasond much anent the corruption and sinfulnes of our constitution of Church members, ordination, and ordinances, as being derived from Rome, Antichrist, the mother of harlots. I did hold that our constitution was lawful, warrantabl; and albeit deriud from Ps. [Papists], Rom then was a church, tho' corrupt, unsound, diseasd, full of form, &c., and aboue al Israel in ther defection to idolatrie and gentilisme, yet not unchurch'd.

Innes and Crom[artie] cam to me to speak of what concernd myself; but small incouradgment did I reaceav from them or ther counsel.

22.—I met with Mr. Douglas, and heard that ther was a purpos to put out the honest ministers of Edinburgh, and that others wer broght to fill ther places. This struck me verie deip with troubl and greif.

24.—I did in the efternoon meet Sir Jh. Chislie. He told me that I was reported a great liar, and not ingenious. This did leav a great weight on my spirit. I desird to be abasd under it befor the Lord.

This night I had an afflicting dream which troubld my spirit: That I was going throgh and riding near a great deep, broad water; but it was still. My hors did drink, and I did interupt him that I might win throgh.

My hat went off, but I rescud it on my shoulder. I did not arriv at the bank I aim'd at, was caried something doun, and was in danger, yet cam throgh; and ther was deep gulfs and steep which I passd efter I cam out of the water, one efter another, so that one danger seimd to be on the back of another, and did not perceav ani full outgat or ishue. I was exercisd in the morning with this dream, and afraid, yet desir'd to committ my soul and al that concernd me to God, and will beleev in Him that has said to Jacob and his seid: "Fear not, I am with thee; quhen thou passest throgh the water, I will be with thee, and throgh the riuers that they shall not ouerflowe." I rememberd the dream formerli of men's leaping ouer the bridg quher I stood, and that Innes and others went ouer, but I would not follow. Oh! that noe wors may befal me, for alac! I am feard to be caried away with others.

30.—I did meit with Mr. Douglas and Hutchi[son], and found ther straits, and that the tym of ther trial was come. The Lord did bear them up to a good measur of resolution against complying with the Bishops; not to meit with them, or aknouledg them, not to co-operat with them, not to deriv power or jurisdiction from them, and choosd rather to be laid by. So farr as I could, I desir to bear burthen with them, and others in this condition, and with the Kirk of God which suffers in them, and to be instructed.

I was exercisd with the consideration of the gifts of preaching and prayer which men hav, who ar unstedfast and unfixd. Bp. ———.[a] This affoord instruction, if I could attain to it. . . . I pray that the Church be not the wors, nor get harm by his gifts, parts, and induments.

31.—I was troubld anent Francis his buisines, and had litl will to medl in ani difficil thing; yet was chalendgd for my withdrawing; therfor went to Bogi anent him, and obtaind a short protection. I acknowledgd God in this, and found myself much shaken with thes jaws[b] that go over our heads.

August 2.—My uncle Francis returnd, and we did accompani him to Leith. . . . Our distress, straits, and troubls seimd to encreas and multiplie upon us. We did speak on to another anent the darknes of the tym, our oun, the lands and His churche's troubl, desiring grac from God to know what He is about.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] 'Jaws,' waves or billows.

I did giv Francis som instructions and a letter to the Mr. of Forbes anent the fynning. Oh! that this be noe snare to me. I look up to God.

In my return from Leith my brother and I spok a litl of the causes why the Lord singled us out to soe deip afflictions and trials. . . . We enquird whether ther might be mercie in God's mind and purpos towards us by this his dealing. 1. To prevent us from going further wrong. 2. To waken us from security, and to reclaim. . . .

3.—Die Dom. Mr. Hutch[eson] preached, and my soul was exercisd on the yesterday's meditation, and we wer helped to get our harts pourd out in confessions and supplications to God. But this is not to be rested in.

5.—I did set upon a resolution to wryt to London, and found many distractions and impediments.

The L. of Moortoun did speak to me this day anent his anuel$^{t.}$ [annual rent.] I hav besoght the Lord that this might be noe snar to me; for I am under a bond for money of my own lent out not to tak annuel$^{t.}$ That which I satisfie myself with is, 1. The money is not myn. 2. It is not anuel$^{t.}$, it is but a part off the wodset[a] of Elves which he retains, and indeed belongs to me, thogh for fear of offending the E. of Murray, I may not intromet with it. 3. It is not from a poor brother; it's Scripture usuri, which I disclaim not, *lucrari a divitibus*. 4. I hav put it over on my sone. . . .

6.—I reflected on my oun debt, and found that I had payd this anuel$^{t.}$ realli and truly to others for him, and herfor was cleard in som measur, that I might lawfulli, and with the Lord's approbation, tak that which I had payd out to others for him; and I think it my safest to disburthen myself altogether off that money, least anuel$^{t.}$ be a snar to me; and then better I had never been born. Cursd be the gain that I tak against that band, quhairto I did voluntarli bind my soul in a day of troubl, for a memorial of the Lord's kindnes to the land and Philiphauch, in the year 1645. It is to me as the covenant of God, thogh in itself indifferent; yet to enquir efter vows were abominabl, and a high provocation.

I found the maiter of the fynns lying on me mor then it oght, and my spirit and mind discomposd about it. I found the ineffectualnes of al means, and the ways stoppd. I desird in this to aknowledg the Lord.

[a] Or *Wadset*, a pledge, a legal deed authorising drawing the rents of heritable property in payment of interest, during the non-redemption.

Persons wer failing, and friends, and my hart. Oh! but do Thou fail me never.

7.—The ministers, Mr. Hutch[ison], Mr. Smyth, and Mr. Hamilton, wer appointed to be remou'd;[a] and shall I not sympathiz with them? I inclin'd to retir and withdraw myself from this place, did not Francis his buisines detain me.

I heard that 12 wer to be secluded from trust, and that I was one of them. I desir gracc to bear this quietli. I was so impatient at being put of the Session and the Justic of Peac, that now thes things ar litl. Lord! sanctifi and guid me under this. I writ to Lord Neil to London, and to Mr. Rob. Gordoun anent the remission.

8.—This night past I had a dream which much disquieted me: That I was taking out my books of Atlas, and Mr. M. Mackenzie hinderd me, and would not let me tak them forth. I apprehended that this was, that I should not get leav to liv a privat lyf at hom, but should be either driuen away or disturb'd. I had a veri great aprehension of this on my spirit, and desird the Lord would fit and strenthen, and put the soul in a preparation to undergo whateuer he cald me to.

The E. of Lothian did move to me to put my Son in securiti of the estate for avoiding the present danger.

I hav desird to ———;[b] and in thes things how dark is the path, and how hard is it to see and tak up the Lord's mind in it. I hav ground to be jelous of my sone, for he is yong, and wants that soliditi, wisdom and experienc that's neidfull, is liable to humours, passions, lusts, vaniti, apt to be puft up; and therfor hav ground to be jelous of his government and of his cariage. But the Lord seems to driv me to it.

15.—Yesterday the Bishop of Edinburgh did baptis the Advocat's son, and usd som of the ceremonies, and Service Book. I desird to spread this befor God, and committ it to him.

16.—I spok to Cromartie for som poor people, that they might be liberat from this common way of fyning.

17.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Douglas upon thes 5 consolations, as reasons against affliction. 1. Christ our Mr. suffered; and the servant is not better

[a] Mr. George Hutchison, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. James Hamilton, three of the ministers of Edinburgh, who were ejected by a sentence of Parliament.—(Row's Life of Robert Blair, p. 416.)

[b] Short hand in MS.

then the Mr., &c. 2. "Nothing coverd but shal be mad manifest." 3. "Fear not thes that can kil the bodie." 4. His providenc over the sparrous, and the hairs of our head. 5. "He that confesses me befor men, I will confess him before my Father, and he that denies me," &c. I desird to hav my soul exercisd in the meditation, beleef, understanding and application of this word, as seasonable to me. So Mr. Fithie[a] on "We joy in the hop of the glory of God, knowing that tribulation brings faith, patienc," &c. Torwoodli cam in to me, and hindered something of my secret fellowship with God; but we had som exercises together.

I heard Mr. Hugh Inglis,[b] preachd to the Parliament, and had good doctrin, yet fell upon the rebellion of the tyms, and commended Bishops and that gouernment. I euen was troubled to hear that a person of gifts, and of sobrieti, and goodness, should approu ther way, and condemn ———.[c] This was a mysterie to me: fain would I understand.

18.—I heard E. Morton had exprest much greif that he had noe mor credit to doe good to me: that Neubrugh had spoken much ill of me. I desird to be instructed by this, and patientlie to bear it, "until He bring forth my innocencie as the light."

21—I heard this night that ther was much violenc in the Committe of fynning against me, and that Tarbet did driv it on with much furie: and non of them had voted under 40,000. This was in pairt a troubl to me, and did disquiet; yet I had som measur of peace, and was not altogether forsaken under it. The Lord did sustain me. I dreamd that 3 men did set on me in a hous, and would hav rob'd me. I did defend myself, albeit I had only a pistol in my hand that could not shoot, and I struck them with it; and at last with resisting and striuing, they wer content to let me goe, and did shut me out; yet they demanded something, and quhen I was out, I gav them som litl thing, and quhen I was out, I saw manie people about the hous, yet did not discouer the robers, onli I reprou'd my servant that had not kept the dor better, but letten them in upon me. Soe I escaped. This dream represented something of my present condition, besett with enemies and robers: Euen let the Lord giv a merciful ishue to my troubl.

[a] This was probably Mr. James Fithie, who on the 20th of January, 1671, was elected by the Town Council of Edinburgh, chaplain of Trinity Hospital, and who was afterwards imprisoned on the Bass for nonconformity.

[b] This name in the MS. is somewhat doubtful.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

22.—Leathin had sein Tarbet, and he to him profest a great deal off respect to me, and willingnes to meit with me, and to tak up a freindship. At the same tym Cromarti, by my Son, movd that we might give that band or a discharge of it to Tarbett, which he was resting to my cousin, and he should be worth it.

I did consider the Lord's prouidenc in inclining that man to favour me, whether truli or feinedlie I know not. Onli I desird and [soght] counsel from God, to know his wil, and to walk uprightlie and wyslie in a perfect way. I did communicat with Mr. Douglas, and he advizd me to ———.[a] Lord! thou knows what persons I hav to do with, and what ther cours and counsel is. Lead me in a right way, for they ar craftie, and covetous, and my eys ar to Thee, for counsel I hav none

27.—I gav the discharg to Cromarti to be giuen to Tarbet, and I had som reluctanci in it, fearing to be free of ani pairt of that lot (by such a means) as others ar liable unto.

I was exercisd with the troubl falling on Calder; that what I intended to Granghil taks no effect.

This day the Committe sat on the fynns from morning til night.

31.—Die Dom. This day Mr. Douglas preachd, and seimd to insinuate his leaving the congregation. I heard much of the usefulnes of the word, and the excellenci of it.

1 Sep.—I attempted to hav met with Tarbet, but found not opportunitie. I heard that ther was som commotion in England anent the Service Book, and that the Presbyterians wer quitt doun.

I was admonishd to give over my famili exercis. I did adviz this with Mr. Douglas, and I desird to reflect on my own weakness, feeblnes, unstedfastnes, cowardlines, carnalitie, faithlesnes. Oh! let me not be given up to this.

2.—I did see and meit with Tarbet, and had professions from him.

3.—I spok on behalf of the E. of Lothian and Calder to Tarbet. He told me, he could not serve me for Lothian.

4.—This day was a great storm of wind. I did solicit the Duke and Newburgh for Calder; but al seimd in vain.

7.—Die Dom. Mr. Douglas on Math. 11, shew[ed] that ministers should

[a] Short-hand in MS.

be constant and stedfast, not to say and unsay: not a reid; and that which is spoken to them is spoken to me.

I heard that the Parliament was to declar me uncapabl of publick Trust: sicklyk, Latherdal, &c. I desird to consider this.

16.—I cam from Edinburgh on my journey homward, and cam that night to Couper.

17.—From Couper I cam to Fetercarn late.

18.—Next day at night to Cap[tain] Eleis at Clat; and on Friday, the 19th, to Kinloss. The Lord gaue a tolerabl journey, and his prouidenc broght thus farr throgh in safety: He has helped hitherto.

20.—I cam hom, and had som sence of the Lord's goodnes and prouidence towards me, as in the way of my return, and my daughter-in-law, and our companie.

22.—I did meit with Park and his uncl, who enquird counsel anent the fynn, with Mr. Wil. Falconer, quhom I found inclind to complie.

23.—I did see my litl grandchild Anna Brodie.

I went to visit my freinds in the West, and desird to aknowledg the Lord in this mercie to them and me.

I spok with Mr. Hari, and did see his exercis and trial, and desird to be exercisd with it, as in the same cace myself: nay, the trial and suffering of others in his being deprived of his ministrie is mor then his own loss. Let me not be unsensibl of this.

24.—Calder and his Ladi cam heir. I spok with them, and oppend to them the condition of ther own effairs, and warned them.

27.—I went to Darnway, and spok with the E. of Murray anent Calder, and found him speak a semblanc of mor kindnes. He is one of thes by quhom the Lord has exercisd me; and I desir to aknowledg the Lord that has not given them hart's desir of me.

I held court with my tenents, and was helpd to som fredom as to them: not to couet ther goods, but found som willingnes to dispence with that which was myn to them. Both to will and to doe is of thy good pleasur. I desird to be helpd to enquir into the misteri of Witchcraft, and cal'd for the 2 persons and examind them, and for Sandie Hardi and Margaret Clerk; but they denied soe vehementlie that we could get noe clearnes. Let the Lord cleir and goe befor us. I desir'd that noe sinful piti or respect might blind upon the one hand, nor misguided zeal on the other.

28.—I desir, if the Lord permit, to set the next Saboth a part both in humbl thankfulnes to prais him for his common mercie in my return, and in the ishue of our trouble; as lykways to be afflicted for the outbreaking of sin in this place, and the prevailing of the Deuel, and to supplicat the Lord that his wrath may be turnd away; [that] he would not let himself be driven out of his own land by Sathan, nor out of this place; [that] he would both forgiv and purg the land, giv his Spirit, gifts of wisdom, zeal for finding out thes crafti workings of the Deuel, and that he may be cast out.

29.—I was this day at Findorn leading stones, and had som fit of the grauel. By al things the Lord doth convinc me of frailtie, and seims to be drawing me from this world. Oh! let me be found prepard and readi.

I spok with Mr. Wm. Falconer to adviz the Bishop to moderation, and to lay noe bands on Ministers; which he did undertak to doe.

30.—My Son went to Aldern to see the trial of the witch Bandon; who adheard to her confessions, and was condemd.

October 1.—I did speak to Grang[a] anent Mr. Harie's presentation, and found him not soe sensible of his condition as I expected; yet he yielded to giv him a presentation, on the terms which Mr. Jhon Brodi had, and he giving him right to the teinds. I desird him to send me the one and other, and if he did not grant it, he should be in his oun place. . . . I found many anxieties breaking in upon me, which made me willing to be at home, and loosd from this flesh.

2.—I was desird to go to Aldern anent the witch; and had som reluctancie lest I should be found out of my line and calling; yet efter an ejaculation to God, I obeyed, but did not see or speak with the poor woman, knowing that it was propper onli for thes that hav the commission, and therfor I did forbeare. I heard much of her blaming Betti Hay as a teacher and partner in her witchcrafts.

This is a dark misterie of ———.[b] Let God manifest himself in making wickednes manifest, and in bringing it to light. I neither would press her to tell, nor yet hinder her, onli exhort her to doe nothing ignorantli or out of ani sinistrous end, by respt. [respect], passion, anger, reveng, prejudic, or the lyk. Let God hav glorie.

[a] Dunbar of Grange.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

I heard of Lorn's reprive, and something settled on him. I desir to aknowledg the Lord in this.

Pa. Dumbar writ to me to send my Sone to go with him to Elgin to the head court. I desird not to feed or nourish him in his vanitie, and therfor declind it. I and my father's hous ar compast with mani enemies: let the Lord uphold us!

The Ladie spok to me (my mother) anent the taking off the charge of the hous, anent suspicions she had of me, as if I had written to her not to medl in effairs and buisines of myn; and desird her oun contract of mariag with my father; and chalendgd me for keeping it up from her. She soght it for securiti of her conjunct fee. Oh! this is humbling, euen quhen shee has her foot in the grave. Speaking of death, and yet so suspicious, anxious, unquiet. Let the Lord visit her in mercie, and do her good, and us by her, and mak us comfortable one to another.

3—I was at Findhorn, and perceau'd an ouerflowing of corruption, and an inbreaking, and ouerspreading of sin on al persons and ouer al the land. . . .

4.—I was counting with the tenents in Forres, and desird grac to exercis sobernes, righteousness, moderation, lov and tendernes towards them in my dealing, even as being in need of forgivnes, and pitie myself from the Lord, if he should exact all that I ow him. I heard they purposd to intend action ag^{t}. D. Brodie for perjuri anent a simualat consignation which was made, in his hand. I spok with Patrick, the sherif, anent this; and albeit he profess much to me, yet I desir grac to discern ani thing in him that's unstraight, that he be noe snare to me. I had purposes to tak the sherif's sone to bring up at schoole, and to doe it unto the Lord. Let my hart be found bund in thy ways, and in this particularlie, that the mixing anything of prudenc in oblidging thes of that familie may [not] be imputed to me as sin.

4.—My Son feard the Declaration, anent the disclaiming of the Couenant, &c., and was in som perplexiti. I desird by noe counsel of myn to be a snar to him, nor by my silenc. It is the Lord quhom I desir to serv. . . .

Mr. Jhon Makulikin cam to me. I did see his perturbation, and desird to sympathiz with him.

5.—Die Dom. I am this day under new exercises and trials. 1. The condition of mani who fear God in thes lands, and ther distress, straits, and

temptations. 2. The overflowing of sin, profannes, and loosnes, declining, darknes, untendernes. . . . 6. The sin of witchcraft and develri, which has prevaild, and cannot be gotten discoverd, and purgd out, Satan having set up his verie throne among us.

6.—I was at Findhorn quher the E. of Murray cam from the meiting to me, and expostulated for my not keiping the publick meitings. I did observ how much deceitfulnes is in the hart of man, and besoght the Lord for an honest hart. That man withstood my being on ani publick buisines. Oh! my corruption, and impatienci which then I found against it. But now I hau caus to ador the Lord and to be thankful. I heard that the King lykd not the seclusion. I aknouledgd God in it.

8.—I heard that at Inuernes ther was non of the witches condemnd, and I desird to consider this and be instructed. This, if God prevent not, will be of veri ill example. . . .

9—10.—Calder was with me and spok of his effairs. I saw how ill his government was, and a cloud about the head of that familie. His judgments, thogh secret, ar ever just; but the causes of this ar not difficil to be found out, besid ani secret causes which ar onli known to God. If it wer possible, I desird the Lord might turn away his wrath, and be at peac with him, and with that familie, and may vouchsaf his blessing and direction to them in ther effairs, shyn on ther counsills, and lead them forth out of ther difficulties. If he hav pleasur in them, and hav use for them on this earth, let him so doe; and if not, that it may be for his glori and his churches good, let him doe what ever seems good to him. He appointed a meeting on Monday at Aldearn. I was doubtful whether to goe thither or not, but depends on God for an issue.

11.—I heard what state and ostentation Mr. Murdoch M'enzi[a] kept at his court, and Mr. Georg, the Justic Deput, and saw the corruption off mankind. Prayd that God would put an end to thes days of sin, bind up Sathan whom he has leten loos and noe forsak us.

I did send my sone to Moortoun,[b] to se if he had ani money. He objected my promis to giv them som favour in the anuel. I desird grac to walk evenli in this promis, that it may be noe snar to me. Therfor all I hav to say befor God for it is this: I did offer it onli, but he did not accept it, nay,

[a] Bishop of Moray.

[b] Innes of Muirtown.

since, he hath mani tyms prest land on me for it. 2. Things ar now changd in my effairs, for I hav bein put to great troubl since, but was in better cace then to have ans[d]. it. 3. I am owing it all, and mor, to others: and I know not if it wer acceptable to God to draw a burthen on myself to spar another, who has it payd in to him, and is as abl to bear his own burthen, as I am to bear myn. 4. I hav some freidom to put it yet in his will to doe in it as he thinks fitt. Now, thogh I hav some clearnes, and had some clearnes in it, at Edinburgh, quhair Moortoun offerd it, yet I am jelous and suspicious off ani thing that may be a snar to me, becaus I am bound up from usurie for money of my own, and lent to thes that ar in distress, and not to thes that tak it from others, and maks benefit of my moneye.

15.—I met betwix the toun of Forres and Moortoun. But it took noe effect. I did see something of human corruption. I heard of Tarbet's return. I did at night goe to Windihils.[a]

16.—I did meit with Bogie, and found his humour and resentment against my cousen Francis. . . . I did see the Bp. at Spinie. He discovered much of a ———.[b] I hav reason to mourn under it. In my discours with him, I did goe far alongst in complying by titles, fair words, and the lyk. Oh! discover the secret sin of my natur and inclinations, that this complacencie be noe snar to me, nor may it be to others.

I met with Calder[c] and his freinds at Auldern, and did reflect on his effairs, and saw how desperat they were. Som resolution they took, but al is in vain, whyl God's wrath is not turnd away.

Mr. Hari Forbes was with me, resolving anent himself. I proposd that he should send Moortoun to the Bishop; but he refusd. Mr. Hari proposd onli to get this ———.[b]

17.—I cam from Kined. to Mon[aghtie.]

18.—From Monaghtie the importuniti of my uncl did draw me to Elgin, to mediat betwix him and Bogie; quhairin with much aversnes I yelded to pleas him, but not my self. With much difficulti it was broght to som conclusion.

I heard that the whol ministers in Dumfreis and Glasgow wer put out,

[a] John Brodie was, at this time, proprietor of Windihills. He died previous to July 16, 1673, at which date his son Francis was served his heir. (Inquis Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 133.)

[b] Short-hand in MS.

and in England. This is a providenc of God, not to be past by without observation.

20.—I staid at hom in expectation to hav sein Innes. But he cam not. I desir to judg aright of evrie thing I meit with from men; for al men ar a lie.

21.—I went to Forres anent my priuat effairs, and was hindred from returning by the water. Ladi Cromarti was in Brodie, and I in Forres al night.

22.—I intend next day to Monaghti.

23.—I went to Aslisk, and compted I had caus to fear myself, and to tak heid of snars. I was disquieted to distribut chariti prudentlie and rightlie to the tenents; for sum that wer poor bund had litl land, and not good, yet payd and livd, and som that had mor wanted. I was unwilling to giue to thes who, throgh misguiding or transgresing ther bounds, drew pouerti on themselus. I desir to be guided in this by the Spirit of God, and not by my own spirit. I did go to Kinlos at night, ouhair I saw much of the infirmiti of that old man. . . . I returnd the next day to Mon[aghti].

24.—I was dealt with to goe with Dauid to the Bishop, and had much reluctancie. Let the Lord open my eys and enlighten my mind, and confirm me by his grac, and let me not be entangled throgh thes occasions. . . . I heard that the whol ministers had submitted, and aknouledgd the Bishop at ther Sinod, except Mr. Ja.[a] and Mr. Tho. Urquhart.[b] Mr. Hari had submitted, but not ouned the government.[c] I desir to spread thes things befor the Lord, and to be duli exercisd with the untendernes of som; the suffering of others; the judgment ouer all: yet alac! ther is non lais it to hart. . . .

26.—I heard the Minister say that Sessions wer restord. He desird me to keip with him, and I had som auersnes. Lord! reueal Thy will to me, and inclin my heart to it.

27.—I went to Spinie anent Petgaunie's teinds, but had litl success; yet I gav plac to the importunitie of my freind, and by that had proof that others leand to me, and had expectations of me, beyond what they ought.

[a] Mr. James Urquhart, minister of Kinloss, to which he was ordained August 19, 1659; ejected for nonconformity in 1663; reponed, 1690; resigned, 1695; and died 1701. (Shaw's Hist. of the Province of Murray.)

[b] Mr. Thmas Urquhart was at this time minister of Essil, to which he was translated from Dipple in June, 1658.

[c] See p. 128, note [a]

. . . I cam back by Moortoun, and was ther at night, having had a stormie day.

28.—I did speak with the Bishop anent Mr. James Urquhart, and told Mr. James at my return, that the Bishop had said to me, if he would concur in comon duties, and meit with them, he might be forborn awhyl. He inclind rather to quit his charg. Oh! for grac and light to him, and al that follow or desir to follow the Lord in simplicitie; and to let him see how farr he may goe with the Lord's allowanc and approbation.

Calder cam to me, and Mr Hari, this night, and Mr. Tho. Craig. I heard of Mr. Hari his straits, and desir to bear burthen with him. . . .

29.—I heard how much ill-will and prejudice the E. of Murray, and Erlsmil,[a] and others had at me and my freinds. I remitted ther caus and myn to God.

I spok with the goodwyf of Turie anent reconciling with my ———.[b] Found Satan and her corruption working. . . . Francis told me of his purpos to goe out of Turie, becaus of the discouradgment which he did meet with.

30.—I dind in Granghil, and did observ the infirmities of my children. . . . I did meit efternoon with Mr. Wm. Falconer, and Kinkoys, and B. Tulloch.[c] I was helpd to deal betuix them in som simpliciti, but without success. . . .

My mother spok to me to be fre of the hous. I said, perchanc shee might be soon quit of children, if they wer a burthen to her. I desird to be sensibl [of,] and made acquanted with, my awn weakneses, and to piti the weakneses of others. . . .

31.—This night Leathin was with me. Mr. Ja. Urquhart was al day with me, and I found his resolutnes not to compli with Bishops, and to undergoe the los of al. Oh! that I could attain that light and stedfastnes and fortitud. But alac! I am soon ouercom, and soon yelds to the least difficultie. Let His grac uphold me! He prayd with me; but I found both in secret and public an unsteddi, wandering mind wear[y]ing of that dutie. . . .

2 November.—Die Dom. Happened a fire in the bakhous, which did

[a] Francis Forbes, who was served heir to his father, Arthur of Earlsmill, October 10, 1639. He died previous to February 14, 1673, at which date his son David was served his heir. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 72, 131.)

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Probably Tulloch of Tannachies.

burn som of thes houses. I desird to be instructed by this hand of God. . . .

This day, my nephew, the L. of Calder's eldest son was born, and was on the 5 baptizd Jhon.

5.—This day, my daughter Girsel was broght to bedd of her son Robert.

6.—I worshipd God with Mr. H. Forbes, and complaind off my unstedfastnes and fainting, cried to God for grac to win throgh this bitt of tym without spot, and without denying Him, even the Lord that boght me.

I heard that the E. of Seaforth, by a shott off a gun, had brunt the Kirk of Chanrie;[a] and som other houses wer ther brunt also by that accident. I desir in sobrietie to obserue, and to be made to understand all Thy judgments.

I heard that they wer changing the officers of estat in England, and putting out Manchester and others; that som French wer com ouer as a guard to the Queen Mother, and that they wer to hau the keeping of the Touer of London. . . .

I heard Tarbet had don nothing for me or my friends at London. Such is the friendship of ———.[b] Thou wilt hav me not to cleav to it, but wholli to Thee.

Park[c] was [with] me and my neeic. I intended to tak journey in the day following to Edinburgh. This night the L. of Innes cam heir and his sone.

7.—Park took journey south. He enquird why I was jelous of him; and I told him, I found him and his wyf alienated from me and my family, and I had born respect to him and his as much as to anie. He cleard himself, but exprest that he could not doe to my famili that which he would do to me.

Calder cam heer, and his brother. I was burthend with the condition of that man. A great cloud did I see over his head, but noe appearanc that it wold blow over.

9.—Die Dom. I desird this day in the sens of outward straits, troubl, the discountenanc of men of high degree, failing of men and ther freindship,

[a] The Chanonry of Ross, the cathedral church of the See of Ross. This notice is of importance, as it explains the destruction of that portion of the building which appears to have been restored about this time, and used as a parish church.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] See p. 128, note [c].

envie of men, ill will, my nakednes as to outward helps and comforts and props, to be convincd of the al sufficienci of God. . . .

10.—I was doubtful anent my going to Ardersier; yet casting up the eys and hart to God, and reflecting as I could on the Lord's mind, I gatherd that he cald, and I was in som measur alloud to goe ther. 1. To doe good; albeit, if I did lay al compts of requitals, I might hav discouradgment from medling in thes things. 2. I comitt the success and ishue to God.

Innes and Crom[arti] did stand in veri contrari terms. I found not Cromarti throghli inclind to seik his good, and was sorri to see corruption blinding and transporting men. . . . Som temporari setling was made, thogh I did promis my self litl of it. I heard Crafourd was not of the 12 excepted persons, and that that design was yet to hold. I desird to mourn for the factions of men, quhairwith we ar broken. That Lee, Stair, Arneston refusd the declaration.

11.—This day Innes cam to me, and dind.

12.—My grandchild, Robert Dumbar, was offerd to God in baptism. I was helpd, and my hart in som measur inlargd to Godward on his behalf. Mr. Wm. Falconer baptizd and admitted him a member of the visibl church. This day, Calder did tak journey south, and began with rogh wether. We did dine liberallie, but never mor readi to forget God then quhen fedd to the full.

I heard Mr. Hugh Ross intended to be dean, and to tak Mr. Harie his place.

14.—Leathin was with me all night, and old Francis. He seimd much weighted with his burdens, and the condition of his effairs, and seimd as inclind to sell somwhat of his estats. I did exhort him not to grudg. 2. To aknowledg rether the mercie and goodnes of God in preserving and delivering out of the hands of the adversaries, qhuil we wer al swalloud up in ther hope and imagination, as weil as in our oun. . . . 3. I desird to know how to beare burthen with him effectuallie, and how to profit him.

I heard that the Council wer summonding and taking cours with thes that preachd about Glasgow efter the proclamation. . . . My Son did goe and meit with the Bishop anent thes particulars, and took his uncle with him. I desird to committ these things to God. . . .

16.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Wm. Falconar. The day was past over without that fruit that I ought to hav broght forth, and I was sensibl of desertion.

18.—I mett with the Sheriff's freinds at Forres. . . . This night we staid al night in Forres, and spok off the sherif's buisines the next day.

19.—My Son went Est toward the Bishop. . . . Keip me from rewarding evel for evel.

20.—This evening, Francis and Marg^{t} Brodie wer contracted. Let the Lord bless^{e} them, and that action, that it may [be] for his glori, and comfortabl to them who ar concernd in it. Cromarti cam heir, and staid 2 nights. He told me Tarbet minded to giv us other debtors for the money which he had bein resting to Wm. Brodie's children. I desird to be instructed in this, what to doe by the Word and Spirit of God, throgh Jesus Christ.

24.—We did meit at Alves anent the sherif's effairs. Innes was instant to hav the creditors accept assignations for payment. . . . I took exceptions at Kilraok's[a] and his ladie's[b] passing by me; and I desird a sober mind under the apprehension of men's being alienated from me.

27.—My son went to Elgin anent the suspended manteinance and the Bishop; and I saw the prejudic that the E. of Murray had at me and myn, and put our caus in His hand. Defend us, O Lord! according not to our righteousness, but according to Thy infinit mercie and compassion, and for Thy glory.

This day befor, being the 26, the Ladie Dumphail[c] died, and was to be buried on the 28.

Cromarti returnd from the East, and was displeasd that I cam not to Innes to him; quhairin I was innocent, and gav him noecaus. I did see much passion and humour stirring betwix them. I desird to greiv and be afflicted for it.

29.—I did goe up and see the E. of Murray at Darnway, and din'd with him. I proposd this end to myself, to appeas and divert his unreasonabl prejudices and malic, by performing offices of kindness. . . . I found my uncl Francis not contented with his daughter's conditions, and was displeasd.

1 December.—I went toward Innes, and from Forres, and Mon[aghti:]

[a] Hugh Rose, fourteenth baron of Kilravock.

[b] Margaret Innes, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, by his wife Jean, daughter of James, Lord Ross. Kilravock was married to this lady this year. She died May 20, 1676. (Family of Rose of Kilravock, printed by Spalding Club, p. 343.)

[c] Wife of Dunbar of Dumphaill.

went at night to Kinloss, looking out the books of the Shyr. I found nothing in my actings quherof to be ashamed; yet in that I am not justified. . . .

2.—I went from Kinloss with Mortoun to Elgin. . . . Cam to Elgin, and met betwix Alter[a] and Innes. I found him deal throughlie, and it was my corruption which inclind to restrain him. The Mountebank was in that place, quher I saw mani people drawn away with a curiositi to see him. Men will beleui ani imposter befor they beleeu the tru, sauing, and infallibl, pur word of God.

3, 4.—Thes days we spent in looking over his [Innes's] old papers. Soe careful ar men to know the estat of ther effairs in the world, and alac! so carless to know the certantie and condition off matters betwix our souls and God, and our rights and securiti to that inheritanc, incorruptibl and undefild, which is purchasd to us, and transmitted throgh a mediatour. I did see mani evidences of the antiquitie and estimation of that familie in the world.

7.—Die Dom. This night past, I had som imaginations in my sleip, which I retained with som impression. I thoght I was in the Cougat at Edinburgh, and ther was sitting on a dunghill, and was looking stedfastli on a gibbet befor me; and a sister or freind of Sir Jhon Nisbet's did com and speak to me, and bad tak me up. Besid the euel plac I lay in, she was feard, that the looking on that gibbet, and being afflicted with that which had befallen others, might mak too much impression on me. I cam estward to a chamber quhair mani persons wer, and Sir Jhon Nisbet did ———.[b] I hav noe ground ———.[b] But if by this the Lord be shewing me that He intends to humbl me, and to bring me low, even to the dunghill, let His will be don; onli let me not be given up to my filthi lusts which defil, whereby God is dishonourd, and our profession disgracd; otherways let Him lay on me quhat seims good to Him, onli let Him furnish with grac, and inward strenth, and patienc, and wisdom to bear it, and mak a right use of it.

8.—I heard of Calder's distress in his effairs, and desird to aknowledg the Lord, and to be humbl'd under the Lord's rod upon him; for in afflicting him He lais me low.

[a] Robert Cumming of Altyre, who was served heir to his father James, October 28, 1652, and who died previous to April 28, 1688, at which date his son Alexander was served his heir. (Inquis. Retor. Elgin and Forres, nos. 93, 100, 153.)

[b] Short-hand in MS. Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, Lord Advocate.

I went doun to see the seat in the Kirk that I was intending to build; and in this I feard a snar, for vaniti and ostentation is readie to creep in, and outward ornament is oft attended with inward decay.

9.—The Ladi Park my neic cam heer; and I was sorrie and afflicted that corruption should break in among us to seperat, as it does, and is lyk to doe, quhairin we by our deids walk unlyk Christians. I desird to be exercisd under it, and mad my supplication to God for grac to discern and withstand my oun corruption, and grac to my poor sone.

10.—The L. of Innes was heir at an appointment of Cromarti, but he cam not, pretending a fall he had gotten. I did exhort the L. of Innes to shew himself a good instrument in advizing Kilraok to sober and kindlie cariag with his neibours, and especialli with Calder.[a] His father was so happi that we had never mor peac then in his tym, and good understanding among all the families in our countre mor then had bein for mani ages befor. I wishd he might be an instrument to continu this blessing.

12.—I went to Leathin, and visited him, and saw in him much pains to instruct his familie. Let the Lord bless his pains, and him His poor instrument.

13.—I went to Calder, and returnd at night.

14.—Die Dom. Mr. Thos Craig preachd: "That we should not be hearers of the Word onli, but doers also."

I was desird to keep a meiting betuix L. Strathnauer[b] and the Bishop of Cathnes.[c] But being loth to appeir much in effairs, I did conceau it fitt to declin it, desiring to withdraw myself from my oun, and much mor from other men's buisines.

16.—My uncl Francis was with me anent the contract of his daughter, and was unweil; yet we did conclud it.

18.— . . . I gott yesterday letters from Edinburgh, shewing the death of the King of Spain, and Don Jhon his successour: that old Mr. Cant[d] and other ministers wer summond befor the Councel. . . .

I feard in going about to accommodat my self and my famili with a seat in the kirk, that vaniti, ostentation, glori, and corruption would creip in. . . .

[a] Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder.

[b] George, Lord Strathnaver, who succeeded his father John, Earl of Sutherland, in 1663.

[c] Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Cathness. He was consecrated in March, 1662.

[d] Mr. Andrew Cant, one of the ministers of Aberdeen.

Mr. Thos Craig spok to me that ther was nothing doing for getting in his stipend.

I did visit thes in Teri. Mr. Ja. Urquhart cam to me, and I found myself profited by him. It was som ground of consideration to me that he had noe freidom soe much as to keep Presb^s. and Sessions under the Bishops, thogh he might enjoy a libertie to preach for soe doing. I desird to judg rightli of his tendernes. 2. To suspect my oun loosnes and libertie. 3. To remember him befor God, that he may be kept from snars upon the one hand, and myself on the other, and both of us from snars on the right hand and the left. He was inlargd in prayer for the Kirk of God, and the present state of corruption, beyond me. He had more of the burden of it upon him; and I desird grac not to be idl or insensibl, quhil others deir to God ar tossd and driven up and doun, the faithful shepheards driven away, mani formal, nay, and profan ar enterd.

21.—Die Dom. . . . I heard that the Ladi Grant had died on Thursday, the 18 of December. Thus I see all flesh is grass. . . .

25.—Mr. Hari Forbes and Mr. Tho. Urquhart wer heir. I did see Mr. Thomas his darkness and exercis, and desird to bear burthen with him.

30.—The Ladi Grant was buried: and 1. I found in going to that burial men inclind to affect vain glori and shew. I feard my son and freinds in this particular. Lord prevent us!

Ther was much debat I heard anent the carying of the croc upon the corps. I did hear men to be forward against this, that would litl withstand other corruptions; nay, and if authoriti wer not favorabl, would giv way to this also. L. Duffus and all that congr[egation] did stand up at the Doxologie, and at noe other part of the worship.

31.—This day Francis and Marg^t. Brodi wer maried.

1663, Januarie 1.—I heard from Edinburgh of the death of my weil beloued freind Mr. Downie;[a] and that he had liud weil, and died in the faith of God's lov to his Church in this land.

Mr. Jhon Livingstoun, Karstairs, and others, wer inacted to be banishd. Shall I not mourn for this?

[a] See p. 87, note [b]

I heard that Chancellor Hyd's[a] favour with the King was diminished. . . . I heard that ther was lyk to be a review of the fynns.

2.—Our freinds did return hom.

3.—I did cal for Wil. Lard, and enquir at him anent the reports which I heard of his familiariti with the Duell. I did warn and exhort him and his son, as I could; and having giuen his son a Bibl, took him engadgd to God to seru Him, with al his hart, and no other, and to lay up that book, and the words of it, in his heart.

I warnd and exhorted my Son to reflect on his oun ways and walking, how his hart stood to Godward. I exprest my jealousie of him, ———[b] walking loosli and carlesli, growing secur, cold, dead, formal, making noe proficienci in grac, lov of God, mortification, diligenc, faith, watchfulness, comunion with God, holines. He did ———.[b] But alas! so soon as thes engadgments ar broken, and shaken off. I enquird ———;[b] and I concluded with prayer to God for him.

5.—I was the night past and this day under som bodili distemper, by pain of the collick and gravel. . . . Archibald Baili cam. He saw me, Mr. Hari, and Mr. Ja. Urquhart at night. We worshipd God together.

I heard that the Quein and som others Papists had giuen in articls against Chancellor Hyd. I dar not allow myself any joy in this; for I know not but ther may out of this fall spring forth a greater croc to His Church and work, albeit he be as he is.

8.—I heard the Ladi Moortoun[c] was sick; and in the conscienc of my duti I went over to see her, and saw in her willingnes to be with the Lord, mixd with a desir (if it seimd good to Him) to abid in the flesh. We complaind on this, that we wer all slow and avers from death, and dyied becaus we could not liv longer, not becaus we choisd or desird it, or saw an advantage in it. We would tak up our rest heer, if He did permit it. Wer we as we should, we would desir and long to be at hom, and to be with the Lord, which is the best of all.

I heard that ther wer commotions in the other lands, and my soul desird to be afflicted with this for the land's sak, our rulers, and thes poor peopl that wer left to ways that I fear ar not approven of God. Therfor may it

[a] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] The wife of Robert Innes of Muirtown.

seim good to Him to allay thes troubls, and turn away His wrath. I desird from my veri hart to mourn under the tokens of the wrath of God yet over the land, both peopl and rulers. God may justlie punish the one by the other, the spiritual wanntones, and prid, and giddines of the one by the ———.[a]

I desird to mourn for the King, and besoght the Lord for him, that his government may be blest, and stablishd in righteousnes and equiti, for the good of His Church and all the peopl. . . .

This day I heard Arthur Forbes died suddenlie.

I spok with Mr. Ja. Urquhart, and persuaded him, if he might get it without a snar, to embrac his ministri. Refusing to concur with Presbitries and Sinods, becaus they wer but the Bishop's delegats, could not anull ther calling, or mak it void. As it seimd to me this argument would inferr that thos whom the Bishops admited wer not ministers, and consequentli the Sacraments and Ordinances which they ministerd noe Ordinances; the consequenc wherof would cast all loos. But let me not be a snar to him in this; neither let Sathan borow or speak out of my mouth; for I, and my tongu, and speech ar the Lord's and noe other's. I desir to speak and councel to the Lord; but my corruption and blindnes will soon mislead me, and be a snar to others, if the Lord prevent not.

Err the night was don, I found my pain recurr, and had one of the most sharp and longest fitt of the gravel that ever I had all my lyf tym. It lasted from the 8 to the ———,[b] thogh not with a lyk measur of pains.

30.—The Ladi Calder cam heir, and next day the E. of Murray, and did see me. My Son made some conclusion with the Bishop in his particulars.

On the 27, Kilravok his eldest son was born, and on the 2nd of Februarie baptizd at Innes.

We heard of the King's proclamation anent som liberti to Papists. I desird to enquir into this, and to be exercisd under it. 2. To see the mind of God, and what His will is, and He cals to. 3. That ther is a black cloud ouer our head of wrath, sin, and judgment: That He may therfor be a hiding plac to His peopl til thes calamities pass ouer, and guid us in His way, that we stumbl not upon the dark mountains. 4. We ar looking for

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Blank in MS.

persecution and troubl. Mani signs and presages is ther of it: the liberti to wicked men; the restraint on them that fear His nam, and that the land cannot bear them; faithful men expeld and driven out of the land; lov of God waxing cold, and zeal for the inventions and traditions of men waxing hott; and a floud of violenc and ungodlines breaking in.

February 3.—This day be 6 in the morning my daughter-in-law was broght to bed of her second daughter, Cathrin. My cousen Francis' wyf, hauing lipend[a] for that sam midwyf, and not knowing of another, cam to this hous also, and was at the sam hour and moment broght to bedd and deliuerd of her son, quhom shee purposd to call Alexander. Thus the Lord mixes mercie with corrections; and at once, quhil he is exercising my bodi with weaknes, and sicknes, and pain, he blesses with an ofspring, brings saf throgh childbirth, and comforts me in this. Therfor I ador, and bles his name. My bodili infirmiti continud. Let him bor my ear that I may heare.

I heard of the miserabl and troublsom lyf which Burgi[b] had with captions, and the lyk, and aknowledgd the Lord in it. . . . I heard that Newtoun Gordon [died] efter drink and intemperanc; and in this I aknowledgd the Lord.

I heard the Bishop's wyf was greatli afflicted with a moul or fals conception, or els, if a true conception, it was extraordinarie. I desird to exercis compassion toward thes that ar in distres, and to be learnd by this hand of God.

4.—My grandchild, Cathrin Brodie, was baptizd, and Francis his son Alr. I was exercisd in som measur befor the Lord for them, that the Lord would bless the infants, and sanctifi that ordinanc of baptism to them for cleansing from sin, and for working faith in due tym, that they be not dead, but livli members of that bodi in which they ar now ingrafted.

27.—I was detaind under sicknes and infirmities all thir days past, having, besid my pain off the gravell in my neers[c] and loins, contracted a great distemper and debiliti in my stomach, being not abl to retain nourishment, nor to tak it, nor yet could want, for I had a gnawing at the stomach.

[a] Lippened,—trusted, expected.

[b] Robert Dunbar of Burgie, who was served heir to his father Robert, November 20, 1640. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 75.)

[c] Neers, the kidneys.

On the 23, Innes and Kilraok cam heir al night from the west: on the 26, Calder and Park.

Mr. Wm. Falconer was involvd in this matter of the teind. I saw in him both something to be pitied, something to be commended, and plac and relation to me to be reverenced.

I did reaceave word from ———,[a] at London, betwix our statesmen: That La[ll.] had impeachd Midl. of treason; and ———[a] under this I was greatly affected, and wonder'd, considering what the Lord would bring forth out of it for his glorie, his churche's good, and comfort off his poor ———.[a] I worshiped, and lookd upward, desird to beleiv, and be establishd in the persuasion off this, that surely Sion's God livs, and [that] ther is a God that ruls the earth, who can bring doun the hauti and the proud, and lay even to the ground. . . . Ther is a conjunction off all power and councel in 3 kingdoms to mantain and keip up this man. He took insolent and proud courses: shall not God be observd, if he tak him in his oun counsels?

Iff the Lord give health and restor, alas! I litl know how to mak use of it or improv it, nor know I for what end it is for. Oh Lord teach me effectualli! It is not to build, plant, eat, drink, acquir land, &c., but to honour Him and to doe good, and to glorifi Him, and to giv up my lyf to Him. Oh! soe oft as this is formalli and verballi don, albeit not realli and effectualli. Oh! hear the oft repeated prayer of my hart, that afflictions may be sanctified to me and deliverances, and that I may be by them, throgh His grac, fitted for that which I am restored for.

My cousen Francis went yesterday, 26, to the Ladi Gord[stn.], to ask her opinion of my diseas.

27.—The E. of Marr cam heer, and his Ladie, and young Pluscarden,[b] and Seaforth's brother, and did visit me; and the next day, being the 28, cam the Ladi Cromartie. I did observ that woman's sicknes, and simpathizd with her as I could. I could not but tak it as an token for wrath to that yong man, if the Lord should remoue her by death, as he is threatning.

Innes writt to me anent Gilbert Innes son to be schoolmaster.

March 2.—Mr. H. Forbes told me the exceptions he had taken at me for

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] This was Thomas M'Kenzie of Pluscarden, not the brother-german, (according to the Peerage,) but the nephew of George, Earl of Seaforth. He died previous to May 6, 1687, at which date his son Colin was served his heir. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 151.)

som sharp words he said I had spoken of him. I saw in this how vain creaturs men ar, ther lov soon lost. We ar soon changd.

I heard that som of the Articls given in against the E. of Midlton wer consenting to acts without the King's approbation, and the money which he took to himself of the old rests. Men knew not to what this would turn.

4.—Mr. Hari spok with me anent the darknes we ar under, the mani great misteries in religion, and how litl they ar knowen.

Calder, and Park, and others cam heer about ther effairs; and my sister-in-law, the Ladi Westfield;[a] and I perceavd that the Lord by affliction had don her good. I bless his nam for it. She told me how weil Mr. Alexr. Stewart preachd; and I desird to aknowledg the Lord and be instructed in it, that the Lord givs gifts to such men to profi this Kirk by, and refuses it to mani better.

9.—The Bishop and L. Duffus did visit me. My hart did chaleng me for over great familiariti with the Bishop, and assentation, albeit a ciuil conversation be allou'd. Lord! rid me of snars.

I heard that the buisines betwix Latherdaill and Midlton was lyk to setl by the King's interposing; that Latherdaill remaind in favour; that the hous of Commons wer against toleration of papists. The King had emitted a litl explanation of his declaration anent papists. I desird to be instructed by al thes things, and to aknouledg the Lord, and to committ to his wisdom the ordouring what concerns his church, peopl, enterest, or my self.

10.—I found in the forenoon som health; but with eating fish, or inordinat travel, I was distemperd, and disabld from anie servic to God. The Ladi Westfeild cam heer to visit us.

13.—Kilrack cam heir, and his Ladi, to visit me. I desird to retain and keip a firm friendship with him in sinceritie. But ther is nothing human that is firm; and corruption hinders and blinds, yet the Lord knows how to bring forth good out of it.

15.—Die Dom. I was this night past exercisd with a new fitt of the gravel, which continud som hours. Therefter the Lord gav me som eas. I did in this see my frailti, and how uncertain my lyf and health is.

[a] The wife of Robert Dunbar of Westfield, the son of Thomas Dunbar of Westfield, who had married Brodie's mother, and who died previous to January 1, 1654. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 96.)

17.—This night Cromarti cam to me. He said Midlton was intertaind by the King weil.

19.—I heard that Mr. Stewart[a] was presented to be Dean, in plac of Mr. Hari Forbes, and this by Grang and Both:[b] Mr. Wm. Sanders to be minister of Narn. Shal I not mourn under this, and be affected?

20.—I was this day under much bodili weaknes and infirmitie. I had apprehensions that my sicknes was not at an end.

My Son went east to ordour the vessells and victual.

23.—My brother cam hom yesternight, and this day Geo. Thomson. I heard that my good L. Cassills had bein veri sick, and at the dor of death; soe that he is not fre in thes tyms from common trials: And that Cesnock his Ladie was removd: That Mr. Huchon [Hutcheson], Douglas, and others, wer drawing themselves to corners. I ador the Lord in al this, and desir to be exercisd dulie in all that which befals the Kirk of God, and mani of His children.

24.—I repaid Geo. Dumbar in Brichtmani[c] the annual[t]. that I took from him.

25.—This night I past the greatest gravel ston that ever I past. It was to me matter of wonder, and matter of thanksgiving and fear. 1. I saw the Lord neided not anie outward instrument, sword, or staff, or hand of man to kil, or tak away our lyfe. He has, and can form weapons within our bowels, wherwith to tak away this lyf of ours a thousand ways. Shall we not fear Him, from whom ther is noe flying, noe phisick or medicin can hinder? 2. We neid not onli to seik daylie bread, but appetit to mak use of it, His blessing to nourish us by it, and, which is more, that quhen we mak use of it, it may not turn to be death to us, for it has death in it, even the morsells that we eat, which descends into our bellie. 3. This teaches me, if I could, to feed with fear. 4. By this I see what I am liabl unto. Lord! my tyms ar in Thy hands. 5. To liv from moment to moment in a dependanc on God, His soveranitie, power, and wisdom, and His compassion, lov, and piti. He knows my fram. 6. I see somthing of my inward condition, that oft turns my spiritual nourishment to my hurt. I know not my oun fram, nor the Lord's working, nor what I am reservd

[a] Alexander Stewart, minister of Alves from 1661 till his death in 1675.

[b] Dunbar of Bothe.

[c] Or Brichtmonie in Auldearn.

for. Oh! let him fitt me, that I be found of Him in peac, and al thes things may be turnd to my good throgh Jesus Christ.

27.—I was in som bodili distemper this day, occasioned, as I suppos, throgh som painstaking in delving a litl. So frail a worm am I. . . .

28.—We did adviz what resolution to tak anent my uncl Francis' particular with the E. of Murray. . . .

And afternoon we met with Pluscarden and Lethin; in which I exprest my recentment of his malic against me and my freinds. I was jealous of my oun passion and heat, alac! much flesh, and of a carnal mind. Lord! subdue it. I was willing to be at peac with him; and, if he would repent, to forgiv him; but that appeird not. He was, by the persuasion of Grang and others, induced to com to me, and professd som kindnes. But I said to him, ani kindness from him or his to me or myn was al to com yet; which did irritat him. I desird to reverenc the Lord's providenc in disappointing me, qhuil I am so desirous of peac with that man and his freinds, and ever mor miss it. What my infirmiti or imprudenc is let the Lord pardon, and turn this man's malic to good.

29.—Die Dom. . . . I heard that Midlton had bein sick, and tied to his chamber; and ther had been much adoe about the letter for delaying the King's proclamation. . . . Cromarti writ that the fynes would go on. "Let the Lord do whatever seims good to him."

31.—I did goe to visit my daughter and her children at Granghill, and desird to rejoic in the Lord and His goodnes, which had made me see so mani yong ones ishud out of my loins. My soul desird to bless them, and let the Lord himself bless them, and be ther portion!

Apr. 1.—Yesterday, Windihil's sone, James, was born, and baptizd.

I heard that Pluscarden and Lethin had not agreid; and he was veric stormie, and demanded allocation of his part of the band, which Lethin gav for the exempted cess. I saw his malic and prejudic, and that ———.[a] I desird to aknowledg the Lord in this, and to trust in him that he will keip from ther violenc, ceas ther envi, or turn it to our good.

2.—I did consider the differanc betwix Pluscarden and Leathin, and for several considerations advizd him to mak peace, and to suffer wrong.

3.—Park and Leathin wer with me, and we did see much of God's hand on the yong man Calder, and his effairs.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

6.—This day, David Hay, the E. of M. his servant died, to the great regret and greif of thes that knew him.

10.—They told me that the witches wer slipd away and gon. I desire to be guided into the right consideration of this, and to know what the Lord cald me to: whither to let them pass, or to pursue and search for them. The cours of law seims to be stopd for obtaining justic against them. Let the Lord teach. Efter som solicitud and pains they wer taken again; wherin I reuerenc the prouidenc of God; and albeit ther be not that zeal in them as [to] this wickednes, yet I hold it my duti to put it to His dore, and leau it on Him, if they absolu and find noe caus of death.

I remit it to the Lord's wisdom, and beleev in his nam that he will not imput impuniti of such evels to me or myn; nay, nor let it be chargd on the land.

I went up this night to Leathin to visit them; quhair we had som satisfaction in one another, but not without some superfluiti of unseasoned mirth. Let not the Lord imput it to us.

11.—I did visit the Lard of Moynes[a] in my return, and saw in him how easie it is with the Lord to mak our oun mind and imaginations to be a burthen unsupportable, and by that mean to bring us to death. I desir to ador and worship the Lord.

I heard that Nairn was in danger to be quitt lost by the sand, and by the water; and this to me was matter of consideration.

13.—I heard Mr. Hari would tak the oath and undergo the Deanri. I desird to consider and be instructed.

14.—This day, the L. Duffus his daughter was baptizd. Cromarti went by, as they say; but I saw him not. My hart was purposing to goe to the Bishop and end his effairs, but was suspicious of obstructions from men that did bear litl good will to him.

16.—My son went to Elgin, and found impediments in setling with the Bishop. I desird to reverenc the Lord's wisdom and providenc, and that I may be directed in an even path.

18.—This was a meiting of the Commissioners for the witches: Moortoun declind: so did Park this day. They becam obstinat, and denied all that they

[a] John Dunbar of Moynes, who died previous to March 26, 1664, at which date his grandson, Alexander Dunbar, was served his heir. (Inquis. Retor. General, no. 4768.)

had confessd. I was in great darkness anent the matter, being desirous that sin might be discouerd and punishd on the one part; ther denial, difficulti of prouing, and the restriction of the commission, on the other part, straitning. I again and again beseech the Lord to mak truth appear, and bring it forth to victori; to guid the Judges, and to giu them understanding; to guid us, that we be not blinded with carnal passion or prejudic, or mistak; to open the harts and mouths of thes poor wretches; and to ordour this matter to his glori. It troubld me that ani constraint should hau bein usd to them; that they should hau bein beaten. My piti neids to be guided, and my fear, and my zeal.

Calder cam to me from Darnway, this efternoon. He told me that the E. of M. did not tak weil the pointing at things which concernd himself. He was jealous of me. Lord! thou knows my hart in this. I spok with Calder on his own effairs, but could see noe ishue, nor ani vestige of the Lord's mind or countenanc shining, all ways and overtours for him and his good stopped, and noe possibilitie of doing ani thing for him. I hav som kindnes and tendernes to him; but, 1. knows not the Lord's mind. 2. Discouradgments ar mani; the E. of M. jealous and emulous, and wresting all my actions. 3. The yong man becom valetudinari and sickli. 4. Fear of plunging myself and my famili in trouble.

23.—I kept at Forres anent the witches, and desird to hau my soul exercisd befor the Lord for ordouring that matter, and going befor us, giuing light and understanding, opening the way and guiding us in it; that he may be glorified, Sathan and his kingdom born down, and wickednes punishd. This is a work of darknes. The Lord did ther discouer a litl mor clearnes in the Commission. For the encouradgment of thes imployd, I thoght fit one should be directed to the Bishop to communicat with him, and to get his aduic. Let not this turn to be a snar to us. Grang his absenc whether voluntari or of necessiti (I knew not), but it hinderd. I desir to be freed of carnal passion, that may blind the mind or precipitat. Oh! purifi the affections. I spok with Jhon Lang anent my old buisines with the town of Forres.

Mr. Rob. Dunbar cam hom with me. I heard that the Bishop, Michel[a]

[a] David Mitchell, D.D., formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen, 1st June, 1662, but died within twelve months.

of Aberdeen, was Arminian ; that he had injoyned priuat baptism and communion, and spok something of the necessiti of baptism ; that the Bishop of M[urray] had drawen al the peopl to kneel at the communion. Thus does corruption insensibili creip in, and will ouerspread, if the Lord prevent not.

24.—I resolvd, partli for health, and partli for the buisines of my calling, to goe eastward, and was al night in Kinloss. I found the Ladi Moortoun's diseas and myn had the sam symptoms and effects. I had bodili infirmiti, which, as a new warning, seimd to mind me of my frailtie, and that my dissolution was approaching. Oh ! that I may found watching and doing Thy will.

25.—After a meiting with Geo. D[unbar] of Struthers, I went to Monaghtie, and returnd hom at night. The day was cold, and I cam in by Granghil and saw the children, and rejoiced in the goodnes of God that had given me to see them ; and let the Lord bless them. Mani things did I meit with on evri hand, which might wean me from the world, and the lov of it. Oh ! that I could attain unto wisdom. Jarrings among freinds, with neighbour, domestick, publick discountenanc, breaking in of corruption in the worship of God, and the manners and actions of men.

25.—I heard that the Bishop had ministred the communion kneiling, and that the peopl had gon alongst with him. I considered how great things that man did bring to pass by ———.[a]

26.—Die Dom. The minister this day said, Mani for ther own entrest would adorn the Kirk to accomodat themselvs, and neglected the mor weighti things of the templ which concerned God and his glorie. We ar apt to be mor zealous for our our oun things then for His.

29.—This day, we wer cald to Forres anent the witches. Moortoun was so scrupolous that he would scarc meit, but resolvd not to vote. Again, I desird grac from the Lord for my oun, and my son's direction, that in this we may not doe our oun work, nor follow ani base passion or blind zeal of our oun spirits. 2. That thes may be guided which ar appointed to judg. 3. And God may vouchsaf merci to the poor wretches, to open ther eys and ther mouths, and get himself glori in them. He may direct the whole matter in his wisdom and merci, for his glori and the bearing doun of wickednes.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

That witnesses, syz [assize], and parties may be guided. And I cast all over on his Majestie.

Ther was litl don, because ther was not a quorum of the commissioners. Moortoun declind, euen efter he promisd; which mad our meiting uneffectual. I desird to consider this, and to reuerenc the Lord's prouidenc, and yet depends on him for further counsel, and committs the ordouring of this matter to God.

May 1.—This day was appointed for trial of the witches. We had met with other impediments hitherto: what we may meit with, or what may fal out this day, we know not; but desirs to committ ourselves, euen our minds and spirits to God, and the ishue and ordouring of that which we ar about, that it may be to His glori, the bearing doun of sin, terrour of others, and the comfort of thes that ar imployed in it: And the Lord did accordinglie giue som ishue. The poor creaturs wer found guilti, and condemned to die. The witneses agreid clearli and fullie: but Sathan hardnd them to denie. Let the Lord ouercom ther obdurednes in His due tym. Grang was not clear; albeit he consented to the asiz, yet he was avers from the sentenc of death. I desird to be touchd with som human affection towards thes wretched creatures, and bewail their sin and miserie. But I can not win to thoghts of God and His holiness, suitabl to Him, nor of eterniti and His justic and righteousnes. Oh that God would open and enlarg the hart! They did recommend it to the B[ailie] of Forres to tak car of the prisoners, and prouid for the execution; which did soe irritat, that ther was noe peace. I desird not to be lookd on as the pursuer of thes poor creaturs, and therfor left it on them. Let the Lord guid my spirit in what remains. Park cam hom with me, and noe importuniti could stay him al night.

2.—I sent to Mr. Hari to com and wait on the witches; to see if God would open ther hart to giv God glori, and confess ther sins. I mentiond them to God as I could, and puts this, and al my burthens ouer on Him; for the work is His. Oh that He would appear for the glori of His oun nam!

4.—In the efternoon, Isobel Elder and Isabel Simson wer burnt at Forres: died obstinat; and the Lord seims to shut the dor, so that that wickednes should not be discouerd nor expeld out of the land. Oh! let the Lord glorifi himself, bring doun this kingdom of Sathan, and deliuer us.

We did meit also upon Terie's compts. The goodwyf of Teri said that Tarbet told her befor the Bishop of M. that we should releev him of that debt, and giv band for it to Cromartie.

8.—I heard that Leys Burnet[a] was dead; and in that saw that youth, strenth, vigour, could not preserv from death.

11.—I heard that Mr. Cant[b] was gon to his rest. Thes "ar taken away from the euel to com." I thank the Lord that he has died in peac. Albeit it is our duti to lay it to hart, and to consider. Ther ar non to fil up thes wast places. What will the end of this be?

14.—I dind with Granghil, and had som smal trial off provocation by Tho. Tulloch's indiscretion; but the Lord prevented me, and helpd me against my natural infirmitie.

16.—Contoun[c] dind with me, and Cobin[d]: ther discours was savourless. I heard that ther was som tumult in Kirkubrigh, and other places of the West,[e] about the entri of ministers into the places of thos who wer deposd.

18.—Calder cam heir; and I heard from him the contest which fell out betwix his men and Canadg, and saw the Lord humbling him.

Cromarti cam heir at night on his way to the Parliament, and was verie forward to his journey. He did see how liabl to channges human greatnes is. 2. How necessari it is for men in al conditions, under prosperitie, under the applaus of men, opinion of gifts and abilities, to be sober and lowlie. I did see the truth of this: "That he who walks uprightli walks surlie."

Calder did expres his condition, how desperat it was, if I should not (alon) undertak all his burthen for him. This is hard; and I was in darknes, and knew not what to doe; but desirs to depend on God for light and for direction.

19.—My Son, with Cromarti, went to Elgin, to end with the Bishop; which, efter som debat, did tak effect. I heard the Bishop had hard impressions of me, upon reports. I desird to know how far I oght to cleir myself, and quhen to be still. I writ the day befor to the L. of Innes, considering that it was the will of God that I should bear injuries, be readie to forgive, seik peac with all men. I did therfor, in the faith of the Lord's

[a] Sir Alexander Burnet of Leys, Bart. See p. 122, note [d]

[b] Mr. Andrew Cant, formerly one of the ministers of Aberdeen.

[c] Mackenzie of Contin.

[d] Walter Kinnaird of Culbin.

[e] See Wodrow's History, vol. i. pp. 363–369.)

comand and approbation, writt to Innes, that all our differs might be buried, &c.; but I did reaceav no answer. Onli I heard how he stormed; and albeit he had don to me as it seemd good to him, yet he ceasd not to speak of me and my freinds what he thoght fitt, chargd us with unthankfulness, and such things as the judgment of God could not but com upon us.

20.—I went to Kined., quhair my Son did meit me at night late.

21.—I cam in by Duffus, and did the day befor meit Pluscarden,[a] and considerd that it was the Lord's will that I should seik and manteine peac with al men, thogh my enemies. . . . I had long conferenc with my L. Duffus anent ———.[b] How readi we ar to transgress and pas words, and one man is as a wolf to another. I did see the Ladi Westfeild, my good sister. She did complain of ———.[b] I desird to be inlargd toward thes ———.[b] Oh for the grac of sinceriti! I returnd at night, and did see in thes poor men of Mon. how earnestli they contend for seats. Oh! if prid be not natural and deeplie rooted in the harts of men, even the poor in ther degree, as weil as the rich.

I heard Mr. James Urquhart was deposd, and Mr. Wm. Falconer appointed to intimat it; and desir to consider this.

22.—Mr. Ja. Stewart eam to see me. I did find him apt to be caried away with self confidenc and sufficiencie. I did exhort, admonish, and warn him, as God gav me utteranc and assistanc, and withall did recommend and adviz him to setl the school of Dyk; onli to mak way with the E. of Murry that he may asist him.

Let not this be found a snar to me, even my hastines, for I should hav ponderd it better and enquird.

24.—Die Dom. I found Mr. Will. having som tendernes in his supplications. [Text] on the words, "Stiff necked and uncircumcizd in hart, ye hav always resisted the Holi Ghost," &c.

25.—Moortoun cam to me, and I spok to him anent the L. of Innes, and his not answering my letter. He said, that Innes said, that he behoovd to know what the wrongs wer he had don to me. Next, I had spoken contemptuousli to him, and that I alloud him noe enterest in my Son, or what

[a] Thomas M'Kenzie of Pluscardine, third son of Kenneth M'Kenzie, first lord of Kintail, and brother of George, second Earl of Seaforth. His son, of the same name, whom Wood, in his Genealogy of the Family, has omitted (see under M'Kenzie, Earl of Seaforth) is referred to p. 289.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

concerns him. I said, I would not retain ani quarels against him, what ever he had don to me. I was willing, thogh he did fault, to tak it on my self, and to mak the mends. Therfor had writen to him, albeit he ———.[a]

26.—I kept a meiting betwix Calder and Canadg, and returnd late. . . . I spok to the E. of M. anent thes things betwix him and me, and anent Calder. I desird to hav and retain peac with him, and al men, soe farr as is possible. . . .

He insisted anent Tarbet, but I declind. I perceavd much of Calder's ———,[a] his perplexiti anent his effairs. I desird to sympathise with him, and to see and observ the Lord's hand: quhen He leavs to sin, judgment is on the back of it.

29.—This is the anniversari of the King's Return; and albeit a civil remembranc of it, and with thankfulnes, be lawful, yet the day is noe way differing from other days.

I besoght the Lord to teach both King and peopl how to express thankfulnes to God aright, and acceptablie: the King by ruling for the Lord, and consecrating himself, soul, bodi, and gouernment to the Lord, to be his, and for Him, al his days: and the rulers under him, in lyk manner, and the peopl by a throgh reformation of thes euels for which the wrath of God has bein kindld against them and the King; and not to mock God, and think that ther carnal, profan mirth, loosnes, drunkennes, and inordinatnes, is an acceptabl way of thankfulnes to God for ani merci or deliueranc.

I commund long with the Englishman, Mr. Parsons, anent the selling to him my oak wood, and Calder's. Oh! for a clean hart, and an upright, free of guile and couetousnes, in my common effaires and buisiness.

30.— . . , We observd the prevalencie of an euel spirit of dissention, envi, discord, and hatred up and doun the land, and this soe rife that noe plac or societie is free of it. Sathan laten loos, and this seems to be a forrunner of euel. Euen parents and children, brother and brother, neighbour and neighbour: such a great decay of loue, as we ar almost as feirce wild beasts leten out upon one another. This is to be lamented and mournd over, that the Lord may be entreated to turn away His wrath.

Jun 1.—I was a litl incensd against D. Lie, becaus he said that the bu[y]ing my wood had hinderd the E. of Murray ———.[a]

[a] Short-hand in MS.

I am readi to be transported and carried away with self lov, reveng, anger, recentment of wrongs. I see how much corruption is in my nature, and how soon it breaks out. I desir to be humbld under it.

5.—I did meit betwix Granghill and his mother-in-law, and in that matter observd that my spirit might be and was unruli, and soon kindld with too much earnestnes.

6.—I heard from the E. of Muray that Rothes[a] was Comissioner, and the Parliament was adjournd to the 18 day. He was much joyd with it.

I perceaud this Parliament is lyk to hav much fire and contentions, heat and passion in it. This I desir to mention befor God, and to pray that he would extinguish it, and quench the sinful passions of men, and if not, turn ther sin and wrath unto his prais. Ther ar men seiking, I hear, to mak friends with the chaunges, euen corrupt men, that for ther ends wil seru al tyms, parties, factions and designs, thogh neuer so unjust and wild, or neuer so contrari one to another. Ther ar mani base and wild men, unrighteous, bribing, fals and profan. Let God glorifi himself in discovering and bringing doun, if I may ask this without carnal passion and sinister ends, and mak wickednes manifest and ashamd, that we may see good in the land yet. I aprehend, that albeit the violent may outshut himself, yet the craftie and doubl minded may escap, and God cannot reach them. Lord! correct thes thoghts, and help me to submission, and patienc, and sobernes, to wait for Thee, and to remitt the ordouring of thes things to Thy infinit wisdom and soveraintie. Thou wilt be knouen to be God; and they shal know it.

I heard Sir Jhon Fletcher was remoud from his place;[b] and I desird to consider this, and aknouledg God. Ther is a God that rules the world.

7.—Die Dom. I read Jer. 17, anent sanctifying the Saboth, and that it did not consist or stand in ceasing from labour, but from sin, and our oun thoghts, lusts, and fulfilling our oun will and affections; and the outward rest is but a ceremonie, and does signifie the other. For this sin the Lord kindld a fire in the ports of Jerusalem, which did consume and burn up the inhabitants; and oh! such fire is kindld among us.

[a] John, Earl, afterwards Duke of Rothes.

[b] Reports were current at this time that Sir John Fletcher, King's Advocate, was to be deprived of his office; but he held it till towards the close of the year 1664, when he found it necessary to resign. (Row's Life of Robert Blair, pp. 438, 462, 469; and Wodrow's History, vol. i., p. 418.)

The E. of Murray spok with me efter sermon; and efter he had told me what was doing in the publick, I told him I wished they might look to the hous of Huntlie, and that euri man might hau ther oun. He prest me anent Tarbet. I told him he knew I would not be base: but he might trie it out another way, for he had neuer deserud it at my hands, or wrought for ani, nor did I euer giv him moneye. He knew who was in most familiariti with him, for I was not on his secret. We spok of persons that would tak up ground with thes if they could, and yet wer forward at the last bait. He said, such would get noe trust. I exprest my willingnes to serv the E. of Murray; and if ani thing occurd concerning me or my friends I desird he may shew himself friendlie. He said, he should not be against me or doe us hurt; but if I pleasd to com over I should se what he should doe or say in ani thing I desird him. . . . I desir to be staid on God. The session enquird anent the augmenting of penalties on fornication, wheranent I was not cleer; for sin is not restraind or bridld with thes pecunial punishments; yet they should not goe without such punishments. 2. They ar alreadi a poor beggarli people, and I thought it made them miserabl but not reform. 3. It wer good that spirituall remedies wer applied mor. 4. They had noe power. 5. They did resolv to tak som uniform way through the congregations. But alac! so much as sin abounds.

They named Mr. Ja. Steuart to be schoolmaster, and apointed him to be sent for.

I read Jer. 18. The similitud of the potter and clay, and how absolutli kingdoms and persons ar in His hand to lift up from the lowest condition even of a dungeon, and bring low the highest and thos that seim to be surest rooted and fast in power. Doe I not see this at this tyme? Ar not great men in His hand "as clay in the hand of the potter," to marr or mak of it whatever seims good to him? Can they fenc against His hand quhen He would "pluck up or pul down?" Can ani condition be so desperat as that He cannot deliver out of it, and lift up? Oh! for the faith of this, that I may learn humblnes and sobrietie.

10.—I heard that thes of Erlmil wer raising disturbanc anent the marches. I see that I cannot look to have much or long peace in the world. The Lord raises up exercis to me, as it seems good to Him, that I may not look for rest heir.

I did efternoon meit with Geo. Dunbar in Francis his business, and

heard that the L. of Mortoun had boght Struthers and the rest of that land. I desir to reverenc the Lord's providenc, and to be helped from envie or fretting at the prosperitie of ani, especialli of a good mane; albeit I heard lykways of unkyndlie expressions which he had of us.

11.—My brother took journey to Edinburgh. My neec, the Ladi Park,[a] was brought to bed of her daughter, Henreta Hay. I was witnes; but alac! so barren and dull, unsavourie and loos as this hart was, giving way to carnal unseasoned mirth, and herein taking mor liberti than I ought.

12.—I was sent for to see my little grandchild, Robert Dunbar, die. I found him sick neir unto death. I desird to be instructed by the hand of God on me and my seed. I desird to reverenc and ador God in it.

Calder took journey south. I observd a great defect of men, active, useful men, or men of goodness in that familie; and this, with other things, portends evel. Let the Lord turn it away. I warned him to desir Lorn and E. Murray, in the maiter of ———,[b] mak use of me; albeit I could rever the Lord's providenc in discovering and punishing ther wickednes. The state of the land as yet seimd dark, and ther appeard small light or hope of an ishue.

13.—I heard that Calder's lands wer troubled with soldiers. Thus one efter another does troubl and affliction follow him. Let me be instructed. I knew not what to advis in it, albeit I was sufficientlie persuaded that he sufferd wrongouslie; onli I commit this cac to God, that he may look to this oppression and violenc which the poor land is liabl unto.

14.—Die Dom. I found manie and divers warnings in my bodie of infirmiti, and beginings of pain and gravell, in soc much as I did apprehend that that sicknes and diseas would some tym or other bring me to my last. I desird to welcom the Lord's hand, and wil, whatever it be, and to reverenc His infinit and unsearchabl wisdom and righteousnes; onli correct not, nor tak me away, in Thy wrath; mak me meit and fit for Thee and Thy kingdom, that I may enjoy Thee and Thy presenc, quhen sin and miserie is ended; and if this be the gate and passage which I must enter in at, Thy will be done, and inlarg my hart to bless Thee. By mani small croces in my ———,[b] blasting and breaking al my carnal confidences, hopes, comforts, the Lord is drawing me to Himself, to plac my hart on Him alon. Oh! that He may

[a] The wife of Hay of Park.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

prevail with and overcom a poor creatur that desirs to be His captiv, and to know Him alone, and to be brought to Him.

I was readi to envi thos that prosperd in the world, that had weil drest houses, and weil ordourd domestick affairs, livd in pleasur, and yet in plenti, had gardens, servants, and al ther mind, and gifts of projecting and bringing ther enterprises to pass, was in noe man's reverenc for ———.[a] Oh! I desird to be ashamd of these thoghts. 1. I hav caus enogh in outward respects to be content with my lot, but much mor in regard of the will of God. Few ar compast with so much of outward accomodation and comforts as I am; and if I want ani thing it needs not troubl, for I have besid[b] that which may suffis. . . .

Marg[t]. Paterson cam to me. I was loth to be with her in secret, for ———.[a]

. . . The Lord restord the littl children to som health, and I desird in the senc of this merci to bless the Lord; and now to be duli affected with the estate of the kirk of God. Oh what peril! and how few see it or lay it to hart!

15.—The goodwyf of Birdyards[c] came to me, and at her desir I writ to Bogs[d] anent ther differs.

I heard that ther was appearanc of war betwixt Holland and England; and that the Hollanders had cast off the Prince of Orange. I desird to ador God in all his providences, and to give him the glori of his soverainti, wisdom, and righteousnes, for they ar infinit and everlasting.

The L. of Moortoun cam heer in his passing to Inverness. I found that particular of the paying the anual[ts], which I payed for him, did beget som distance.

16.—I went to Findorn to see som timber, quhair I did tak som libertie. Let not the Lord impute it to me.

17.—I went to Forres in a meiting with the Sheriff's friends. Oh for an honest and upright hart in seiking his good, and in walking evenli with them befor God! for I had selfish ends of retaining ther goodwil and friendship mixd with my aims to do them good. I did see the provost Thornhill. My

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Besid,—over and above.

[c] The wife of John Urquhart of Burisyeards. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin &c., no. 135.

[d] Robert Dunbar of Boigis, who was served heir to his father, James Dunbar of Boigis, August 31, 1653. (Inquis. General., no. 3837.)

son having spok to him formerlie anent ———.[a] Oh the universal corruption and depravedness of men! I desir to mourn under it.

The Ladi Leathin, having come heer the last night, interposd anent som domestick jars and differs betwixt my ———.[a] I desird to see the Lord humbling and exercising me and the famili by jars, and by the sinful humours, passions, and affections which prevail among us. We are in danger to be broken and dashed in pieces.

19.—This day ther was a commission sent me by my daughter in law with the Ladi Leathin, quherby she shew[ed] that shee could not stay in the hous if she wer straitnd in her servants, and said I would be made to furnish her a hons, and would meddle with nothing of the ———,[a] and that her husband and shee had an unquiet life with me, and they could not bear it longer. I was much affected with this, and returned this answer, that shee and her children and servants wer welcom to me, and had been hitherto, and should be, soe long as she should tak ani contentment in it. But iff that her humours and passions wer such as shee could not agree with such a condition of lyf as we had, I did remit it to her to dispos of her self as seimd good to her. And for a hous, if I would be made to prouid one to her, quhen I were put to it I should give my own answeare.

20.—Granghil cam hom with me, and advisd with me in his differs with the E. of Murray.

I writ to Edinburgh by yong Cantra, and desird that they might not fal on Tarbet.

On the 18 day James Buchan and his son [were] drouned at the Monkspier. I desir to ador the Lord in his judgments, and to be instructed by that providence.

21.—Die Dom. I did cal for Mr. Ja. Stewart, and conferd with him anent his own conditions, and found in him that a good natur may be quhair ther is littl ———.[a] Let the Lord bring him neir.

I heard from Calder that the L. Wariston[b] was executed. . . . His judgments ar a great deep, therfor I desir to search, and to be made to understand what the Lord is about, what he calls us to by thes his providences. . . . I desir to be kept from stumbling, albeit thes things fall out. . . . That God would

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun, was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, 22nd July, 1663.

sanctifie thes things to His church and the land. . . . And sanctifi thes things to me, which, in this and in other things, does befal me.

23.—Mr. Hari Forbes was with me this day. We wer observing something of the Lord's ways, his soverainti, wisdom, unsearchablnes of his ways, and that "His judgments wer a great deep, past finding out."

25.—I did befor yong Leathin, and Francis, and his son, enquire at my son, if the proposition made by his wyf for removing out of my familie did proceed from her self or from him. He told me that she had preuented him, but that he had befor determind to speak of it to me, and if I would consent he would be content; so that I did tak them to witnes, that it flowed not from me, for I desird to retain them, and to applie myself to ani thing that might pleas them; and if my reproofs offended, I should spar them, and they should get noe mor of my reproofs than they pleasd. And, next, I protested to be fre of ani inconvenienc that should fall out upon it. I declared that whatever pretext he made, yet it wes ther leuiti, unwillingnes to be straitnd or restraind in ther liberti, and that they might liv as they list, which put them on this motion, and ther wearying of me, my compani, and familie; and that ther great distres would not be curd till they wer quitt off me, as weil as the old woman; and then they would hav that which they cannot get now, a good lif free of all cumber. But sinc it was his choice and his wyf's, I did yeeld to it, and laid my estat befor them, choos what thereof they pleasd.

I desird to be afflicted under this prouidenc of God. 1. That our corruption should separat the neirest persons: want of mortification, and our self lov and self pleasing, deprivs us of our comfort, and the comfort of one another. 2. That I hav nourishd and broght up children, and now quhen infirmitie and age is creiping on upon me, as it is upon my poor aged mother, yet I am abandond of them. They cannot hav peac or contentment iff they liv with me; albeit I hav noe mor children to car for, but him and his, and haue not an interest but thers, noe one earthlie end or project but ther welfare, yet I cannot enjoy them.

27.—I went to Monaghtie, and compted with thes tennents, and observd pouerti creiping in upon them. I desird to remark, and be instructed by the judgments of God.

I visited Mr. Joseph's wyf,[a] and saw her distemper, and desird to sympathis with her. Mr. Ja. Urq[t], in the exampl of her and Warriston, said a child of God might die under a cloud. I had still som hope in God for a merciful ishu to that poor woman.

. . . I heard that all the Parliament had taken the Oath of Abjuration except Crafurd and Coupar.[b] This was written him by Innes. That Tweddal was an assessor to the commissioner.

28.—Die Dom. I went to Aldearn, and heard Mr. Harrie, on Ps. 51, 7, "Wash me throghli, and I shall be clean; cleans me, and I shal be whiter then the snow." He prayd for that congregation. . . . I observd the decay of religion as generalli, soe particularli in this place, and desird to mourn under it.

I heard that Tarbet was offering to dimitt his plac, and this was an occasion of som thoghts to ———.[c]

29.—I writ to Latherdaill and others. I had som reluctancie in writing to the Bishop of St. Androes, yet I was helpd without flatterie to writ.

Mr. Veich cam heir. My soul joind with him in prayer. The Lord doe him good, and them good to quhom he is sent.

I heard that Warriston was yet living;[d] his reason had faild, not his judgment. He took with the complying with the English as his sin; but what he did in the work of reformation in Scotland as his dutie. I heard [that] at Hamburgh he had receavd poison from the Queen of Sweden's doctor, and hardlie recoverd. I heard of his tears, and warning that he must die in Scotland.

I heard of Mr. Andr. Cant, yonger,[e] his inclination to fall in and compli with the Bishops, and that all gouernment was human: That it was lyk to goe hard with Tarbet; and under al this I desird to acknowledg and ador the Lord in his wisdom and righteousness.

My nephew writ to me, ther was much din about an oath which I gav to the English. Lord! thou knows I am frie of this.

[a] Brodie's brother Joseph's first wife, Christian Baillie of Jerviswood, who died soon after this.

[b] John, Earl of Crawfurd, and James Elphinstone, Lord Coupar,

[c] Short-hand in MS.

[d] See note [b] p. 304,

[e] Mr. Andrew Cant, younger, was first minister of Liberton, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and, in 1675, he became Principal of the University.

I heard, Lothean, Crafurd, and others, refusd the Abjuration. I desir to look up to God that it never may repent them of this.

Juli 5.—Die Dom. I had thoughts whether I should draw up a petition to the Parliament, and articles anent my fynn; and becaus it fell in my thoghts on this day, I desird to lay it asid. God is al-sufficient and infinitlie wyse. I cast that burthen ouer on the Lord.

10.—I heard that Mr. Jafrey was fallen into manie errours. . . . He did not own ani minister that kept set tyms for preaching and prayer, nor did he keep set tyms himself, nor did he give thanks efter or befor meat, unless the Spirit moue. The Scriptur is not judg, but the Spirit in us; and the Scripture must be tried by the Spirit, becaus Scriptur is liabl to seueral interpretations: He thoght the quaker the onli tru Christian. I desir to see human frailti in this; how easilie we ar broken; and that we ar not past danger quhen we have escaped the gross polutions of the world and fleshlie lusts. I see God breaking mani poor professours: Besid this man seueral in Aberdeen tending to errour.[a]

This year I went to London Juli, 1661, and returned 21 May, 1662.
The Queen of Bohem died 12 Febr., 1662.
Bishops entered to the Parliament of Scotland, 8 May, 1662.
Queen Cathrin landed, Wed., 14 May, 1662.
The great breaking out of Witches in the parish of Dyk.
My poor nephew, Alex^{r}. Campbell, died, 14 Sept. 1661.
Calder maried L. Henret Stewart.
Kilraok maried Innes' daughter.
D. of York's eldest daughter, Ladie Mari, was born.
The hous of Huntli was restored, 1662.
The Dolphin of Franc and Princ of Spain wer born.
The Duke of Anjou married the King's sister, Ladi Henretta.
Don de Haro, in Spain, beheaded, 1662. King of Spain died.
Sir Hari Vain execut, and Lambert reprivd, Jun., 1662.
Lorn sent down and arraingd, Juli 27, 1662.

[a] Brodie's MS. Diaries between the date, 11th July, 1663, and 3rd January, 1671, are not preserved. The notes that follow occur at the end of the volume 1661–1663.

The fairest summer that has bein seen. We had not ani storm or cold til the 12 of November, 1662

The brue hous of Brodi burnt Sab. morning, 2 November, 1662.

On the 5, my grandchild, Robert Dunbar, was born, and on the 12 of November, was offerd to God in baptism.

I took my long fit of sicknes, which detaind me Januari and Februari, and som pairt of March, 1663.

My grandchild, Cathrin Brodie, and Francis' son, Alexander, was born in one moment, Februari 3, 1663.

Latherdal impeached Midletown of high treason, and gav in his articls to the Scots councel in England, 11 Februari, 1663.

Rumours of war betwixt Pop and Franc. But agreed.

Calder's eldest son born, November 3, 1662, cald John.

Ladi Grant died, Jan., 1663.

Waristoun was taken and broght to the Tour, Jan., 1663.

Kilraok's eldest son baptized 3 Febr., 1663, and born on the 27 of Jan., at Innes.

Rothes was made commissioner in Midltoun's place to the Parliament, June 18, 1663.

King of France poisond, but recoverd.

The great victori of Portugal against Don Jhon win, Apryl, 1663.

Books boght at London, in 1661—

Poetic. Dictionari.
Cornel. Tacitus.
Giccardin's Historie.
Lucan.
Dion's Hist.
Dionis. Hallicarnassus.
Thucidides.
Titus Livius.
Flori Epitome.
Pollibius Hist.
Sir Walter Raleigh.
Alex. Ross his Continuation.
Stradæ Hist. Belg., 2 vols.
The Bible, in 4°.
Heylyn's Geographie.

1671. Januarie 14.—Ther was an storm of wind and rain. I did see the bruitishness of men, and desird to be affected with it; and the abuses at thes peni mariages, and desird to hav it rectified. But I am infected as others ar, and ani thing that maks gain to a tenant, I am redi to compli with it.

16.—This day I did again meit with Grang and Innes, at Forres; but the Lord, in his providence, maid us meit with new impediments by Culloden his absence, and Kilr[s]. [Kilraok's.] . . . I had sharp expostulations with Grang for his deceitful dealing in the bargain.

17.—I heard from Edinburgh how neir the Bishop Leighton and the Nonconformists wer aggreid as to meeting. Lord! ordour it in merci for the good of Thy kirk.

18.—This day the Presbytry met at Dyk for trying Mr. Jhon Falconer. He seimd to hav som measur of knowledg and fitnes. I durst not oppos him, but consented. Let the Lord ordour it in merci to the yong and old, that the generations rising up may be blest in it, and God be honoured.

25.—I heard from Mr. Wm. Ross; and he had mani scruples anent Aldern.

27.—I spok to Mr. Wm. Ros of the presentation, and I find he was not unwilling; but he was kept back by the titl of the digniti; fear that the parish would not giv a cal and concurrenc, nor the Bishop giv a free admission. I durst not press him, but exprest my desir to further him, if he had freedom. . . . I did efternoon speek with Mr. Jhon Falconer, and warnd and exhorted him. Lord! Thou hast the key that opens; Thou baptises with the Holy Ghost.

30.—I did confer with Mr. Wm. Ros anent the presentation to Aldern, and found he might inclin to it, and com ouer al scrupls. But I durst not adviz him to tak the titl and digniti, nor to giv ani oath to the Bishop. Therfor he writ to Grang to sie if that might be dispensd with. . . . I admonishd and reprovd Mr. Willim for what I heard of him, as the Lord gav me utteranc. Oh! I see my frailti and unstedfastnes in him.

Febr. 20.—My son did goe to Penick. I did cal for Mr. Jhon Falconer, at Dyk, and spok to him as the Lord gave me utteranc; enquird if he wer born again, how it stood betwixt God and him, exhorted him to tri his estat, that he beguil not his oun soul. The tyms ar ill; godlines litl regarded;

civiliti is not godlines; he would need som thing els. He said, he had caus to search, and promisd to enter in a mor serious consideration of his estat, and to be mor diligent. He prayd, and departed. Had thoghts of exhorting him to com under personal covenanting with God, and giving up himself to Him.

23.—I reaceavd from Edinburgh that Park was maried.[a] He answerd me veri generalli to what I had wrytten and offerd to him.

26.—Die Dom. I spok a word this night to the children, Cath. and Eliz^t^, and Cath. Dunbar, and enquird at them if they desird to serv a good master, and wer they willing to giv up themselvs, soul and bodie, to God, to tak him to be ther father, ther master, ther God, and to ingadg themselvs to be his children, to doe his wil, that he may serv himself of them qhuilst they lived in the world. They profesd they desird it, and wer willing. I desird them to consider weil of it, that they may never draw back or repent of it. They wer the Lord's alreadi. He had right to them by purchas, by creation, by his providenc, by the covenant of ther baptism, and by the gift that ther parents had mad of them to him. They gav nothing of ther oun to him, but that which was his alreadi and dear boght and payd for. I leave this on Thee, to seal it on ther harts.

28.—I heard a report that Park was under som troubl for marying by an unconform minister. I desird to be affected with ani thing that befel him.

March 6.—I did goe to Penick with my son, and ended som bargains; and therafter went up to Leathin, and met with Calder and our friends anent Marg^t^ Hay and Francis his marriage. Ther wer stops in it. Lord! ordour them to good. But they cam to some close, but with som humour. I was verie earnest to have the conditions moderat, which he gave.

12.—Die Dom. I heard Thornhil[b] died this morning.

22.—I denuded myself of the sheriff's estat this day to himself. I feard inconvenienc becaus it did bear for sumons of money; and I had noe thing but a trust. Let not this be to my hurt or a snar.

26.—Die Dom. I found much corruption, and unsoundnes, darknes. . . . This, and the cace of Aldern and Dyk, was my sor burthen. That the Lord

[a] "Park was married to his second wife, Ladi Redhal, as I heard, 16 Febr. 1671." Note by Brodie at end of the volume.

[b] Francis Forbes of Thornehill. He was succeeded by his son David, who was served his heir February 14, 1673. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 131.)

would shyn in on this dark plac, and breath on thes dead bodies, is one of the great desirs of my hart.

27.—I kept at Forres betwix the children of Thornhil, and did see how carnal affections and self lov blinds and divids the most neer relations. Our meiting did not tak the effect we desired at this tyme.

April 1.—Mr. Jhon M'Culiken was heir, going to Aberdeen, about his sone.

2.—Die Dom. I desir to be affected with the witherd and dri stat of Dyk and Aldern. Oh! does ther fall ani rain upon them?

4.—We did meit at Forres anent the publick matters of the shyr. I was feard for snares, either partialiti or passion; but albeit ther be noe cleannes, I found the Lord preventing me. The E. of M. was aswagd somthing of his fume. It was laid on me to ordour the rolls, and I found injustic in the laying on som parishes (for easing Innes) mor then ther proportion, but it was under pretext that they wer much easd by [a] what they had bein befor. I doubt of my oun consenting to it, the sinfulnes of it; but I am readi to flatter myself as innocent, quhen yet I giv way.

8.—Calder cam heir. He heard of the death of his cousin-german, Mr. Colin Campbel.

I heard of acts preparing in Ingland against Nonconformists. Lord! ouer rul thes acts and lawes.

11.—I was cald to Granghil, to see my grandchild, Mari Dunbar, under heavi sicknes. But I had comfort by her, in seeing som seids of the grac of God in her, beyond her age, or the means she has had. Oh! so fre as His grac is. For this I bles Him. . . . I prayd at her desir. . . .

12.—This day Francis and Margt. Hay wer maried.

13.—I visited Mr. Ja. Urquhart, who was under some infirmiti.

. . . This day ther did fall out a remarkabl accident, neuer to be forgoten. The drawbridg at Calder fell, carying in a great stone, and with it 24 men, and the Laird himself. Some wer hurt; and I desird to observ to the prais of God and his merciful providenc. I besoght the Lord to teach that yong man quhom it concerned, what his mind was by this providenc. . . .

15.—Baili Brodi staid heir, and the Sherif cam, and spok of his effairs. I find he is in danger to lose throgh self lov, passions, reveng. I spok to him as the Lord gav utteranc, and warnd him against vindictivness, and by-

[a] Compared with.

ends, injustic, and against covetousnes, and making benefit by the poor peopl. He thankd me, and promisd.

17.—Dr. Gordon, Brey,[a] Petgauni,[b] cam heir. I profited litl. Brea said that the curats wer wors then . . . men, nay, then Pharisees, Pilat, or thes that crucified the Lord. I exprest my dislyk of that expression.

I heard of the death of Lochinzeal, in the L. Argyl's house, slain, as is thoght, by Colonel Jams Menzies.

19.—I heard of the death of the Duke of York; the E. of Panmoor; the good laird of Cuninghamhead; the L. Colvil; Eagel. Sanctifie thes warnings to me.

20.—This day I spent with the children of Saltoun. . . . The chaplain, Mr. John Buchan, prayd in the famili.

21.—I spok litl to them of God. . . . Altyr cam in this way. The strangers returned. I found bodili distemper. . . . I spoke to Mr. Jhon Buchan anent the children. . . . This night, Margt. Brodi of Teri was deliverd of her daughter.

32.—I heard of Sir Jhon Gilmor's distemper and sicknes;[c] Sir Lod. Gordoun's[d] sicknes; the justices commission to tri and punish nonconformists; the fear of invasion from Franc; the discontents in Engl. under burthens.

23.—Die Dom. I desired this day, under thes things which I heard yesterday, and under the sens of my oun deadnes, declining, the Lord withdrawing and hiding himself from me, my undescerning, darknes, confusions, the reeling of mani, Col. Lockhart's taking the declaration on his knees, and his rising, thos in the west desiring an island to goe to Mari Island, assignd by the king, and under al the mani confusions, divisions, temptation, trials, which the poor kirk of God is under in thes lands; and the ———[e], and am troubld.

24.—I did not goe to the shyr's meiting, but withdrew, becaus of the contests among them. I did spend some tym betwixt Mr. Wm. Falconer and ———.[e] I did see human infirmiti in them, passion, self-lov. Oh! as I desir Thou mayst piti me, so piti thos that groan under this burthen. Coll. Innes cam hom with me at night, and he told me he was summoned to

[a] James Fraser of Brea.

[b] David Brodie of Petgounie.

[c] Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, Lord President, had resigned in 1670 on account of his health, and died the following year.

[d] Sir Lodovick Gordon of Gordounstoun.

[e] Short-hand in MS.

Aberdeen, befor the circuit, for baptizing his child by an deposd minister. I desird to sympathiz with him, and to hold his cace up to God. I heard he was in strait, and I desird to be instructed by it, and to bear burthen with him.

May 7.—Die Dom. I desird to remember thes that are suffering in this plac, and the next shyrs about: That God would over rul ther sufferings, and turn them to his glori, and ther good and comfort, and the good of his church.

11.—Torwoodlie cam heir. . . . I was glad, and desird that his coming, and our societi, may be sanctified.

12.—I purposd to meit the judges at Forres, this day, and to invit them to din.

13. I did goe to Forres, and waited on the Lords, who cam heir and dind, and mani of the gentlmen with them. Ther was plenti of outward things; but our lyf consists not in them; yet, oh! what snares in thes things, and apt am I to be puft up with vain glori.

14.—Die Dom. . . . I heard of the death of the good Lord Riuuen,[a] and desird to be instructed and affected rightli by it, that good men ar taken away; and is it not from the euil to com? Shall we not lay it to hart? How few is ther left in this generation! I considerd how mani wer taken away by death of the most eminent and upright, and that seuerals wer exercisd by distemper of mind, as I heard, of Col. Straquhan, Col. Kerr, Wariston, Mr. Dav. Douglas, Mr. Ramsey, now the L. Rivuen, W^m^. Gordon of Lunan, Christian Russel. How mani taken away, by delusion and error, of the most chois Christians, especiali at Aberdeen! I desir to consider this, and to be sober. . . .

17.—I heard that Torwoodlie was sickli of an excess.[b] I did visit him at Leathin. He and Mr. R^t^. Martin, and his wyf cam heir with me at night.

18.—I heard of the poor men that wer fynd at Invernes, for not hearing the present ministers. Whateuer be ther errour or darknes, they hav mor affection, simpliciti, and honesti than I. I desir to bear burthen with them. Oh Lord! ouer rul, and lead them out.

[a] Thomas Lord Ruthven of Freeland, died 6th May, 1673.

[b] Excess, exies, from the French *acces*, a fit of the ague.

19.—The lords of the circuit came to Darnway. Mr. Monipenni[a] cam heir. Torwoodlie took a litl fit of the exces at night. I desir to be instructed by it, and to recommend him to God.

22.—Mr. Tho. Ross was with me. I heard and saw his lot, and desird to understand and be instructed; grac in a great measur, with mean natural gifts, straitnd, over-reachd with debt. I cannot enough consider this; keep me from stumbling.

. . . I heard of the abomination committed by Ross of Invercharran, with his oun daughter; that he hang'd a man; livd in adulteri. I desired to be affected duli with this, and to be learnd how to lay it to heart, and be exercisd under it.

23.—A poor man did meit me, which fel doun on his knees. The dislyk of the postur did mak me hast from him, and quhen I returned, he was gon. I was chalendgd for not supplying him.

24.—I was cald to Leathin, to see Torwoodlie. I appointed Thursday to meit with Grang, at Forres again, if the Lord thoght fitt.

I knew not what to doe with Park anent the patronag. Lord! be my light and strength. I did visit Torwoodlie, at Leathin, and found the distemper continu, and he was disturbd about.

25.—I was cald to Forres anent the inventaring of Grang his wryts, and som thing was don in it. Mr. Th. Urq[t.] was, last night, with me. I heard by him of Col. Innes' straits. I desir to be instructed by it. . . . Mr. Tho. told me of his busines with Mr. Ja. Park, and that he was to serv inhib. [inhibitions] against him. I desir to be helpd to examin this, and to judg aright. Even how thes things of the world affects the best of men.

26.— . . . Ther was a poor woman taken for theft. I desir to know what is the Lord's will in this; to pursu her to death or not, being incorigibl, and markd for the sam crims befor.

27.—I did, at night, goe to Leathin, to see Torwoodlie.

31.—Mr. Tho. Ross cam heir. I did somthing in maiters concerning him. He said, he as confidentli beleevd that thes min[s.] should be thrust out as the light shind. I laid up this, and desird to be instructed. He said, he could

[a] James Monypenny of Pitmilly. Brodie's brother Joseph had married, at the close of the year 1664, for his second wife, Isabel, widow of William Downie, noticed before p. 87, note [b] eldest daughter of George Dundas of Duddingson, by his wife Katharine, who was Monypenny's sister.

not defin a tym. I durst not say soe; but I remit it to God. He said, he approvd al that was don in the year 1649; yet could not I. Lord! piti me. I movd two great difficulties I met with in religion. 1. To construct and interpret God's providences aright. 2. What use wit, and natural reason, and parts may be of in the mysteri of God; and when, and how, and quhairin, in what caces, and how far, it is to be made use of. We spok of the apostl Paul, the natural gifts, as weil as the supernatural, quhairwith he was indud, the fortitud, stedfastnes, clearnes, confidenc, patienc.

June 1.—Innes, Sandsyd, Moortoun, and others, dind heir. I did tak ouer great liberti in eating and drinking. Oh! what neid hav I to watch! And the Word's unsauori. I heard of the death of Ladi Castelmain:[a] that the hous of Northumberland was extinguishd, and the estat and honour conferd on that woman, and ———.[b] I desir to see and remark the Lord in it, and to be instructed. That Barclay was recald from Irland; Sir Arthur Forbes and the Bishop of Dublin had commission in his plac. I heard of other mutations up and down; that the King of Franc had gotten Antwerp. I desir to ador God in his gouerning the world.

2.—I spok betwix Duncan Grant and Park. But neither in that could I effectuat ani agreement. I was burthened with the wilfulnes of men, and reverencd God's providenc. . . . Park feard that his sister, Balnafairis wyf, might fall to be distempered. I desird to sympathiz with her. He spok to me of the patronag, and to get ani part of Penick he pleasd, and as if he adheard to the litl minut, notwithstanding that he past from it. I said I perceavd he was picking a quarrel with me. I spread this exerceis, his hart and ways, and myn, befor the Lord.

3.—Park writ to me to meit him at Penick[c] on Monday, and that he would propound ouertours for keiping friendship betwix us. I returnd answer, that nothing but our corruptions neided hinder our friendship. The inheritanc abov was larg enough to suffic us al. Ther would be noe enui, nor use of thes accomodations which disturbd us heir; that we had noe less caus to long for the one, then to weari of the other. That my friendship and lov to him should outwear houses and enjoyments heir, and the rocks. Lord! I speak this in the singlnes of my heart Thou knows.

[a] This is a mistake. Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleaveland in her own right, married Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine. This profligate woman was mistress of Charles the Second, by whom she had six children. She survived till 1705.

[b] Shorthand in MS.

[c] The residence of the Deans of Murray.

4.—Die Dom. I read somthing of the quakers' opinions, and desir to be cast doun under it. This is a sore trial among others. Oh! for the spirit of discerning, to cleav to truth, and to be deliverd from error, and corupt reasoning, and blindnes. . . . The objections I met with in Barclay's book I spread befor God. Giv me what to answer, and let the seid of God be in me to know errour from truth.

5.—I did meit with Park, at Penick. I did see infirmities in ———.[a] The best want not ther failings. He took exception at that which I writ, that nothing but our corruptions neided interupt our freindship. He movd to haue that he might hav the land beneth the way; yet he had past from it. This man is an exercis to me. . . . I see it difficil, and almost impossibl to retain this man; yet I desir that nothing may separat me from him in the Lord.

I did visit Torwoodlie, at Leathin, who was yet under sicknes. I had scarc a word of God to him.

8.—I desird grac to know the wil of God to me in the patronag; for som one or other must be presented. I am to meet about the militia of the parish.

10.—Grang declind to present to Aldern. I desir light and counsel in this maiter, for I am full of darknes.

13.—Grang did present Mr. Jhon Cuming to Aldern.[b] I wes content to be frie of it, and that I had noe hand in it.

14.—I was al night at Kin[d]. Next . . . day, Mr. Wm. Ros cam over, and was inclind to accept the Deanrie. I desird to se God's providenc, that he cam not til the other was presented. I gave him no incouradgment to com to Aldern, and movd the digniti, which was abjurd. But he had noe bands, but was readi to com over that. I desird to consider this and to be humbld, becaus of him and myself. Oh! how does self lov, or a bait, commoditi, interest, desir, affection, blind. . . . I cannot but piti him, and remember that I find al the evel that's in him in myself. Oh! so unstedfast as man is. Oh! is it possibl ther can be such gifts and such infirmities in one person? Hav I not caus to fear? I movd to Mr. Wm. if he had not clearnes in Aldern, to tak Edinkelie. . . . I cam lat home.

15.—This day was appointed for a mustering of the men at Lanmoor. Ther I did desir to observ what this work would tend to; for it is not

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] The Deanry of Auldearn, to which Cumming was translated from the parish of Edenkillie, 14th February, 1672.

intended for good. . . . I did after visit Torwoodlie, at Leathin, and returnd at night.

16.—Mr. Wil. Ros cam heir, and declind to tak the deaneri. I reverencd the Lord's providenc, both towards him and me, that we were not a snar to one another. Efternoon, I went to Kinloss for thes arms which wer at Findorn, and visited my uncl; but, alac! so carnal and earthli as I fond him, and so litl savouring of God or the things above.

22.—I spok with Mr. Hugh Ross[a] anent the corruptions of the church, and corrupt naughti men admitted to the ministeri, nobiliti corrupt and degenerat, and general ignoranc and negligenc reigning, and Poperi, implacablnes of good men to one another, decay of godlines and pieti, and growth of profannes and errour. Thes are tokens of God's wrath. . . .

I met with Both, and he spok to me anent Mr. John Cuming to be Dean. I said, I would mak no impediment, and I would giv him my friendship, if he caried weil, but would not persuad him, and if he had scrupls I would not labour to remov them.

26.—I did visit Torwoodlie, at Leathin; but, alac! so litl useful or comfortabl as my visit was, and unsavrie. . . . I cam in by Granghil, and reprovd him for compelling others to drink.

July 8.—I visited Torwoodlie and Ladi Leathin. Both wer sick. I spok a word to him to enquir what the Lord said by this providenc, and this unlookd for affliction.

12.—I heard of the Ladi Cassil's purpos to go out of Scotland, and to mari a privat man. . . . The L. of Calder's daughter, Ann, died.

13.—I heard of som slaughter fallen out betwix the L. M'Donald's friends and the Clan Cameron.

15.—I found som stolen trees with Pat. Th. in Dyk, and had caus to suspect W. Lard lykwys. I desird to punish ther fault. . . .

19.—My grandchild, Elizabeth, was very sick. I desird to consider the Lord's hand on her, and, in her, on us and the famili, and to be instructed. Oh! let the Lord sanctifi this rod to me and to the child.

20.—I did send Jhon Anderson to buy picks. I did see matter to be humbld in the militia. 1. Men violentlie set it up. 2. Quhat oppression,

[a] Mr. Hugh Rose, minister of Nairn, and author of "A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock," printed for the Spalding Club.

and inequaliti, and an insupportabl burthen. 3. The end and use of it, the Lord knowes, or what it will produce. But I desir to reverenc the Lord's providenc in it, and to be subject; and committ the case of the land and euent to God.

21.—Mr. Jhon Cuming cam to me, and spok of his presentation to Aldern.[a] I did express good will to him, but told him he knew I differd in my judgment from the constitution of the present church government, and, therfor, could not adviz him, but left him to get his direction from God and his own conscience. He said, he would adviz with his brother Mr. Wm., but had no scruple in his own conscience.

26.— . . . I heard Will. Dunbar had beat his wyf, and fled to tak on to be a soldier of Franc. I desir euen to be instructed in this. . . .

30.—Die Dom. We spok of thacking the kirk. I took liberti to speak of it; let it not be sin to me; and wrot anent hether to E. M. I heard that Caldcot's son, Patrick Innes, had wilfulli killd Charles Innes, his oun brother, from emulation anent the mother's lov to the one mor then the other. I desird to consider this sad accident, and be instructed.

August 12.—Torwoodlie was with me al night. In the morning I spok to him of the deadnes, decay, and barrennes amongst us, and how just it wer with the Lord to bring us low as he had lifted up.

18.—I kept at Dyk with the elders in distributing to the poor. The minister spok to me of thes who were disconform, and said they had the doctrine and ways of the Don[ts.] [Donatists] and Cathari. I did deny this, and said they had nothing common with them, but wer sound and orthodox, excep in the maiter of government. He said, Som preachd becaus of that word: "Wo to me if I preach not." I said, I feard mani preachd for lov of ther stipends, and could be content to quit preaching so that they had ther livlihood. He said, We had a sound, abl ministri. I said, We had a naghtie, unfaithful ministri, that mad no consciens of ther calling, and the teaching and winning in of souls. I spok ferventli, and my heat hinderd my judgment. Lord! mak that poor man see how litl ground he has of peac or ———,[b] and mak me sie the sin and evels of this generation.

19.— . . . I did efternoon goe to Findorn, wher wer som preparations for the peer. I could discern and see litl of God, goe or doe what I will.

[a] See Note [b] p. 316.

[b] Illegible in MS. from the fading of the ink.

Tho. Gordon cam heir at night. He told me that Mr. Geo. Meldrum, and Mr. Menzies, and Mr. Mitchell did communicat with one another in Sacrament and prayer in secret, and did not approue the strictnes of others.

21.—Mr. Jhon Falconar cam heir this night. The Lord helped me with some inlargment and sens of a lifles dead ministri, and the public defection.

22.—The sherif, yesterday, cam to me, and told me his purpos of mariag; and desird me to meet with him this day and his freinds at Mon. I heard Mr. Nath. Martin and Mr. J. Steu[t.][a] wer at Aldern, and preached against hearing thes ministers, and answerd all objections. Oh! I fear my self on the one hand and the other.

23.—I heard som of the silencd ministers wer at Insoch.

24.—The minister[s], Mr. Nath. Martin, Mr. J. Stu[t.], and Mr. J. Park went by uncald for me. I fear my self, becaus thes men's compani ar not dearer to me.

28.—I was cald efternoon to meit with Grang and others, anent the sherif's affairs. I was prest to be cautioner for the sherif for a greater sum then I intended. Let not this be a snar to me. I desir, in som measur, to do it to the Lord; if, by our help, the poor yong man, throgh His blessing, may be helped.

31.—The sherif and Grang took journey this day south. I heard of great opposition which Grante's freinds made to his mariadg with Leathin's daughter.

Sept. 5.—I was burthend with the sin of the plac, frequent theiving and stealing; and I held it up to God that he would restrain it, and discouer, and lead me to search and find it out, if it seimed good to him.

18.—Mr. Jhon Cuming and his brother's son, Patr., cam to me. I heard of Mr. Hutchison, and was glad. I perceavd Mr. Jhon inclind to tak Aldern, thogh with som reluctanci. I would not advis or desir him; but left it to him. Onli I said he should get al the furtheranc from us that we could, if he enterd.

19.—This day was veri foul, and the Lord seemed to threaten to destroy the fruits of the ground. Mr. R. Gordon and Col. Innes was heir. I heard the confusions which wer at London about religion; presbytery against

[a] Mr. John Stewart had been minister of a parish in the Presbytery of Deer, from which he was ejected after the Restoration for nonconformity. He was afterwards, for some time, imprisoned on the Bass.

presbytery, Croftoun and Baker, and the meeting of seueral opinions and sects diffring much from another; ther boldnes in upholding and keiping ther meetings, and the forbearanc that al got. I desird to consider this, and be exercisd with it, and instructed.

28.—I heard Brey was heir this night, and Mr. Rob. Gilespi,[a] the son of the good Mr. Geo. Gilespi. I had conferenc with them anent the estat of the kirk of God in other places; and alac! so desolat and wast as it is laid.

29.—Mr. Gillespi and Brey staid al this day also. I found my oun declining and securiti creeping on. How am I shaken as to former principls. How far short do I com of others in zeal, nay, and censur them that goe ani thing beyond myself. I desir to be humbld under this; the land's decay, and the decay that my soul is falling in. Lord! rais me up, and grant me, for Thy nam's sak. From the conscienc of my infirmiti, nigardlines, earthlines, straitnedness, and that for my effairs I straiten my self, I purposd, if the Lord would giv strenth, and grac, and constanci, and an honest sound hart, to lay by som money for such uses from tym to tym, and not to touch it to other uses. Lord! tak snars out of my hart, and way, and inlarg my hart to Thee, and in Thee: Wherof this mark shall be a sign and memorial.

30.—Bray and Mr. Rob. Gilespi went henc. I might hav profited mor by them then I did.

I heard Tho. Glas['s] wyf was brought to bed befor her tym; and [it] appeired he had fallen with her ere he maried.

Oct. 1.—I warnd the minister that Tho. Glas['s] child was gotten in whordom long befor mariag; and that he should, if he thought fit, suspend the baptism of his child; but he did not think this fitt.

Cath. Collace was heer this night. I conferrd with her on her lot by a wicked husband; her perplexiti, not grudging to bear, but solicitous to know dutie. I was dark, yet I promisd to com to Insoch, and sie Mr. Tho. Hog, and confer with her. Let the Lord giv light. I observ the Lord's providenc in yoking that child of His and such a croce.

5.— . . . Ther cam one Mr. Pringl, which cald himself a deposd minister. He insinuated his condition. Yet I feard whither he was what he profesd. But I look to God, for I need grac to discern and to guid me.

[a] Mr. Robert Gillespie, the son of Mr. George Gillespie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was at this time sought after by the government for holding Conventicles. He was the first person who was imprisoned on the Bass for this offence.

6.—I did goe to Elgin with the sherif. It was his head court; and a great compani was with him. This is a vanitie under the sun, that is seated in the hart of man. We did also meit and end the conditions of his mariag with Sir Lod. Gordon's daughter.

16.—Mr. Al^{r}· Fordice and his wyf, Anna Meldrum, cam heir. I read a lyn from Mr. Geo. Meldrum. He desird that the Lord's work in that plac might be rememberd. This was exercis to me, to reflect on the Lord's work in that plac some tym befor, and now marrd. I desir to be instructed about this, and to wryt of it to Mr. Geo.

21.—I heard that the man who cald himself Pringl, and a deposd minister, was a counterfit.

24.—I heard of the death of old Cantra,[a] and desirs to be instructed, and was cald to his burial against the 26.

26.—Colloden cam heir, and desird me to recomend him to the President. I was straitnd in it; yet I desird not to displeas man, and yeelded. Lord! [let] it be noe snar to me. I ouerreach myself oft in desiring to pleas men, and to promot that which concerns them. Oh! that I had that cair to pleas the Lord.

31.—I did visit Mr. T. Hog, and Cath. Collace, and spok of her lot, and what was fittest for her to doe. Loth was I to advis to part with a husband. I should hear him first, and labour to remov impediments of ther agriement.

The Master of Duffus[b] did visit me. I did sie the danger of irreuerent speaking befor God, and vaunting my oun spirit as prayer. Oh! teach me to pray, and giv the spirit which teaches to pray.

November 5.—Die Dom. The E. of Sea[forth] cam heir, and din'd. Our communication was litl savrie. . . . He went from this befor sermon.

8.—I did speak betwix Jhon Ross and his wyf, Cath. Collace. Litl understanding hav I to discern, or to judg betwix them. But I depend on God for light from heaven.

12.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Wal. Kin^{d}· was to preach, and questiond if I should goe, and whither I should hear weak men that tak all out of other men's books. I cannot ans^{r}· this. It is tru they should be fitted as weil as cald; yet I desir to stoop to evri mean whereby I may be edified, wer it reading quhair I can get noe other. . . . He spok good words, and such as, could I appli them, wer sound and wholsom.

[a] Dallas of Cantray. [b] James, 2nd Lord Duffus, succeeded his father in 1674.

17.—I heard that Alr., Waristoun's son, had brok, and throgh cheating, lying, and wrong ways. My brother and others had sufferd much by him. I desird to consider this, and be instructed. 1. The son of such a father. 2. Of such hopes and expectation. 3. His affliction is not so much as his sin. 4. Others disapointed of him, that for lov to his father, had born favour to him. The woman he defild, and took as his wyf, taken hom by her father. 5. I desird to learn what this said to my poor brother. He said and writ to me that it had almost kild him. Lord! unfold this providenc.

25.—Braco cam heir. I detained him til Monday. Let it be noe snar or sin to me. For he ———.[a] I heard again of the death of the good Lord Ruthven, and [that he] died in som distemper of melancholie, and his effairs not in good ordour. I desird to consider, and observe, and be instructed. He told, that divers of not conform ministers wer letten preach in the land: That the Bishop of St. Andrews cam with 500 hors to the burial of Elcho. Latherdal's loosnes.

26.—Die Dom. Braco was with me, and I knew not how to converse with him. I heard Haddo[b] was made a lord of session.

27.—Mr William Falconer cam heer, and spok of his selling his salmond fishing. With his insinuations I was almost intangled in a desir to bui. But the Lord prevented me.

Decr. 8.—Heer cam the sherif, Mr. Jhon M'Culikan, and Mr Robt. Gilespie. I reverenc God in this providenc. We ar litl the better of the best companie.

9.—Spini dind with me, and I spok betwix him and my uncl Francis, anent the teinds, but agreied not. Spini spok bitterli of the honest disconform ministers, and of indulging them. I cannot see good in thes things.

10.—Die Dom. I read anent the Accomodation betwix conforms and not conforms. Oh! my darknes and instablnes, and doubtfulnes. Let the Lord send out light and strenth to guide me, and mak me discern.

11.—I went to the burial of the goodwyf of Newtoun.

12.—This day I was at the baptizing of the E. of M. his son Francis.

13.—Mr Ja. Urquhart was heer this night.

14.—The L. of Grant dind heir. The L. of Calder and Leathin writ to

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] It was not till June, 1680, that Sir George Gordon of Haddo was made a Lord of Session. In 1682, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Aberdeen, and appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

the E. of M. anent Calder his business. I took liberti in my discours and mirth. Let the sin be taken away through Jesus Christ. I found him a soft going man; but what he may yet turn to, the Lord knows. I spok of the buying of Balueni to him. Lord! let this be noe snar to him nor us.

20.—I heard of the death of yong Cantra, and desird to be affected with it, so soon after his father. . . . He is as yong as I am or thereby. Shal I not tak warning?

23.—Leathin cam heir afternoon. He invited me to his daughter's mariage, or to com the day efter.

24.—Die Dom. I heard this day by Coubin, younger, that the Ladi Latherdale is dead. Let it not be for a judgment to that man. Oh! if he belong to Thee, doe him good by it. . . . I heard the Princ of Orang was restord to his places and dignities, which he had in Holland, at least, which his fathers and ther famili had. Lord! turn this to Thy glori, and ouer rul thes actions and transactions of men.

26.—This day the Lard of Grant[a] was maried to Leathin's daughter, Janet Brodie.[b] I desird to hav them and that action on my hart.

January 7, 1672.—Die Dom. Mr. Will. Falconar spok on Math. 10, 40, 41. . . . I staid the session, and did sie a floud of profannes, perjuri, and adulteries.

8.—Mr. Robert Gilespie cam heir. He spok and worshipd in the famili. I did not clos with him in his aversnes from hearing. Lord! by Thy Spirit, teach me to tri evri spirit. I heard that in Ila M'Gill, the Ladi Strathnaver, and others, wer inlarged to the honest distrest peopl. I desir to be stirrd up from ther exampl. I was desird by Calder to com to Narn next day anent his prisoners. I desird to declin the goeing ther, but was willing to meet him at Penick[c] or Aldern.

[a] Ludovicus Grant of Frewchie, (not yet fully major,) who was served heir to his father, James Grant of Frewchie, February 11, 1665. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 117.)

[b] Janet, daughter of Alexander Brodie, younger of Lethen, was his only child. In the marriage contract, which is still preserved in the Lethen charter room, her father, as principal, and David Brodie of Pitgounie, his brother-german, as cautioner, bind themselves for £20,000 Scots in name of dot and tocher. (Geneal. Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock, p. 405.)

[c] The old house of Penick stood about a mile eastward of the church of Auldearn.

10.—I did goe earlie to meet Calder anent the theevs which he had in prison. He soght advise, and I conferrd with Mr. Ja. Urquhart; but thoght he might caus them enact themselvs to banishment, if the considerations wer weighti, but it was mor for the terrour of others, and for the countree's good that they should be put to death, seing others would be emboldened to doe euel, if they met with fauour, and it would beget regard to his office. He resolud to doe soe. I commit the matter to God, and my counsel.

I did visit Mr. Tho. Hogg and the old Ladi Park. I spok to her as the Lord gav uterance. Mr. Th. Hogg told me they had manumitted Mr. Robert Gilespie.

13.—I desir to know what the Lord cals me to, and to be fitted for the duties of this evening and the Sabbth. Mr. Robert Gilespie being heer, I desird to know what way to use that opportunitie.

14.—Die Dom. Mr. Robert Gilespi spok on Jer. 2. 2. before we went and efter we returnd from the public worship, and had som sound and useful lessons. I desir to retain them in my hart.

15.—I did keep at Dyk with the elders, for ending the mortification of Chappel-Croft. Ther did fall out a sharp discord betwix Granghil and Mr. Wm. Falconar. Lord! order it to good for them both. . . . Mr. Wm. affirmd he was an honest minister. Oh! that it wer so. . . . Mr. Tho. Hog was heir and Cath. Collace. We spok of the differs betwix Cath. and her husband. She had clearnes to withdraw. I did not allow, nor yet could I condemn her. 1 Cor. 7. If the wyf depart let her not mari, or be reconcild. I movd that Jhon Ross should tak with his sin befor them. . . . Mr. T. Hogg was vehementlie against my keiping sessions. I said I had peace.

16.—I did exoner myself to Jhon Ross and Cath. Collace his wyf, and told him the causes why she did not convers with him.

17.—I heard Mr. Jhon Cuming would not accept the kirk of Aldern.

I heard that ther was an ordour for apprehending Mr. Robert Gilespie, James Fraser, and others, at Elgin. I desir to bear on my hart ther cace towards God, and to be guided. Let them also be both hid and ledd.

20.—I reaceavd letters from Edinburgh from Mr. Hutcheson. He exhorted to mantein intercours with God privatli and secretli, and in hid steps His secret will be with me, to forsie what may befal the saints. . . .

I heard he was to marie [the widow of Mr. Andrew[a]] Grey. The Lord turn it to ther good.

21.—Die Dom. My brother wryt to me, that the poor children of God in thes places had great apprehensions of judgments coming on, and not far off. I wryt to him to enquir and acquaint me with tokens, signes, and causes they did observ; not that I question, but becaus of my dulnes in taking up, or being affected with the causes of wrath, I may be stird up by them to lay them to hart.

23.—I kept at Forres betwix Leathin and Braco Gordoun, but our labour took no effect.

25.—I heard Meldrum had been at Insoch, seiking Mr. Tho. Hogg; and his wyf cam heir.

30.—The E. of Murray and my Lady cum heir to visit us. I had discours with him anent Grant's affairs, and anent Calder, and anent Innes his retyring himself. I heard that the French had sent in to Leith seueral crucifixes and Popish books. I desir to consider this. I heard the Bishop had given ordour to Meldrum to tak Mr. Th. Hogg. The caus pretended is, the giving manumission to James Fraser. I desir to consider whither I should labour to get it cleard for obuiating his danger. Lord! teach and lead me.

Febr. 1.—I reaceavd a letter from Mr. Th. Hog,[b] shewing they had not manumitted Ja. Fraser.

5.—I heard Lighton had accepted to be Bishop of Glasgow, and had movd to hav Mr. Murdoch transplanted to the Iles: That Huntli was made sherif of Aberdeen.

8.—This day, Mari Ros, Ladi Park, was buried. I went ther, and returnd.

11.—Die Dom. . . . I heard that Poperi was feard, and spreading in thes lands: that Latherdaill was to marie Ladi Disart. Lord! instruct me in Thy ways.

15.—I heard of the death of Mr. Jhon Neveye,[c] in Holland; a good man taken away from the evel to com.

[a] In the MS. the words for the enclosed are in short-hand. The widow of Mr. Andrew Grey, one of the ministers of Glasgow (who died in February, 1656, Register of Confirmed Testaments), was a sister of Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who was executed at Edinburgh, in 1684. (Wodrow's Analecta, vol. iii., p. 55.)

[b] The ejected minister of Kiltearn.

[c] Mr. John Nevay was minister of Newmills, in the parish of Loudon, from which he was ejected for nonconformity in 1662.

22.—I did warn Mr. Jhon Falconar a litl, but not throghli, of his neglecting the school. I desir to hav my bands loosd, and to hav grac to be faithful in reproving.

23.—I read Acts 6, of the institution of deacons: farr ar our churches from such. I was cald to a meeting betwixt Coubin and his son. I hav no understanding. Lord! teach me, and ordour my thoughts, words, counsel, and that action. I did meit betwixt Coubin, and his son, and freinds. I did sie in it matter of humiliation.

March 17.—Die Dom. I heard of the death of Judge Kerr,[a] and desird to be exercisd aright under it: a man, my friend and acquaintance, my brother, a person of gifts beyond others, and yong. Shall I not lay this to hart?

26.—The L. of Calder cam heer, and I understood by him that the meiting of the shyr was to be the next day.

27.—I went to the meiting at Forres; wher I did sie matter to be humbld for. I heard of the appearance of war with the Dutch; and that the King and councel of England had remitted the penall statuts against Papists, and alloud them the liberti of ther religion in ther oun houses. 2. He had indulged nonconformists ther to exercis ther worship, in such manner, and at such places, as he should appoint. I desird to be affected with this, and to be duli burthend with it; to seek the Lord in it for grac not to be surprisd nor insensibl, but to discern what wrath, sin, anger, and provocation ther is in this matter against the king and the land, and what a presage and sign of euel is it coming on. And for this end, I desird to be set apart next Lord's day, and to afflict my soul under this; and to seek grac to tak up the Lord's mind, and to be taght my dutie, and what God cals for from the land, his peopl, and from my soul.

28.—I did goe earli to visit Park and Mr. Th. Hogg. I heard of the general corruption of the land, and of rulers; that ther's none to withstand poperie. . . . I said to Mr. Th. Hogg, I would not bui [buy] the indulgenc to the not conform ministers with an indulgenc to papists.

29.—This day Esterbin was buried. Litl thoghts or discours of death. But the King's declaration afforded matter of communication. I said to the Bishop, Ther act, giving power to the King in matters of relligion, had

[a] Mr. Andrew Ker, Advocate, was appointed one of the English Judges in 1655. Being superseded at the Restoration, he resumed his practice at the Bar.

produced this effect. He said, Our indulgences had produced it, and askd if non-conformists would quit ther part of it. It appears to have been a deep popish design to procur indulgenc to presbyterians, that they might mak way for toleration of poperie. The popish books, and all, shew the design. My brother cam from the south this day. I heard of the death of mani good men; the general corruption of the hail land. . . . I heard how yong Dundas had maried Mr. Rob. Smyth's daughter, and the grandfather had disinherited him; of the danger Cesnock [a] was in, and his deliveranc; the low estate of Cuningham and his familie; popri spreading in Galloway. . . .

April 4.—About 6 at night my daughter-in-law was deliverd of her daughter, Weer Brodie, and few wer with her.

5.—This day we purposd to offer the infant to God. . . . Mr. Wm. Falconar baptisd the child Vere.

11.—I heard that Sir Lod. Gordoun's son had lost his caus against the L. Duffus: that the Councel of Scotland had appointed Twedal and others to draw up the proclamation for liberti of poperie. I desir to be exercisd under this. Cromarti cam heir this night, and spok of Sir Ja. Stewart's maiters. He did with me bewail the corrupt declining estat of the whol land, and all ranks and degrees of peopl. . . . The Ladi Murray cam heir to sie my good daughter. I heard that the toleration was to be emited for this land.

13.—I heard my brother's child, Alr., was removd by death.

14.—I heard that Grant, the Jesuit, was in Tanachi, and that som of ther children inclind to poperie.

May 9.—This morning I found a new fitt of my old diseas of the stone.

10.—This day was a day of much pain and distemper. . . . Mr. Tho. Hog staid with me, and I had good by his compani. Park did sie me, but staid not; and Mr. Wm. Falconar he was drie.

11. Mr. Jams Urquhart cam and saw me, and I was helpd by him, quhen I could not meditat, pray, or entertain a good thoght. I bless the Lord for ani good I had by him.

12.—Die Dom. Mr. Ja. Urquhart exercisd in the famili fornoon and efternoon. My infirmities wer such as I could tak litl delight in God or hevnli exercises. I had great stop in water passages, and in the beli. . . .

[a] Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock.

Mr. Th. Hogg helpd me much in stirring up against drowsiness, wandering, and aversnes.

22.—This day the pain increasd. . . . I took garlick, and vomited. The Bishop cam and saw me, and spak sound words. I was in som strait whether to desir him to pray; yet the Lord rid me of that doubt, and movd him to goe in haste. But I would hav heard him, and joind with him; but glori to Him that rid me! Yong Leathin was with me.

23.—Die Dom. I did mak use of the spirit of salt, of the urin of a hee goat kild, of the blood of the goat distilld. Ther cam away smal stons and shells. . . . Mr. Tho. Hogg askd me, If I found not the truth of that word, "I will not leav thee," &c. I could not answer. Alac! I was a fals witness. . . . Mr. Ja. Urquhart was with me, and comfortabl to me in my deadnes. This night last I slept not weil, yet with small pain, and had liberti to lie on ani syd or back. Spini did visit me in the morning. I heard great noic of the fleets fighting at sea. The king had raisd the Parliament of England, and it was thoght they would hav questiond the indulgenc.

25.—Mr. Tho. Ros[a] was with me this day. I made not the use of his compani which I oght to hav don. . . . The Mr. of Salton and Mr. J. Buchan wryt to me anent ther effairs with Grant. Mr. Rob. Dunbar did visit me. . . . I was sharp and bitter with Mr. Th. Ros, for his and others too great strictnes and censuring others; and I desir quhen I hav don to censur my self, and be humbld.

26.—Die Dom. This day Mr. Th. Ross exercisd in the hous. He designed to keip us from the parish worship, which made him draw his exercis to the greater lenth. I did, on the other part, desir to keep up the form of publick worship, albeit we had little mor then the form. Mr. Tho. did exercis again, quhen they were gone to the public, in my chamber.

28.—I heard my cousen, Milton, had taken journey to Aberdeen, on the Lord's day, from his oun hous. I desir to be duli affected with it. The Ladi Westfield and others wer heir this night.

30.—My brother to return south this day. Albeit I hav missing of him, yet I yielded to it. Let the Lord ordour it unto good. I found natural tendernes, but that is not grac. . . . Mr. Wil Falconar did visit me, but I did not intertain ani good purpos with him.

[a] Mr. Thomas Ross, minister of Tain, was ejected in 1662.

31.—Coll. Innes was heer, and I spok with him of his outward condition. He told me that one Mr. Robert Lockhart had fallen on Cesnock, and almost kild him. I desird to be exercisd with this: that it stands with the Lord's wise governing of the world, to suffer an Abel to fal in the hands of Cain.

June 2.—Die Dom. I found I could not goe to the publick worship; and I cald for Mr. Tho Ross that I might hav his compani to pass the Sabbath.

About 9 of the clock I sensibli found the stons plump doun throgh the uriter to the bladder, and I spak litl of it, and retain the urin, and drank garlick posset, Rhenish wyne, and spirit of salt, and oil. The ston fell in the yard, and the water stopd. I prest, but noe water; and had much pain. . . . The Lord stopd the passages of natur, and opend them again. My pain was great in the coming away of the ston, but not so painful as it was in the year 1666. At last the Lord made way, and ther cam one ston of a great bignes, and 3 less, and 40 small stones. I desir to reckon this day, amongst the days, and to put it up and record it with 28 April, 1666. . . . I had a mighty press for water, but in vain. The press of urin broght a constant press of the bellie. Mr. Tho. Ross did sit up til midnight with me; then I lay doun and slept an hour or therby. The press for urin reneud, but al passage was shut; pain did ouerwhelm; and after I cried, and lookd up som hours, and was fainting, and giuing ouer, and the hart failing, unexpectedli, about 4 in the morning, ther cam away another ston of a greater bignes then ani that ever I past. . . . I desir to add this day to my calendar, and to the deliuerances of 28 April, 1666, and other deliuerances. This deservs to be recorded, so mani stones.

4.—I had som health, and walkd out. But soon doe I forget. Yong Cromarti cam heir, and Mr. Urquhart, the minister. I spok sharpli to him, for his travelling on the Lord's day. I found him a yong man poisond with unsound principls and vaniti; yet I desird him to worship in the famili, and he had words and conceptions. Lord! Thou knows the hart. But I was readi to stumbl. Lord! guid and uphold me. I was not unwilling to let them goe. . . . Grant cam heir, and Leathin, and spok of ther effairs with me. Mr. James Urquhart cam heir; and he conferd with me, and enquird what asistance I found in my latest trial. I told him, I had to "sing both of merci and judgment."

5.—Mr. Thos. Ros cam heer, and visited me, and acknowledgd the Lord

with and for me. He observd, that the best gardens would soon overgrow with weeds, if neglected, and if the Mr. and gardner be slothful: so of churches and souls. We observd how short qhuil ani church retains puriti and power of doctrin and discipline. . . . He said, We had maiter of joy in that noe church had bein lyk us, a Nation given up to God in a Covenant. I said, Other churches that had not an, or so an express covenant, wer nothing short of us, and exceeded us in zeal, lov, fervenci, suffering for Christ, which ar the most material parts of religion: other churches have affoorded mor martyrs, witneses, and had indured mor then we, as, Asia, Germany, England, Franc, Low Countries, &c.; and ther was a flash of affection, but much mixtur in our covenant ingadgments. Let not the Lord imput sin. We spok of, Whither now the saints hav ground to beleev and expect certain events and particulars, seing we hav no expres warrand from the word, or immediate revelation: The general promises ar to be laid hold, and rested in; but as to particulars, with submission and referenee to his wil, and wisdom onli, and we cannot determine on particulars. He said, If a person or church wer in that sam fram and fitness, they might expect that sam event and ishu that Christians had gotten befor. I denied this: souverainti and wisdom is not tied. Heaven, Christ, and glori will mak up all. We cannot limit to a less tim than eterniti and his wil.

I heard of the troubl which the poor countre is liabl to by thes soldiers and musterings, and how litl feeling they hav of it that ar our governors.

6.—Mr. John Falconar prayd in the famili. I did sie weak gifts; but, Lord! keip from despising, or yet indiscerning.

9.—My son and Coll. Innes went to hear one of the nonconformists. I heard Mr. William, but cold and dull did I find the word from him. Lord! teach me to consider this aright, and to mak a right use of it.

10.—I visited the E. of M., and took leav. He was going south to the parliament. I heard of the conflict by sea betwix the English and French with the Dutch. . . . I heard that D. of Buckingham and Latherdal wer in ill favour with the English.

11.—This evening Jhon Brodi and Eliz$^{th.}$ Forbes wer maried in my hous. This is a tym for brid and bridgroom to com out of ther chalmer and mourn. I mentioned them to God. Mr. Will. Falconar cam up with us, and alac! so dri as I found him.

29.—I heard of Mr. Wm. Falconer's sicknes. I desird to be directed

what to doe as to him, and what this may design towards me. I found him sick, and he exprest with much tendernes his respect to our holi reformers, Wels [Welsh], Davison, Knoks, Caluin, Wishart. I said, Thes men, and ther doctrin, and the causes of ther suffering, ar forgotten. I spok to him as the occasion alloud. But he did tak with no guilt.

Juli 1.— . . . I was doubtful if I should goe to Blarie's burial, or goe East, or if I should mak use of the well at Dippill. I depend on Him for guiding. Lord! ouerrul my simpliciti, and my weaknes, and sillines.

2.—I did forbear Blari his burial, and I heard that several honest men did put on mourning for him. My hart did ris at it, and I purposd to lay asid al outward show of mourning at burials, for I sie it prostitut. But Lord! guid my spirit. Mani things ar ill, and abusd, that I cannot mend.

4.—I heard of the sadd newes from Holland; the French king taken ther touns, quhair he did set up mass: that som wer troubld about papers directed from Holland. 1. I sie the confusions great; a dark cloud on the poor kirk of God evri wher; noe appearanc of deliveri; wicked, and popish, and irreligious men appeared to treat with the French and Hollanders.

5.—Mr. Jhon Stewart and Mr. Ja. Urquhart cam heir. I find not ani inclination to ———.[a]

6.—Mr. Jhon Stewart returnd. I delt with Mr. Ja. Urquhart to com on the Lord's day to help us; but he declind it.

8.—I purposd eastward to tri the waters at Dippil.

I hear by Neil McLean that relligion had much liberti in Irland, and was not hinderd.

9.—This day my son went with the L. Grant to ther hous at Bellachastel; and I took journey to the well at Speyside, and was al night at Kinedward.

11.—I did goe earli to the well, and return l at night to Innes. On the 13 and 14 being the Lord's day, I was at Dippil, and heard Mr. Alr. Marshall.

The 18 day I cam from the well, being Munday, and helpd somthing at the water of Lossi. I was angri at Petgauni, that he sufferd his men to braik the banks of Lossi, which did indanger the land. I refusd to eat of his meat or goe with him. Let not the Lord imput ani sinful humour in this.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

22.—This night I purposd to be at Leathin.

23.—I had at Leathin a reasoning with Mr. Th. Ross anent the taking from poperi and idolatrous uses things dedicated thereto. In this I found my vehemenci and passion did master me. I spok irreverentli to him, and with prid. Lord! imput not. I cam to Strathspey this evening, and spok of the L. of Grant's effairs.

August 3.—Efternoon, I heard from my brother, that ther was much severiti against privat meetings, Balhousie, Megins, Lady Wigtoun. I desird to be duli affected with this, and with the condition off the poor seikers of God in thes lands and in other places.

4.—Die Dom. Mr. Hugh Ross preachd. I reflected on myself if I did lawfulli hear him; and I desir to examin, and be examind, whether the allowanc be from Thee, and the peac; albeit his gifts be not great, and that he be in the common defection. He spok of the Lord's observing the ways of men, ther sins, ther walking, and therfor we should watch, as approving our selvs to him, being under his eye. I heard that the E. of Murray had gotten sentenc against his mother for 12,000 mk^{s}· by year of her liu^{t}· [liferent.] I desir to know what to judge of this. Let that man's prosperiti be noe snar to him, nor for hurt to others, nor for ani dishonour to Thee and Thy kirk.

7.—The Lards of Innes and yong Ladi cam heir, and dind. They spok of the evels of the tym, and the severitys against privat meetings.

10.—Mr. Jhon Cuming was heer this night, being to preach to us the next day. He prayd in the familie. I fear to censur and judg rashli, and I fear not to discern and judg. His ———.[a] I desir to be taght and informd anent this. Oh! let God rais up faithful and abl teachers in his church, and pitie the want of such. What great differ is ther in the gifts of thes that ar laid by, and thes that ar keipd and admitted!

12.—I did this day begin to drink at the well of Riuus [Rives]; som effect it had as to appearanc. I past this day ther, and made use of golfing for exercis of the body. Whil I drink, let this be noe snar to me. . . .

17.—I heard from Edinburgh the French taking Groningen, and marching towards Amsterdam: The sufferings of mani honest peopl at Edinburgh.

18.—Die Dom. Mr. Geo. Innes preachd Rev. 3. 1. . . . The preacher had sound things and useful, and praid wel. May not I hear him? Yet he

[a] Short-hand in MS.

conforms to this corrupt government. He did accept the charg of a faithful nonconform minister. Lord! learn and teach me to speak aright of the person, the calling, the doctrin.

19.—This day I returnd to the well at Riuus to drink water; and desiring to use it as a means throgh His blessing to prevent the diseas which I am subject unto of the stone. . . . I was this night at Burgi. Mr. Colin Falconer drank with me, and we recreated the bodi by pastim at golf. Lord! let this be noe snar to me. This day I continued ther at the well, and until Saturday, the 24 instant.

20.—This night I was at Windihils.

21.—I continued heir, and dind, and Mr. Colin with me, in a barn. I feard the bestowing of so much tym on recreation, and therfor desird to withdraw from compani a litl. I was al night at Burgie.

22.— . . . Mr. Tho. Ross did com with Grang, and sie me heir. He had noe opinion of the wells, and declind Mr. Colin's compani. I heard som did tak exception at my using this water, and stumbld, becaus common peopl misunderstood and constructed it as if I placd som holiness in the well, or saints, or creaturs, and they took occasion to strenthen themselvs in ther superstition. Lord! teach me to answer to this.

24.—David Brodi and others wer with me at the well. We dind with Grang at Burgie liberalli. I heard of Latherdal's going to Glasgow, and that som women did present a petition to him ther. I heard mani wer imprisond for priuat meetings. Lord! mak me consider and be rightli affected. I returnd this night home from the well.

25.—Die Dom. I heard of the emulations, and prid, and envi betwix Mr. Horn [a] and Mr. Douglas, and desirs to be cast doun under it.

Sept. 1.—Die Dom. Granghil was heir and my daughter this night. I reprovd them sharpli for ther son, Rob., that had not learnt the catechism, nor did he read.

5.—I heard this day from my cousen, Wm. Brodi, that good Mr. Levingstonn [b] was at his rest in Holland.

10.—I spok with Andro Read's son Ja., who cam from Newcastel. saw in him how much darknes, simpliciti, and ignoranc is on men. He spok

[a] Mr. James Horn, formerly minister of Belly, was translated to Elgin, and admitted July 28, 1659.

[b] Mr. John Livingstone, formerly minister of Ancrum, died in Holland in August, 1672.

of presbyterians, anabaptists, and others, but knew not the differenc. He told me his brother was anabaptist: That ther wer reading on the Bishop of Durham his burial dayli: That ther wer conventicls and masses at Newcastel. I desir to be instructed.

13.—Calder cam at night, and spok of publick evels; but, alac! quhat hope is ther of ever seing ani reformation or remedie, so lyk ar we to a peopl fitted for destruction.

28.—Mr. R. Martin [a] and divers others cam heir at night. I heard of the Act that a master in his famili should not pray, if ther wer mor than 4 strangers in it.

Oct. 5.—Mr. Wm. Thomson was with me. He told me what past betwix him and som ministers. I admonishd him of the necessiti to answer mor meekli, and with discretion, and not so sharpli. Lord! heir is nothing clean. I spok to him what was needful to be don or spoken to Grant and his Ladie. I desird to lament the condition of that countre, both peopl and ministers, who know litl of God, or the right way of worshipping him.

12.—I did, with others, become cautioner for Mr Rob. Martin. It is tru I desir his good; but let not my rashness in surtiship be imputed to me, nor be a snar, for I am jelous greatli of the man's ways.

21.—I went to the burial of Tho. Calder. . . . This night the sheriff's eldest son, Alr., was born, and I was witness to his baptism.

26.—Efternoon I did see Will. Troup taking Patr. Dumbar by a caption to prison. I desird to piti him, and offerd to releev him, and be surti for him, as being liabl to the lyk or greater human infirmities. But I had not present money to giv the messenger, and he would not trust me a few days, and therfor took him to prison. I desir to be duli affected with the miseries of others, and to see God in what befals them or me.

27.—Die Dom.—This evening my grandchild, Emilia Dunbar, was born. I did se my daughter under much danger and distemper. . . . This day the child was baptizd Emilia.

Nov. 3—Die Dom. I heard that Balhousie [b] was dead. I desir to observ the Lord's works, and to be humbld under the remoual of a godlie man.

[a] Mr. Robert Martin, who was, for some time, clerk of the Justiciary Court, whose son John was served his heir, December 1, 1691. (Inquis. Retor., Elgin and Forres, no. 161.)

[b] George Hay of Balhousie.

They fynd and persecuted him of late.[a] Now the Lord, I hop in merci to him, tho' for euel to the generation he livd amongst, has taken him to himself. Should we not be stedfast, and not fear men, seing our warfare is but short, and the reward sur, and we can lose but fading and temporal things? and what ar they to glori?

7.—This day morning my uncl, old Leathin, died, about 6 in the morning, having had debiliti and decay, but onli a few hours' weaknes befor his death. I desird to ador God in this his providenc, and to be sensibl of it.

The Earl of Seaforth and Balngoun cam heir and din'd. He professd micl kindnes. Lord! charg it not upon me that I entertain familiariti with unsound men; and deliver me from snars by him, and this familiariti. He did undertak to do several acts of freindship to me, both with Coxton and with Cromarti. He did wryt to hinder James Calder's bargain with Cromarti. I desird him that he would not put away his superiorities. I spok to him if he would buie Urquhart. He professd willingnes. But I fear under al thes to be insnard with the familiariti of such men. I did visit my daughter at Granghil, who was veri sick, and I spok to her as I could, and at night went to Kinloss, to ordour that funeral. . . .

8.—Mr. James Urquhart returnd from Cromarti, and cam to Kinloss to my sone, and told him what Cromarti had offerd: in the mean tym he was ending with James Calder at Chanri. I dislikd his procedour, and was in a passion at it; yet I causd Mr. James Urquhart mak a return soberli, quhairin he told that my son would not deal with him, as long as he was in terms with others.

12.—I intended to go to Kinloss, and tak inspection of ther effairs about the burial. . . . I spok a word to the old Ladi Leathin of death. I returnd at night.

13.—I staid at hom about trifles; and at night I returnd to Kinloss.

14.—Ther wer manie waiting on this action. I did pray with them earlie, as the Lord enlarged my hart. The occasion did bring a great confluenc of peopl, and my old uncl Leathin was laid doun in his grav in peac. . . . Onli old Windhils did get som hurt at the boate. Lord! turn it to good. I heard of Cromarti his bargaining with James Calder, his anger at Mr. James Urquhart.

15.—I cam hom at night, and was cald to sie Windihils at Teri late.

[a] See Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 192.

16.—I did visit Windihills at Teri afternoon, and saw his infirmiti.

17.—Die Dom. I did visit Windihils at Teri, and saw his danger, and spok to him of his condition.

19.—I was cald over to Windihils, and went not till efter supper, quhen I found him under extream pain and sicknes, in so much as he had difficulti to win to patienc. In an interuall I commended him to God with the rest. He retaind strenth, speech, sens, sight, and reason, till within one half-hour eir he died; and behold! about 4 in the morning, efter much strong tossing and pain, his feet did first fail, and then his sight, and then his speech, and senses in a smal moment; died as it had been in vigour, onli hands and feet grew veri cold, and [he] had a sweat on the upper part of his bodie and head.

21.—Mr. Jhon M'Culikan was heir. He told me the confusions which ar at Abdn. [Aberdeen] with papists and quakers, and that Bp. and other ministers ar preaching justification by works.

22.—This day my brother, Jhon Brodi, was buried. I desird to hav the spirit keipd in a postur and fram suitabl to the day and the occasion. . . . I writ to my brother be Jhon Hay, and to Park.

28.—I did help my uncl Francis to ordour his testament. . . . I did sie how his son and he wer thrald and plungd in debt, and disabld from ani acts of chariti, and serving God with ther estat. Let not this be my temptation, sin, and snar, for the Lord's sak.

30.—Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, going to Kinloss to visit the old Ladi Leathin. I told him his exercising ther would be cald a conventicl. He told me if he had had allowanc of the masters, he would not hav left preaching til he had been taken out of it.

1673. Febr. 15.—I had som thoughts of putting Mr. James Urquhart to Ridden. The Lord knows my end and purpos. I desir to spread this befor God.

21.—Mr. Th. Ross was heir at night. My thoghts are naked befor Thee. He told me of the exercis the Ladi Kilr[avock] was under. . . . The E. of M. dind heir.

28.—Calder cam to Penick to me, and was earnest with me to goe with

him to the Bishop, anent his kirk of Dunlightie.[a] I hav great aversnes from it. The Lord giv light and strenth. I did observ the great judgment of a naghti, corrupt ministri spreading.

March 4.—I spok to Mr. Colin Falconar anent Mr. Will. Falconar his neglect and short coming in his ministrie, [and] anent an helper to him.

12.—The goodwyf of Windihils cam heir, and told how Cromarti had deceavd her, and that Moortoun had gon south under hand. She desird counsel, and to concur with others. I was loth to medl or adviz her, yet shee took it on herself, and writ in her own affairs. Mr. James Urquhart staid with us this night, and we wer betterd by his companie.

16.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. Th. Hogg was veri broken in his health. I desird to sympathiz with him.

23.—Die Dom. My good daughter, and Tho., and Main, and ther wyfs, went to Penick. They hav now livli preaching; and the persons and ther cans I lyk best; yet I am tied to attend the dead ministri of others, yet lawful ministers, but hav faild in the exercis of ther offic, and doe fail, and of far less gifts and furniture. This I do for preserving ordour, and to prevent confusion and disorder; waiting, but desperat in my waiting, to sie if God will vouchsaf an outget, and mak way for "abl" and faithful preachers, "ministers not of the letter onli, but of the Spirit." Had they faithfulnes, diligenc, gifts, and enduments, I hold ther ministri lawful, even that enter by bishops, and acknowledg them, albeit I doe prefer the other government, if rightlie administerd: but the Lord has humbld us in that also. Greater confusions hav not bein at ani tym, then our divisions produced by our assemblies. Lord! quhairin we ar diversli minded, reveal Thy wil to us, and in the mean tym establish the hart by grace, that may build up and edifi, and mak us discern things that doe not edifi.

24.—Jhon M^c^Leland returnd from Edinburgh. I heard the indulgence was restraind as to Papists, and extended to such Presbyterians as should abjur the Covenant. I heard that the D. of Brandeburg was lyk to quit Holand's caus and to capitulat for himself; and that the good Mr. Gilbert Hall[b] was fallen asleip.

April 5—I heard Cromarti was last night in Granghil, returnd from

[a] The old parish of Dunlichty is now comprehended in the parish of Daviot, Inverness-shire.

[b] He was minister of Kirklistoun, near Edinburgh, but was ejected in 1662.

Edinburgh. He past by, and did not visit me. Newhall[a] did meet me at Dyk, and told me that he had drawn precepts to pay my friends, anent Moortoun. He told me that Mr. Rob. Gilespie and som others wer taken at a meeting in Falcland. I desird to simpathiz.

9.—I gav opinion to som off the McPhersons of Nuid, anent a slaughter which then fell in with som of Glengerri. The caus seimd just; and I said, I would not giv opinion if it had not appeard soe to me. Lord! let this be no snar to me.

16.—Mr. Al^r. Fraser cam to me. I spok to him, but was barren; and desird to hav eys opend, and a hart inlargd.

17.—Mr. Robert Martin cam from Edinburgh, and told me the Parliament of England was raisd quhen they wer passing some acts.

18.—I spok with Mr. Al. Fraser anent the disposing of himself, whither he would com east among us, or stay ther a qhuil til a place wer soght out. The Lord giv light and grac. If he cam to a publik place, I did not think fit he should preach, becaus it would open a dor of malic to disturb and hinder him. He said, We should be doeing duti and remit events to God. I said, I questiond if thes duties did bind at al tym, and al persons, and in al places. He said, Men took exception at Mr. Douglas for accepting a licenc from the King to preach, and "wo to them by quhom offences com." I said, Som offences wer taken, and not given. I declind to censur men for thes differs. Far wider differs betuix Lutherans and Calvinists; and I hopd mani of them wer in heaven.

20.—Die Dom. I heard that the Counsel had emitted an act whereby all heritours wer bound and liabl for privat meetings in ther bounds, if they delated them not. . . . I heard the Ladi Roxburgh was dead. Mr. Jhon M'Gil was deadli sick.

23.—Mr. James Urquhart was with me al day. We reflected on the days that's past, and what God had don for His Church in thes lands. The athiesm of men now, throgh thes croce dispensations. Oh! wil He not refut it. Lieu^t.-general Drumond, I heard, said, That he would brook the estat of the forfeited persons, and would defie al the prayers of the fanaticks.

26.—Park cam hom, and did visit me. I heard from him the Councel's

[a] Alexander Davidson of Newhall, whose brother-german, Findlay, was served his heir, September 1, 1685. (Inquis. Retor., Ross and Cromarty, no. 142.)

act, That heritour should delat al privat meitings in ther lands, or pay a 5th part of ther rent *quoties*. . . . I heard a good report of the L. Drumond; and I acknowledg the Lord in it. Mani ministers did not accept the indulgenc.

Mr. Robert Martin, at Elgin, told me, that Cromarti said to Robert Douglas, that I had been seiking to be on the session again, and that the president hinderd. I leav my vindication on God. He knows how fals it is, and that it never enterd in my mind to desir it. Lord! look to thes men that delight in lies, and mak them ashamd.

May 10.—Benedgfeild cam heir, yong and old, to communicat ther effairs with me. I did sie them intricat.

May 16.—I did keep at Narn with Benedgfeild, and concur with others as the Lord gav me understanding. I did sie the Lord's hand on that poor famili, ther persons, spirit, effairs; and I ador the Lord in his holines.

19.—Mr Al^r. Fraser cam heir, and told me he was willing to com to Forres and to Kinlos. I did apprehend his danger, if he should withdraw others from the public worship, or took tyms to speak, which might offend or stumbl others. He professd his willingness to suffer for this caus. I said, That duties materiali lawful should be don rightli, tym, plac, persons, manner, and what to say, ar needful for terminating our actions. It is God's will that the duties should be gon about with discretion and prudenc. I adduced the exampl of quakers, quhom I hav sein praying in the streits, and reading, and did hold themselvs bound to goe to other countrees to convert folk, albeit they spok in a strang unknown langag, and they compted it dutie, they exhorted, warnd, reprovd, &c.; yet we could not allow them. Ther ar needful circumstances to be observd in ther going about duties, which not being observd, may mar a dutie. I said, They held not themselvs bound to goe to pulpits, into the streets to preach. I said, I wishd quhen he spok, he might not tak that hour to speak in, in which the minister of the place exercisd. Som of them wer painful, and learnd, and pious, as Mr. Geo. Meldrum, and others. I could not condemn and rejet the whol conform ministers as noe ministers, nor reject them and the ordinances ministerd by them as noe ordinances, albeit, I disprov ther compliane in the kind and manner they doe.

21.—Ja. Grant, of Glenbeg, cam heir, anent his busines, to crav aduic.

Mr. William Ros past by: I spok litl to him. Coltfald cam heer, anent Al. Smyth's busines. . . .

22.— . . . The E. of Murray cam heir, and spok of his effairs with me and Grant. Busines and effairs did imped the duties of worship.

June 20.—I did keip at ———, with Elgin and my uncl Francis. Ther was the Bishop and Duffus The Lord ordourd the meiting soe as ther did no evel fall out. . . . I spok to the Bishop, if he writ to the Bishop of St. Andrews, anent the fynes and penalties of thes who wer conveind for scandalous sins, that it might be applied to the church and pious uses.

July 1.—I did visit my grandchild, Eliz. Granghil's daughter, in the pox; and found som desirs towards God. I desir to bless his nam for it. Mr. Wil. Cuming was present, and prayd. Mr. Wm. told me, That the honest men heir did chaleandg him for hearing the minister heir: That they wer mor strict then in other places: That they [were] offended that I did communicat with them. I told him, that I had spoken befor of it with them; and I could not consent to ther judgment in condemning al the churches under prelacie, and to compt the teachers noe teachers, the ordinances they administer no ordinances; and if the Lord strengthend me, I thoght myself bound to suffer err I consented to this.

I did efternoon visit Cath. Collace, ———[a] and found what a great measur of assuranc, joy, strenth, comfort, shee had met with in and befor her sicknes; how born up, and prayer answerd, and intimated that the Lord would put an end to her manifold troubls; and now sens was abated, but [she] livd by faith on the word: That the Lord had driven her out of al conceit of ani thing in her self, and showen her the need of a mediatour for evri stepp, til she wer within the threshold. I bless God for what she has found. She exhorted me to tender walking. Lord! stamp it on my heart. She cravd leav to warn me at the offenc was taken at my complying with thes men of the tyms, and did exhort me to examin and reflect on my own ways, and not to shrink from Ch^t^ for fear of sufferings: That she had made out to her, that the gospel should yet aris in Scotland, and the truths which wer professd in it; He would oun, and defend, and deliver His children in ouning and adheiring to it. This was made out in som measur to her. I did reaceav her warning as becam me, and told her I would giv her account on what grounds I had

[a] Short-hand in MS.

don it, if she wer in a condition; but I should not troubl her with it, and should confer with Mr. Th. Hog anent it, and should giv him a further account of my soc doeing. She exhorted me to set som tym apart to seik God in it, and said, she did sie clouds over me, and feard I would find suffering. I did beseech her, if I cam in her remembranc befor God, that she would pray that suffering may be the worst that can befal me; yet let me be accepted in my suffering, if He cal me to it, and let it be for righteousness, and not in wrath or for evel doing, and doe with me what seims good to Him.

Mr. Tho. Hog told me, that, in the north of England, ther was great following of the suffering Ministers; som reformation amongst men that had been carnal, and not savouring the things of God.

5.—I heard of the great drinking betwixt the E. of Seaforth and Aboin, and desird to be burthend for it Alac! God dishonourd, and not in al ther thoghts.

16.—I receavd word from Edinburgh that the process, which I intended against Chisolm, would be hard and difficil. Let the Lord give counsel. I heard that Mastricht was taken in by the French.

18.—Mr. Th. Ross cam heir. I desir to learn to improv Christian companie aright.

22.—I did meit with my nephew, Don. Campbel, at Penick, anent Alexander Chisolm. Lord! guid my spirit in this.

23.—This night, at 10 of the night, we wer cald to Mr. Ja. Brodie's wif. My son and his wyf went, and becaus of incumbrances I heard. They returnd in the morning, and broght me the sadd newes of Margt. Forbes, Mr. Ja. his wyf's, departur, about 4 in the morning. I went to visit the desolat hous, and Mr. Tho. Ross with me.

28.—I was cald to the burial of good Margt. Forbes, Mr. Ja. his wyf. . . . The action was caried on quietlie. . . . After the burial we met for ordouring what concernd Mr. James his person, and children, and familie. I spok to them to hav simpathi one with another, and complaind on the decay of love amongst us.

Mr. Tho Hog was with me al night. He did contravert with me anent the communicating with thes men: That I should strenthen ther hand, and enter into the nearest fellowship with them, who wer against that caus that God's peopl had shed ther blood for, and lost ther libertie and ther lif for it. I did giv an account of my practis as I would. 1. Albeit ther was much

corruption and declining, yet that did, or should not, hinder from the use of the Lord's ordinances. I adduced the exampl of the peopl in the tym of the Prophets, when ther was much declining; yet the peopl of God did not forbear to partak of the common ordinances, nor ar they reprovd for using the sacrifices and others, but rather for neglecting of them. So the tym of the apostles, thogh a corrupt tym, priests, pharisees, scribes, yet they did com to the common templ, sinagogs, sacrifices, passover. 2. I did not hold the present ministers no ministers, and thes acts of ther calling null and void. He said, As a captain or officer that fals into the enemis los[es] it, so ther commission is null. He insisted against communicating with thes men, as a sealing ordinanc, and not so much against hearing, or partaking of other ordinances with them. I said, That the consequences wer such as I durst not oun, to witt, by disclaiming al thes to be ministers, and ther acts, ordinances none, we should hav noe church; baptism noe baptism, &c. He said, The church was amongst the few that wer suffering. I answerd, Albeit I had mor reverenc to ther persons and gifts then to mani of the other, yet they had the signs of a tru church, the word and sacraments, albeit with much formaliti and weakness, yet pur without mixtur, and according to the word and institution. He had an argument, That they who want the qualifications which by Christ's institution should be in a minister, they ar noe ministers. I scrupld at this, and broght the exampl of Judas. I said, A man might be a cald lawful minister in some respects, and yet want thes qualifications of grace that's needful; and if they had thes qualifications, and wer supposd to hav them quhen they wer admitted, ani outbreaking posteriour would not mak ther admission void, once they wer lawfulli ordaind. He said, That I could be a curat or ani thing. Lord! I am most unstabl; but keip me, that I declin not. He exhorted to solemn fasting and prayer, and in simpliciti to seek counsel, and to follow God.

Another argument he usd, That I should not use my liberti to the offence and greif of thes poor suffering men, albeit I supposd it lawful. I said, They should not stumbl at ani things lawful and necessari. He said, It was not necessari; the church had bein mani years without the pastour. I said, It was ther sin. Yet I purposd herefter, if I should hav opportuniti to communicat, I should first acquaint him, and labour to giv and to get satisfaction from him, and should be most sorri to giv offence, or to stumble him or good men.

August 4.—I heard from Edinburgh the divisions at Court, and that the cabal was broke and divided, and severals readi to quit ther charg.

11.—Mr. Tho. Hog cam heir on behalf of Alr. Chislm. My mind was greatly distracted in prayer. . . . Lord! guard against being puffed up with conceit of parts, wit, success; that I be not vain nor insult.

12.—I did visit Mr. James Urquhart, who had been at the door of death but recoverd a litl; and I desir to bless the Lord on his behalf.

This day 33 years my beloved wife was removd from me by death.[a] I desir to be humbld under the Lord's hand, and to aknowledg his holines and justice, and to bless Him that has prevented and kept me so mani years. Now "leav me not quhen I am old [and] grey headed, that I may shew Thy works to the generations to com."

16.—Efternoon, Sir Geo. Mkenzi cam heir, and others with him. He informd me that Latherdal was yet in credit: That the Hollanders had dround most of ther land, and made ther touns inaccessibl: Anent field meetings.

19.—Efter dinner good Mr. Th. Hogg cam to me, anent Alr. Chisholm;[b] but did fal to expostulate with me for the favours which I bear to wicked men. I desird not to speak, but to hear. Yet he prest on me, and I said, I durst not tak on me to judg the estat of others, and I thoght it might consist with a seid of grac to fall in wicked acts frequentli, of drunkennes, lying, or the lyk. He, and one in the estat of grac may be frequentli, mor then onc or twic, ouertaken with thes sinful acts. He said, That to be frequent in wicked acts of the lyk kind, he could not but judg them in the way to hell. I said, Ther actions I disalloud, so did they, perchanc, themselvs, and wer burthend with it. But for ther failing, so I durst not cal them, or rekon them amongst the wicked: grace may be smotherd with much and frequent corruptions and weakneses. The holi man exprest so much indignation at my expression and opinion, and that he abhord it, and that I stumbld him greatlie; my woful heart kindl'd, and I said I did noe less dislyk his severiti in censuring the condition and estat of others, and that he took the keys, and judgd rashlie and rigidlie; and that I could not embrac the opinion becaus Mr. Tho. Hogg said it, and if he stumbld at me, he might

[a] Here on the margin, Brodie draws the figure of a hand pointing with the finger.

[b] Alexander Chisholme of Comermore. (Inquis. Retor., Inverness, no. 103.)

forbear me. He was sorri that my children should hear such doctrin. Lord! piti both my hastines, rashnes, and ignorance, and the want of reuerenc to that holi man, quhom I had in great esteem; and quherin I may be in an errour, the Lord discouer it to me, and convince, and let me not goe on in it, for Thy nam's sak. In speaking he shew a letter of Tho. Watson's; on which I took occasion to explain my poor opinion, and said, that man had a hop'd good in him: He lov'd thes that feard God. 2. He had God's worship in his hous. 3. He did shew chariti to honest folks in distress, and had other moral good qualities; yet he had a habit of drinking. I durst not seclud him from charitie, nor judg his estat towards God, nor reckon him as a wicked man, to quhom I should shew no favour, and with quhom I should hav noe familiariti.

He did chalendg me for ———.[a]

I adduc'd, for my opinion of men that may fall in and continue in evel courses and frailties, and yet may hav God's seid under al that, Salomon, Jacob, Judah, som of the patriarchs.

I did afterward cal Mr. Tho. asid, and lovingli askd, why he kindld soe vehementli against me. I hopd we minded the sam thing, and had the sam object of our lov and hatred, albeit his was mor intens for good and against evel then min. But I desird unfeinedli to hate evel and lov good. Ani sin continud in, and fallen in, without repentanc, condemns; but how oft a child of God may fall, and ris, and repent, it is hard to define.

22.—I did visit Mr. Will. Falconar in his sickness. Alac! I apprehended my unusfulnes; which made me forbear. He exprest much sence and tendernes on the divisions and breaches in the Church of Scotland, agreing in the fundamentals and principles of religion and doctrin. 2. He quarreld with the expressions of som men, caling the present ministers curats, and contemptibl, thogh of weak gifts; yet that the contempt of the ministers maks the gospel contemptibl. He touched nothing of the faults of ministers, which made them contemptibl; ther negligenc, ignoranc, insufficienci, naghtines. He said, He did renounc Episcop[acy], in obedienc to an ecclesiastick ordinanc, not as contrari to the word of God. I saw matter both of humiliation, and off som thankfulness for ani affection to good in him. Lord! piti this mixtur.

26.—Mr. Tho. Hogg and Brey[b] cam heir, by quhom I heard of the estate

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] James Fraser of Brea.

of the afflicted servants of God, and that soldiers were made use of to tri conventicls: that ther was much earnestnes efter thes men's ministrie in seueral places in the south. The persecution did encreas, and the desir and zeal of peopl encreasd. I heard ther complaint against Mr. Geo. Hutch[eson], that did not acquit himself befor the Counsel with that fortitude that they expected, and the instructions and cannons which they gav to the ministers.

27.—I did goe to Penick, in order to Mr. Chisolm's business; but it did not hold. I visited Mr. Ja. Urquhart, and told him what Mr. Will. Falconar had said to me, anent the sens he enterd in the covenant. Mr. Ja. did expres the sin and evel of violating it, and spok of the bad shepheards; but I was not movd with it duli.

Sept. 5.—My harvest did begin. I was cald to Narn betwix Benedgfeild and Sir Geo. M^{k}en[z]i, and betwix Leathin and Sir George.

6.—After Duffus went away I visited Mr. Wm. Falconar. He exprest som missing of Christ and assuranc. But his imployments and cares chokd this. He prest me to pray with him. I had reluctancie, yet obeyd. I desir to be heard for him, and to simpathiz with him.

13.—Mr. Ja. Tailour cam heir. I did not mak use of compani as I oght. . . . I heard of the great divisions of honest men in the south. I desir to be cast down under this. Mr. Ja. Tailour told me, that good old Mr. Blair desird him to tell me (ere he died), That he hopd the Lord would reviv his work in thes lands. But he trembled at the aprehension of the door it would enter in at, throgh much blood, confusion, and calamitie.

14.—Die Dom. . . . The gifts and graces of God ar not to be sett out for advantadg, or carnal ends, but modestlie to be kept in our breast, betuixt God and our souls, or to be told to Christian friends for experienc and edification.

15.—The Ladi Kilraok cam heir this night. Alac! we ar not the better for another's societie. Lord! help it.

The Ladi Kilraok went hence in the morning. I spok to her of her oun cace, and her familie, children, husband. But, alace! I com short in al things my self. She told me something of Mr. Will. Cuming's cariag, at which I greivd.

18.—This day I ended my shearing. Much of the corns wer grain. . . . Efternoon I went to Greiship to sie in what cace ther corns wer in, and met Mr. Rob. Martin. I heard from him, and from my brother, the troubls that

honest peopl wer in at Edinburgh by the ———:[a] That Mr. Andro Wedderburn was imprisond for having mor then 5 at his famili exercis.[b]

19.—The Ladie Westfeild cam heir, and I did efternoon hear from Sir G. M[k]enzi, and met with young Benedgfeild; and I found the reflections of men for my dealing in ther affairs; and hearing that ther way was not right, I repented that I had medl'd betwix them, and found my weaknes in giving up Sir Geo. his disposition till al was cleard. Lord! imput not sin to me in this. Benedgfeild was here all night.

22.—Mr. Rob. Martin went thenc towards the south. I writ by him to my brother anent Laith[erdail.]

23.—Sir George M[k]en[z]i cam heir, and severals with him, and dind with me. He spok to me of Benedgfeild's buisiness. I found matter of humiliation in that matter: that poor yong man Benedgfeild fallen from great expectation to be veri low. I desir to sie the mutablnes of human effairs in him.

October 10.—I did goe to Leathin on Grant's effairs, and I feard to be an instrument or occasion of his oppression and injustic. . . . I staid al night at Leathin. Ja. Fraser prayd in the familie. Brey spok to me not to wryt against him to the Presid[ent], and I did promis it. . . .

11.—I returnd from Leathin to the burial of Cath. Brodie at Fedden, and of a daughter of Esterbin's.

12.—Die Dom. I read Jos. Allein on the Directions to Confession, and the Covenant, the personal Covenant to be enterd in.

14.—This morning my daughter-in-law was deliuerd (efter sor labour) of another daughter. . . . I perceaud that my daughter-in-law had noe mind, as she said to me, to be hastie in baptizing the child; which makes me apprehend that she inclins not to hav her baptizd by any of the conform ministers. . . . I spread it befor God as I could. I allow, and love thes men's persons abou others farr. I giv them the testimoni of mor faithfulnes and abiliti to that function, then others, but cannot sie how I can consent to ther principls and opinion in this, That the conform ministers ar noe ministers, and the ordinances which they dispenc ar noe ordinances. Ther failing does not unminister them, nor tak away the blessing of God's ordinanc from us. The consequenc of this opinion does at once unchurch all the churches of thes 3 nations, nay, brings in question thes exercises of the ministri which our

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] See Wodrow's History, vol. ii., p. 224.

fathers, and ourselvs, and our children wer admitted to, and partakd of. I besoght the Lord for light.

15.—I heard a litl of my good-daughter's vewes, that the child should not be baptizd by the conform minister. I did spread it befor God as I could. . . . The Ladi Leathin spok of it to me, and said it was God's enterest not to withdraw from but to countenanc thes men that sufferd for ther dutie. I said, I desird to hav them in favour, and to countenanc them; but, I could not disclaim al thes that conformd as noe ministers, and that the ordinances which they dispencd wer noe ordinances: I held them lawful. . . .

I spok to her also off the wicked Major Weer[a] that was execut, and reprovd her for comparing him with Mr. Jhon Forbes. She cald him a hypocrit, albeit she acknowledgd God blessing his ministri. I said, I durst not cal him a hypocrit or unsound, albeit left to himself and to gross abominations; but to consider what may consist with free grac and mercie.

18.—I did find by my son, that his wyf had not inclination to hear any mor, or to mak use of the conform ministers to dispenc baptism to her child. I exprest my dislyk of it, and said, This child behoud to be mor holi and innocent then the rest, or then the parents. Ani sharpnes in this, Lord! pardon. I dar not look on thes men as unministerd. I said, I would not speak to her of it.

20.—Benedgfeild elder cam heir with his effairs with his son. I desir not to meddl in them. I sie litl appearanc of God's blessing among them.

22.—I heard my daughter-in-law would giv way to the baptizing of her child. Lord! let it be noe snar to it, nor us.

26.—Die Dom. Mr. Col. Falconar preachd, I could not say but soundlie, yet truths so general that the soul was not wakned. But I desir to feed on the word.

27.—This evening I was interrupted by Geo. Dunbar. He told me, that old Coulbin died on Friday last.

28.—I did visit Mr. William Falconar. He did put me to worship. I did it with som reluctancie, but followd the Lord's cal, and mentiond what I could pointing at his condition.

29.—This day, my Grandchild, Margaret Brodie, was presented and offered up to God, in the couenant of baptism, administred by Mr. Colin Falconar.

[a] Thomas Weir, commonly called Major Weir, and his Sister, were convicted of many horrible crimes, and executed 11th April, 1670.

I heard from Edinburgh that ther was fear that the Parliament was cald for imposing the Service Book: That Latherdal had taken a remission. I hav befor this been complaining of my dimsightednes, and indiscerning, aptnes to stumbl, cannot sie things that differ in the maiter of conforming and not conforming. Reacceaving the ordinances from them or other, forbearing to hear thes quhair I livd has bein an exercis; but what will I do if the Servic Book and Ceremonies com. I sie befor hand my facilnes, dimsightednes, fear of danger, reasonings; and thes reasons that mak me retain thes ministers will inclin me to the other corruptions.

November 1.—James Heburn cam to me anent his son. . . . I did sie his son's letters to him, which did import som good affections. . . .

I heard Mr. Donald was to preach the next day. I was in doubt whether I should goe to the kirk and hear him. Lord! giv me direction, for I am nothing edified by him. Yet he is in the place of a minister. Lord! does that warrand me to hear him?

2.—Die Dom. I did read Cotton's Answer to Williams, That evri Antichristian opinion in a church, doth not subvert the Church, nor doth not evacnat the church estat, as the High places in Judah: . . . David's bringing the ark in a cart efter the manner of the Philistines. . . . Israel borroud silver and gold quhen they cam out of Egypt; so from Babilon got cups and vessels for the Temple, &c. Though Prelats tread doun, they do not extinguish the tru Church. Ordination by Bishops polluts, but doth not destroy the essens of ordination.

This day, becaus Mr. Donald was to preach, I did stay at hom, partli becaus he is not such as he ought to be, partli to avoid som offenc of others.

6.—Efternoon my grandchild, Catherin Dumbar, was maried to Mr. Charles Gordoun. I did sie vain mirth and plentie. . . . Mr. Colin Falconar exercisd.

23.—Die Dom. I heard from Edinburgh, that God had raised up Duk Hamilt[on] and som others to doe, or aim to doe, somthing against incroachments on the liberti of the subjects, and to hav things represented to the King by the Parliament: That Polworth had spoken frieli against trampling the liberti and privilidg of Parliament under foot: That the Provost of Edinburgh was to be questiond.

Mr. Don. M'Pherson preachd. I desird to be silent for he hes litl discerning. Whatever weaknes be in him, Lord! let it not hinder me or ani of thin from making a right use of thy word, and profiting by it.

25, 26.—Mr. William Thomson was with me, and Mr. Charles Gordoun. I worshipped with Mr. Will. in secret. . . . I warnd him a litl of that which was spoken of his conversation.

30.—Die Dom. I heard yong Mr. William Falconar should preach, and I was in doubt if I should hear him, because I had knowen him an ignorant and unsufficent person, and unfit for that work. 2. And had heard of his high conformiti with prelaci and all the corruptions in England. 3. His disaffection from thes that fear God in this land. 4. Ther was som thoghts of bringing him in to this parish,[a] and therfor I did conceav it my duti at this tym to withdraw, and not to giv him countenanc or ground to expect or look for this.

1 Decr.—I heard of the commotions in Badenoch, betuix M^c^Intosh and M^c^Pherson; and Grant soght counsel, being requird by the Sherif Deput. I diswaded him to medl, except to adviz them to peac.

5.—Cath. Collace was heir. I heird she was going south; and I desird to suppli her, for shee had nothing.

13.—The Ladi Leathin yonger, cam heir. I perceavd they minded to put away Mr. Will. Thomson, and to tak Mr. Al^r^ Fraser.

21.—Die Dom. Yong Mr. William Falconar preachd this day: "Great is the gain of Godlines," &c. The discours was general, and sound, polishd language, but all affected. I could not discern the doctrin nor the person. Naughtie men may have a "form of sound words." What should my duti be in this cace?

31.—I did go to the burial of Mr. David Dunbar's wyf at Kirkhil. . . . I spok to the Bishop anent an helper to Dyk, and anent Mr. Lindsey. He promisd fair; but I can not lay ———.[b] Innes told me of the Ladi Wigtoun's death,[c] and his son's going south. I desir to be instructed by this: That the godli "ar taken away from the evel to come."

[*The MS. Diary for the next two years, from January*, 1674, *to February*, 1676, *is not preserved.*]

[a] William Falconer, who was ordained in England, became his father's successor, as minister of the parish of Moy and Dyke, in September, 1674: he was ejected in 1690.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Anne Ker, grand-daughter of Robert, first Earl of Roxburghe, was the wife of John, fourth Earl of Wigtoun.

1676. Feb. 27.—Die Dom. Jhon Brodie died this day; his wyf, and 2 children, or 3, having died few days befor. . . . This is the second poor tenant that I did intend som thing for, and they did not enjoy it, but wer prevented by death.

March 2.—I met with Mr. Jhon M'Culicam, and he told me he had preachd at Elgin, and the Bishop had heard it.

8.—I heard the E. of M. his blustering against Ja. Help. [? Hepburn] for conventicls. Ther cam mani poor; and our land is a suarm of poor.

12.—Die Dom. I heard of the commission to E. M[urray], Seaf[orth], Duffus to fyn conventicles; against supplying those who wer intercommund.

17.—I heard mass was frequent in Strathdoun, Inverness; and I desird to be burthend with it. Sir George Munro and his Ladi cam heir. He told me, that the sam seueriti was usd against the Nonconformists in England and Irland, that was usd heir, and as it took effect in England, it would fare with us. Lord! guid my spirit, understanding, wil, affections, actions, cariag, as to the publick, anent meetings with the nonconformists, and the leauing others. I heard how il seuerals agreed with ther wyfs: B. of St. Androes and his wyf: and what they said one of another, objecting, adulteri and incest the one, and witchcraft the other.[a]

19.—Die Dom. I read Harl[b] on the Covenant of Grace: the fulnes in Christ Jesus for al doubts, deceits, errours, weakness, fears, defects, to ansuer al objections.

21.—Mr. James Urquhart cam heir. My buisines hinderd me from speaking much with him, albeit I had maiters of importanc anent the tyms. He said he was loth that I should suffer for intertaining him. Lord! keip me from shriuking at that, for to shrink at it wer to be ashamd of Thee, and deni Thee. . . . He would not stay at night.

22.—My nephew, Donald Campbell, cam hom, and told me that the Bp. of St. Androes and Hattoun[c] had often desird that I might be cald for and fynd; and Seaforth had withstood. Let me be accepted of Thee, and be guided by Thee in Thy way, and com of me whateuer Thou sees good. . . .

[a] These reports seem to countenance some of the statements contained in the scurrilous invective, the "Life and death of Mr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews."

[b] Charles Herle, a puritan divine.

[c] Sir Charles Maitland of Haltoun, brother of the Duke of Lauderdale, was at this time Treasurer-Depute.

23.—Mr. William Ross cam heir from the South, and told me he had bein put on an expectation to be minister at Sterling, but the Bishop of St. Androes declind him. I heard from him, that the Bishop of St. Androes mentiond me for conventicls. My Lord Argyl was forc'd to quit Mr. William Cuming, becaus he had not an approbation from the Bishop. He said the Bishops, in their judgment, wer thoght Arminian. They were at a great height.

24.—This day, about one in the morning, my great-grand-child Jhon Abercrombie, Glasack's son, and my brother's grand-child ———,[a] Both's daughter, wer born. My neis [neice] was in great danger of death and distemper throgh pain. . . . Jhon Abercrombi was this day baptizd. I being occasionali at Dyk, I did go and hear, and was witnes to his admission in to the sacrament of baptism. I heard that Kilr[avock] had fallen out with Crom[arti] at Tarbet's hous, and had appeald him to the combat. This was a great greif to me, especialli ———.[b]

25.—I was cald to Geddes to sie the Ladi Kilraok. She was affected with the sad ———.[b] Lord! shew us all Thy mind by this rodd, for we ar al concerned in it.

I heard the Ladi Duffus,[c] on the 23rd instant, maried yong Gordonstoun.[d] It was not without reflections. 1. That such a person as she should doe it so abruptli. 2. Without the consent of ———.[b] I did sie human frailti in it. We ar as an earthen vessel, not of iron that can bide a fal, but the least chapp dashes and breaks us, even not the bodi onli, but the spirit, and that even of thes that hav tru grac.

I cam hom at night, and spok with Mr. James Urquhart, and found he had not mind to speak the next day. I told the Ladi Kilr[avock], her mother had said she would not hear one of the nonconform ministers, except she could hav noe others. I said, that I would rather [be of] the opinion with som, it was better to say, It wer best to hear the conform ministers if we could not have occasion to hear the nonconform, for they were the best. . . . She spok to me to help to pay Mr. T. Hogg's st. [stipend]. I was willing, but I desird that ———.[b]

[a] Blank in MS.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

[c] Margaret, eldest daughter of William, eleventh Lord Forbes, and relict of Alexander Sutherland, first Lord Duffus, who died 31st August, 1674.

[d] Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, son and heir of Sir Lodovicus Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart.

26.—Die Dom. I desir'd to be duli affected with the burthens of the day: that I am deprivd of publick worship. Is my staying at hom alloud by Thee? What manner of man is in this place, the Lord knows. My stumbling at him is one caus that straitens me. Tri and search, lead and bear me up, and strenthen for Thy Son and glorie's sake.

30.—I was cald to a meeting betuix Petgauni and Spini anent the bu[y]ing of Coldhom. . . . Som of my friends drew me in to D. Brodie's chamber, and took a drink of wyn or two. I doe from my hart acknouledg the Lord in restraining me from taking mor then was fitt; for euen to that sin I had within myself a temptation. I went to Petgauni at night. I spok to him to beware of thes feild meetings, and exprest my judgment against separation.

31.—This night, yong Burgie[a] maried the Ladi Westfeild[b] at Grang hous in Burgie.

April 2.—I purposd to have heard Mr. Jas. Urquhart, but he spok not that day. I hear he forbears, least he should bring me into inconvenienc.[c] Lord! open my eys, and mak me know what Thou calls me to, and requirs, that I may hau strenth to obey: whither Thou approues the forbearance, or me in consenting. Give me to be wis as a serpent, and also innocent as the dove, that I may not separat thes duties which Thou hast so inseparabli joind.

10.—I did sie a letter of my L. Argyll to the E. of M. on my behalf. Lord! keip me from trusting to the freindship of men.

12.—I heard my uncl Francis was sick. I desird to simpathiz and be instructed, and to hav him in remembranc to God-ward, and to advertiz Mr. Ja. Urquhart to visit him. Dr. Gordoun cam heir. I spok with him anent discourses, tal-bearing, quhairin he did vindicat himself.

13.—I did goe earli to see my uncl at Baliuat. Efter ordouring somthing which concernd ther matters, Mr. James Urquhart prayd. . . . Ladi Grant cam by, and visited him. I heard of the breaking out of the highland men of Lochaber, on Badenoch, Strathspey, Urquhart, and other places. I desir to be made to sie God in it, and let the Lord who bounds the raging sea, put a bound to the rage of thes barbarous men.

[a] See p. 288, note [b]

[b] See p. 290, note [a]

[c] Mr. James Urquhart, minister of Kinloss, was deposed for nonconformity, 19th May, 1663, but having survived the Revolution, he was restored to his parish in 1690.

15.—Mr. Jhon Heburn cam, [and] dind heir ; and my brother cam heir from Edinburgh this evening.

27.—Petgouni and his wyf, and B. Brodi cam heir. I kept them al day, and spok somthing of the supplying the honest indigent parsons among us. Let the Lord warm my hart with his love. . . . I heard that Thorntoun had preachd at Elgin laitli, and had causd much tendernes and weeping among them. I am readi to be shaken at the gifts of ———.[a]

May 1.—Henrie Lochhead cam heir yesternight. I heard how it was with the honest peopl at Glasgow. He said, they would scarc keip compani with thes that heard the ordinari teachers. Lord ! I desir to ponder this word. He told me, that Mr. Jhon Spreul had given him a paper to be showen for paying a ransom for som honest men, that wer given to the French Captains. Lord ! inlarg my hart.

6.—I heard that mani honest men of the best note, wer imprisoned at Glasgow by Atholl, and others that wer on the commission, becaus they would not by ther oath clear themselus from being at Conventicls. I desird to sympathiz with them, and to be burthend with ther suffering. . . .

7.—Die Dom. In regard of the storm, and the E. of M. his being heir, I did refrain from Penick this day. . . . I heard the Bishop's wyf died on the 5 instant.

8.—This day was for the burial of the Bishop's wyf, but I was not cald to it : and also the burial of a son of William Cumings of Craigmil at Aldern : I went ther. . . . I past this efternoon with Mr. James Urquhart, and I found som kindlings. Oh ! soon it is extinguished.

10.—The L. Doun and Duffus cam heir, and dind. Mr. Alr. Ker cam, and my daughter-in-law desird to be frie of his companie. I therfor sufferd him to goe. But I cannot approv this strictnes.

14.—Die Dom The Lord gave some liberti in the familie, morning. I heard Mr. James Urquhart on James 1. 12. " Blest is the man who endurs temptation."

15.—My daughter went to sie the Ladi Kilr[avock] who was sick of a feaver. I did go to Leathin about his effairs, and found my own, and others corruption in advizing.

16.—I staid at Leathin this night, and next day did visit my old uncl at Balivat.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

18.—I heard of the Ladi Kil[ravock] her danger, and desird to bear burthen with her. I was cald to Leathin to meit Grant: I commit my soul to God: and efter som things don ther, and setting Balivat to James Steuart, I went to sie the Ladi Kilr. and found [her] at the dor of death, speechless, and having lost al sence. . . . I desir to be exercisd under this rod, and besoght the Lord to spar her, even for his own glori, and for the good and comfort of others, and to simpathiz with her. Innes and his Ladi wer advertizd, but cam not.

20.—This day, the good ladi Kilraok died.[a] This is a stroak which I desir to understand. . . . Is it not matter of mourning and humiliation, quhen the righteous ar taken away, shal we not consider and lay it to hart? 2. Quhen the cheif amongst us for affection and zeal ar plukd away. 3. Quhen thus taken away, not lookd for, without ani expression or word, nay scarc a word spoken with her to God, quhilst she lay, nor a word from her. 4. How great the loss to the poor distrest folk in thes places, ministers and others: ther tru Dorcas, and mor, "a mother in Israel:" ther refuge. Who shal tak care now of them? Lord! rais up others. Hast Thou not the residu of the Spirit? They ar now wholli cast on Thee; noe less then her children and famili. . . . What will ther be in that familie qnhair she was placd, and Thou wast servd?

The harts of ———[b] and naghti men ar made glad. Lord! turn ther joy to disappointment. They that fear Thee ar smytten, and ther harts made sadd. Bring forth meat out of the eater: in the flour of her age taken away; about 36 or 38 year of age. I observ'd thus it fared with the Ladi Park, my neic: the Ladi Wigtoun: even quhen Thou had done ther souls good, and quhen they wer made fitt to do good to others, snatched away. I desird to be set apart next day for solemn humiliation, under the Lord's hand upon his church, and us, in this strok.

24.—The Mr. of Saltoun's son cam heir. He told me, that the Bishop of St. Androcs had exprest himself against me sharpli; that Achinedden told him this. . . . I heard that the Duk of York had communicated at the Mass, and not with the King. The comission of the Councel was sitting at Aberdeen upon the conventicls.

25.—I was cald to the burial of the good Ladi Kilraok. . . . The

[a] See p. 282, note [b]

[b] Short-hand in MS.

burial was don with peac and quietnes, and confluenc of peopl. Innes soght to hav had the children with him. I mov'd it; but Kilraok delayd it. . . . I was desird to goe to Kilraok to confer of his condition.

Duffus and Tarbet cam heir at night. Albeit I get litl good by ther compani, yet I was content to be under friendship with al men. . . .

26.— . . . Mr. Duncan Cuming was heir, and yong Both's[a] wyf. I did sie mor of forwardnes and zeal in him, then I could attain unto, in auersnes from Bishops, and thes that conformd under them. I desird him to tell honest men in the south, that I did not com up ther lenth, therfor I hopd they would not stumbl at me. I cannot count the Church noe Church, nor the offlcers noe officers, albeit much sinful corruption mixd in the gouernment. Tarbet said, He would have the church gouernment terminat in one person. 2. That he held Bishops to be successors to the Apostls. 3. Presbyters to hav a consultiv, but noe decisiv voic. 4. Bishops should hav noe ciuil places or dignities. 5. Should not be chosen by the King, but elected by others that can discern and tri them. 6. Would not hav them subject to Presbyters, but to thes of ther oun degree. Lord! let not this leven leaven me. I saw a lyn from Mr. R. Martin to my brother, which informd him that I was ill reported at Court, and my famili greatli taken notic of, and that for conventicles highli: that enterest could not be carried on heir but by me, and we ar forgetful of former favours.

28.—Die Dom. I find a great auersnes from suffering, and staggering, feard to lose lyf or estat, and feard that my fear must blind and mislead me. I hold it not only lawfull, but a duti not to abandon thes honest Ministers that hav stuck and cleaven to the reformation, and chosen to suffer for that truth of gouernment, and against Prelacie, as it is constitut amongst us. If the Lord would strenthen me, I would desir a willing mind to confess the Lord, and this truth and duti, in the persuasion and faith of his allowanc, and approbation, and acceptanc of me in my suffering. But I cannot hold it unlawfull to hear thes who conform, and compli with the alteration. 2. My affection is towards thes that conform not, and to whoes sinceriti my hart and conscienc gives a testimoni beyond the others. But I cannot disclaim others from being officers; albeit ther be corruption in ther admission, and in ther exercis of the offic, yet sureli this does not unminister them. I dar not either

[a] Dunbar of Bothe.

approv the withdrawing from them, and the rest. . . . 3. I questioned whether I might not safli use means to declin the croce, and to ward of the wrath of the Lords and the Magistrat. Oh! suffer me not to use unlawful means. Let not self lov, witt, craft, timrousnes, unbeleef, corrupt my mind, but indu with the spirit of sound knowledg, fortitud, patienc, stedfastnes, tendernes, faith, mortification, and spiritual wisdom and understanding. . . . 4. Shall I begin and hear Mr. William Falconar? Shall I ———[a] brother, and cause him ———[a] South? Shall I wryt to Seaforth, or Argyl, and put them on it to clear and vindicat me? 5. Shall I forbear to hear that honest minister Mr. James Urquhart for a tym, seing the storm is lyk to fall out on me cheifly, and that they lay the blame upon me of ani meetings that are heir? 6. What counsel shall I giv to my Son? Shall I expose myself and my famili to this imminent danger at this tym? What is Thy will, what is duti? A grain of sound faith would solve all thes questions.

29.—I intended to hav gon in and heard Mr. Wm. preach this day: not out of any superstition or esteem of the day: but not thinking it sinful, I intended to remov som preiudice of myself, as if I wer wholli against hearing of thes who conform. Quhen I had gon the lenth of Dyk, and the bell-ringing, I turnd asid, and lookd up to God for direction; and after som strugling I did wholli forbear, lest I should stumbl and offend honest men, in hearing, and contenancing ther holi days, both at once.

June 3.—I heard that the Lord Doun[b] had fled from his father's hous yesternight, about 11 at night, and they knew not quhair he was. . . . The Earl of Muray is swimming in welth, and honour, and increas, and does what he will; yet this gal is mixd to allay this prosperiti. . . . My daughter-in-law did goe to sie my Ladi Murray. I inclind to it also, to simpathiz with her in sinceriti, albeit I hav litl acceptance of them.

I heard my uncl Francis was drawing near his end; that he had noe desir of Mr. James Urquhart's compani, for he did slak his grounds. I desird to hav him on my hart, and to remember his cace to God, if he be on lyf.

4.—Die Dom. This day was rogh, and Mr. Ja. did not speak, so that I

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Alexander, fourth Earl of Murray, succeeded to the title and estates in 1653. He married Emilia, daughter of Sir William Balfour; and survived till 1st November, 1700. His eldest son, above mentioned. James Lord Doune, predeceased him in 1685.

staid at hom. I had inclinations to hav gon and heard Mr. Wm. Falconer, to giv som countenanc to the publick worship, albeit not to the person. 2. Albeit he be but weak gifted and enter'd not in by a cleanli way, yet I dar not disclaim him as no minister. They may be lawful ministers that ar not either faithful, or yet sufficiently gifted, and whoes entri is not so cleanly.

6.—I did visit the Ladi Murray, and did express my indignation at her son's folli. I invited him to com doun next day.

7.—The L. Doun and Spini din'd heir. I desird to doe it to God, if possibl to divert the yong man, and to hav som simpathie with his mother.

8.—I did goe to Penick and met with Mr. Ja.; but alac! I did not profit by communication with him. I read a letter from Mr. T. Ross, nor did I profit by it, for the maiter in question maks distance. Grant cam heir, and went to Leathin efter supper. Mr. Tho. Ross from the Ladi Kilr[s] death. 1. The righteous taken away from the evel. . . .

9.—I was cal'd to a meeting with Grant and Connag. He is a man difficil to deal with. . . . I visited Kinsteri,[a] and Mr. T. Hogg. He shew me Innes letter and aknowledgment. I thoght him too rigid in the marks of saving grac, and as to the stat of men. I fear he may be in an errour; and I fear my oun weaknes may be on the other extremiti. Lord! pitie both him and me, and inclin our hearts to one another in the Lord. I heard that the E. of M. had informd against me, and that Seaf[orth] spok for me.

11.—Die Dom. Ther was noe sermon at Penick, throgh Mr. Ja. his sicknes. . . . Leathin cam heir this night, and went to Elgin with me on Monday to a trist betwix Innes and Buckie. . . . I did visit old Ladi Dufus and her husband. I did goe at night (12) to Innes.

13.—I cam henc next morning to Petgauni, and spok with the Bishop anent that which was due to me by Geo. Bu[r], and exprest much freedom to him anent his office, and against the consistenci of a ministerial office with civil honours and imployments: My dislik of the office as it is exercisd and constitut among us. He prest my alledgianc to the King. I said, I had rather my flesh wer torn, err I wer not as loyal to the king as ani subject he had. I askd at him, If he wer to remov from this, and it was no divin consideration to remov to a fatter benefice: Orkney was twic as good. He said,

[a] David Sutherland of Kinstarie.

A goose was good, and the fatter the better.[a] I alluded to that word, "He that seeks a Bishoprick seeks a good work;" and the better Bishopricks the better work. He said, They should not seek that offic for lucr or gain. I chalendgd him for his fals informations to the Chancellor against me. I said, I would not hav don the lyk to him, albeit I differd from him, and dislykd his prelaci. I professd kindness to al the race that he is com off; but he had requitted me evel for good. But they that would be tru to God would be tru to men, and they that wer fals to God would be fals to men. I told him, I was bound to deal plainli, and not to flatter him, that he may not chalendg me for hipocrisi in speaking fair to his face, and foul behind his back.

I moved that if he would renew an tack of my teinds of Brodi, I would discharge Geo. Dunbar. He took it to adviz. I cam in by Kined. and ended with Margt. Gordoun. I conferrd with Moortoun anent Coultfald's buisines, and cam hom at night late, and found Coll. Innes heir.

15.—This morning, Don. Campbel's eldest son, Colin Campbel, was born. I visited Mr. James Urquhart, quhom I found dangerouslie sick. I desird to simpathiz with him, and to be rightlie affected with it. Mr. Th. Hog was ther. He spok to the causes why good men ar taken away, and oft silent at ther end. He gav this as one, that men may improv them quhilst they ar among them, and whilst they may have the profit of ther compani and gifts. Lord! suffer me not to pass this lightlie. Mr. Hutcheson, Mr. Gilbert Hall, Mr. Th. Urquhart, Mr. Nath. Martin, Ladi Park, Ladi Kilr., and several others, have not had the use of ther speech nor reason at ther death.

16.—The Ladi Leathin cam heir, and staid thir two nights. I did visit Kilr., and spok of his oun condition. I found him willing to contribut to honest men, and heir began the offering. I also visited Calder, and Mr. James Urquhart, to quhom the Lord gav som ease, and the beginning of a cool. I desird to bless the Lord for it. I return'd lait.

18.—Die Dom. Mr. James Urquhart continud sick, not convalesed, albeit a litl revivd. This made me stay at home. The Saboth is the occa-

[a] Murdoch Mackenzie took his Master's degree at Edinburgh in July, 1612. He was translated from Murray to the See of Orkney, 18th February, 1676; and is said to have been nearly a hundred years old when he died at Kirkwall, in February, 1688.

sion of much burthen, 1. Whylst detaind from the publick worship and ordinances, partli by the scandal and corruption of thes who conform, and partli lothnes to join with them, and abandon others who doe not conform, and also unwillingnes so to join with thes who conform not, as to abandon thes who conform, as if they wer noe church, no officers, and to disclaim them and the ordinances administerd by them. Thogh they sin and fowli hav faild, yet I dar not separat from them and disclaim. 3. Ther is also fear of exposing myself to suffering, albeit I dar not allow this.

20.—I was cal'd to Elgin, betwix Bucki and Innes. I did yield to goe.

22.—As I cam hom yesterday, I met with Mr. Da. Campbel's daughter, Wm. Campbell's wyf, going to her father's to a sacrament. She cal'd me efter she had past, and told me her errand, and that she would, if I likd, deal with her father to intermit a day, and this last day would be the 10 of Juli. I desird to consider this providenc, and (if the Lord alloud) to lay hold on it. Becaus my son and I had not communicated with thes at Knockoudi, I had then purposd to tak ane other occasion, such as might be fre of offenc; and if this be Thy mind that I should embrac this occasion, I desir counsel and direction, and Thy guiding and presenc and blesing, to ordour my way and this wholl action. My soul longs for Thee in that ordinance, which Thou hast not injoind without caus. Shal I neglect it, now having bein without it 4, 5, or 6 years?

The warder, Mr. Colin Falconar, and others, cam heir and din'd. I heard Sir Da. Falconar[a] was put on the session. The Register was put of, and Duk Hamiltoun. E. M. had quit the place of Cheif Justic.[b]

They said Mr. Colin[c] was to be Bishop. I said, I rather he wer Bishop then ani other. . . . The bees did cast, and I desird to be instructed by this.

23.—Mr. Jhon Heburn cam heir this night, and worshipd in the famili.

25.—Die Dom. I desir particularli direction and counsel anent my going to the Merns to Mr. David Campbel's[d] communion. . . . I hav bein thir

[a] Sir David Falconer of Newton was appointed a Lord of Session, 22d June, 1676, and afterwards was promoted to be Lord President.

[b] Alexander, Earl of Murray, held the office of Lord Justice General, 1 June, 1675—but he does not appear to have resigned at this time.

[c] Colin Falconer, sometime minister of Essil and Forres, became Bishop of Argyll, but not until 1679, and in the following year was translated to the See of Murray.

[d] Mr. David Campbell was minister of St. Cyrus, in the Presbytery of Mearns, at the restoration, but was ejected for nonconformity in 1662.

several years, without this ordinance of the sacrament. . . . Fear of offence and separation, and singulariti, kept me from the sacrament at Knokoudie. This occasion has nothing of just caus of offenc, separation, or singulariti, but is according to ordour, and that honest men approv. . . . It's tru I hav communicated with thes who conform, and I think I may lawfulli doe it without partaking of ther sin. Yet the offence that honest men took at it has made me forbear. Lord! tri and pitie, search me, and hav merci on me, and heal me.

Ther ar great storms lyk to com on the Church in thes lands, and I desir'd to be fitted and furnishd, that I may hold out in the storm, and may not faint, nor turn aside to crookd, corrupt, carnal, unlawful ways or counsels.

The last Sacrament which I reaceavd was 25 August, 1669.

27.—I reaceavd a letter from Mr. Da. Campbell sheuing that his sacrament was to be celebrat 2 Juli, next Lord's day, and inviting me thither. The tym is short, for I expected it should not hav bein til the 9 of Juli. This did disturb me.

29.—I did visit Mr. James Urquhart, and found savrines in his words. He did complain of the ungratitud of men, and requitting folk ill. I said, They that do all to God cannot repent nor los at men's hand, wer they never so unthankful. Approbation and acceptanc of God throgh Jesus Christ is sweit and reward enogh, albeit ther wer no mor, yet the rest of the reward that follows, his approbation, is not to be cast out with, but we may draw incouradgment from it, as Moses, Abraham, and others did. Innes and his Ladi had visited Kilraok, and this day returnd, and broght Kilraok and the children with them. . . . Kilraok intended south from this. I heard from Calder that my L. Argyl cald him south, but that he could not goe soe long as he stood in thes terms with the Erl of Murray anent the Broadshaw.

30.—Mr. Will. Falconer the minister, cam heir about his stipend. I conversd, saluted, drunk with him. Let this be no sin or snar; that keiping compani and familiariti may not be a snar to me.

July 1.—I did goe earli to the burial of Jean Gordoun, Coul's wyf. . . . The Bishop told me he could not grant the tack, nor doe that for George Forbes which he intended, being to goe soon away. I took som refreshment at Windihils, and ther did som of our friends subscriv the contribution. Lord! ordour it to Thy glori. I heard thes at the east intended to hav Mr.

Jhon M'Kelican preach at Elgin once in the month or 20 days, and that the rest might tak a vice, and giv them a sermon ther now and then. That my judgment and opinion is not for this. Tri me and clear me. It wer the short way not onli to kindl a fir against themselvs and others, but to depriv the countrie of the benefit and connivanc which they hav now, and would irritat.

2.—Die Dom.—I desir to know the dutie of this day: then I know it quhen I am helpd to goe about it aright. That I do not goe to hear Brey nor to ani other place then Penick; whatever may be my sinful infirmiti in this way, search and teach. On consideration of danger, prudenc, or inconvienc that I forbear to hear in other places, I look to Thee for light; inlighten my darknes, and mak prudenc, witt, natural parts, moderation, inconvenienci, danger, and al moral or natural considerations be made subject to Thee, and Thy will.

3.—Brey and Mr. Jhon Heburn cam heir. I feard distanc even with God's children. His presenc discouradgd from exercis. . . . Brey was on his journey south.

4.—Brey and Mr. John Hepburn went from this yesternight. We had som conferenc anent hearing, and he said, To hear ministers admitted by prelats was idolatri, becaus the authoriti by which they preachd was without warrand from the word. I could not discern dolatri in it, neither in the object of worship, nor in the manner of worship. If I be blind, Lord! piti and open my eys.

Evri human mixtur or invention in church government, thogh not lawful yet cannot be concluded idolatri. He said, It was lyk the calves and images. I did meit with Leathin, and spok anent removing the old man our uncl.

7.—Calder went south this day, being cald by my L. Argyl. The factions wer great in counsel anent Argyl's busines and M'Lean's.

9.—Die Dom. I heard that Mr. Alr. Dumbar[a] did not com to famili worship at Innes, nor did he speak with Mr. Kenneth Stevenson ther. This cariag, and I desird to consider and examin, as that which I could not in my weak judgment allow.

[a] Mr. Alexander Dunbar was for sometime schoolmaster at Auldearn, and was afterwards licensed to preach by a number of nonconform ministers at Edinburgh. In 1685, he was imprisoned on the Bass Rock for nonconformity.

12.—Miltoun cam to desir me to be witnes to his father's transportation. I declind it, but he said his father was pressing.

13.—I heard from Archibald Campbell, that quhen Mr. James Kirktoun was aprehended and escaped at Edinburgh, by Jerviswood's means, that his son drounded on the water of Leith.

14.—This day, my uncl Baliuat,[b] was transported from that place to Miltoun, sick, and veri weak.

I was desird by Leathin to wryt to Keppach anent the cows wer stollen from Baliuat. It's a burthen even to reaceav a favour from such men. I considerd, for such caces, if it was fit that I should com under ani familiariti with the L. Huntli.

15.—I heard from Edinburgh anent the proposal for peac. To call an Assembli of Divins of al the Protestant Churches for setling maiters in differenc in this Church.

I heard Tarbet went south this day.

16.—Die Dom. This day ther was noe sermon at Penick, and I did not goe to Knock[oudi]. . . . I might receav mor edification by thes who conform not, and ar secluded by men; yet I forbear to hear them, partli being loth to separat, and to declar a schism, and to renonc fellowship with others, partli for inconvenienc and to eschew danger.

21.—The L. Duffus cam heir, and invited me to be witnes to his son's baptism. I found som conflict; for on the one part I inclind to goe to gratifi him, and thes he was concernd in. 2. I thoght it not unlawful to reaceav this ordinanc from ther hands; yet, considering the offence it would give to others, and being unwilling to giv so much countenanc to the Bishop, I besoght the Lord for counsel and direction.

23.—Die Dom. Ther was noe sermon at Penick, and I staid at hom, and was burthend with my los, that I was kept from the publick worship this day, and so mani Saboths upon end. The rock on the one side and the other, the Lord knows, and let me not dash against a wors rock in eschewing thes: in eschewing to hear Mr. Wil. Falconer, and others, that conform, least I be found to countenanc the defection, and be involvd in it, and stumbling honest, faithful men, that suffer for it; and eschewing, on the other hand, inconvenienc of suffering, and the evel of separation, by joining

[b] Francis Brodie of Balivat.

in evri thing with them, albeit my soul loves them, and by stating an division that wil never be taken away in this poor Church: and, on thes considerations, withdrawing somtym from the one, and somtym from the other: disclaiming neither, joining absolute with neither. . . . I heard that Mr. T. H. [Mr. Thomas Hogg], on Mal. 3, 13, &c., had spoken against lax chariti: and I on this said: Ther may be, and oft has been, errour on the other hand, that has much wrongd the Kirk of God by ther severiti and austeriti, and by reviling, censuring, and despising others, as Independents, and other sects; and I said, I was not for separation. Th. Gord[oun] prest, that thes who had fallen from ther principls had made the separation, and not they that stood on the old principls. 2. He said, Ther was evident caus to separat for ther declining and perjuri. I said, I did not defend ther sin; but others separation, and disclaiming them from being a church, or officers, I doubted. Ther are other ways to testifi our dislyk and dissent than by withdrawing, disclaiming, separating. . . . I did hold them [that conformed not] the soundest part by farr, and the best and sounder than the others, yet I could not goe ther lenth. . . . Th. said, We should separat, and com out from Bab[ylon], as thes did in Luther's and Calvin's tym from Poprie. I said, Ther was a vast differ in the causes, and for evrie fault in the Church visibl we must not break, divid, and separat. For then others would separat from us, and think they had as good caus as we had to separat from others; and I said, Albeit Prelaci was an evel and corruption, yet it may consist with a tru Church, and with salvation, as in other Reformd Churches.

29.—I heard from Edinburgh that the Bishop of St. Androes was to presid in the counsel in the Chancellor's absenc; and, in both ther absenc, Haltoun. Jereswood was to reenter, and noe favour of the fyne. Duk Hamiltoun and others put off the counsel.

I did beat Abel for sleiping in tym of prayer, and my hart chalendgd me for passion, perturbation, inseasonablnes, and questiond if that wer the right way, but rather by admonition and reproof.

Coll. Innes cam heir. I heard that the King had removd from the Councel the Duke Hamilton, and other six.

30.—Die Dom. I considerd whither I should go to Knock. this day, and desird councel. I did forbear, not finding the mind inclind to it . . . I read somthing of Christian liberti, and desird grac to know what it is, quhairin

it consists, and to use it aright towards God and men, to Thy glori and the edification of men, and not to stumbl, offend, or doe hurt, or to licentiousnes. Gal. 5. "We ar cald to liberti, but let's not use liberti for an occasion to the flesh," &c. Is the living under ani of the several forms of church government, Presbyterian, Independent, Bishops, ani part of this liberti?

31.—The Ladi Seaforth cald; and we being from home, she went to Darnaway.

August 1.—My Ladi Seaforth went by, and cald not. I reverenc the Lord's providanc.

5.—I heard the L. Argyle had gotten som advantadg in his buisines. Lord! turn it to his good.

6.—Die Dom. I desird this day to goe out to hear, and commits my soul to God, and my ways, partli, besid the desir of edification, and to glorifi God, so to giv som testimoni and incouradgment to thes honest men, albeit it be not according to the law. . . . Mr. Ja. Urquhart [preachd] on Luk 21. 36: Lecturd on 75 Ps.

10.—The E. of M. cam hom from Edinburgh this night.

11.—I purposd, if the Lord would, to sie the E. of M. this day. . . . I did efternoon visit the E. of M. and heard of Seaf[orth]'s rash words, and how he did over reach himself in his words. Lord! turn it to good. He told me, that Jereswoood was put to Stirlin prison.

12.—I was this day advertizd to com to my uncl Francis. But he departed err I could winn. Yesternight about midnight, he gav up the ghost. Efter I had visited them at Miltoun, I went at night to Kind. But had staid ther if ———.[a] I would not stay at Petgauni, becaus I was unwilling to giv offenc next day, seing Mr. J. M'Kilican preachd at Bishop Mill as I heard, and I declind to hear him, not from want of affection, but becaus of the noic and irritation, and the ———.[a]

13.—Die Dom. I did hear Mr. Mic. Cuming on James 1., 23, 25. I aknowledg I had edification, at least grounds of edification, albeit principls anent the covenant and government wer not such as I could approv.

15.—I purposd, if the Lord would permit, to goe to the burial this day. . . . This day that my uncl Francis was buried, Jean Falconar, Colfald's mother died. . . . Mr. Wm. Cuming cam heir, and told me somthing of the church in Holland and Franc.

[a] Shorthand in MS.

16.—I past som part of this day with Mr. Wil. Cuming on the opinions of the divines beyond sea concerning the differs of this Church of Scotland; about the Covenant; hearing thes not conform; Bishops. I heard nothing but matter of humiliation

The E. of M., the Bishop, and L. Duffus, did meet at Forres. I heard anent ther comission to censur and convene for conventicls.

18.—I was cald to the burial of Colfald's mother. The action was done peaceabli, and I aknowledg the Lord in that.

I did meit with the Bishop, and spok anent Geo. Dunbar's buisines with me, and anent Pluscarden and Miltoun's buisines. I did enquir what he was doing with the Non Conformists. He said, If they would obey the King's laws, he would do them no harm. I said, Ther was no mor obedient subjects albeit they could not oun Bishops, or thes that enterd by them, becaus they hold that they wer perjurd, and had no laufull calling. He said, They would remit to the indifferent diuins. I said, He could not deni but they wer godli, learnd men, and preachd the gospel soundli; and why did not he, as Christ bade his discipls, let them alon, and forbid them not to preach, albeit they follow not us? Alac! what spirit ar thes men off. He said, He would doe ani favour to them, if they soght it.

20.—Die Dom. I heard ther was non to speak at Penick or Knock[oudi.] I staid at home. I had freedom to have gone to hear thes who conform euen Mr. Wm. my oun minister; but becaus it gives offenc to honest men, and that I had not as yet done it, and becaus of the way of his entri, and his insufficienci, I did forbear. Lord! extricat me of ani snar in this maiter, that I may not declin suffering, quhen Thou clearli cals me to suffer for ani truth of Thine, nor yet to expos myself to suffering for any practis [wlich] that will not warrant and bear out.

22.—Mr. Jhon Heburn and his father din'd with me. I reprovd Mr. John Heburn, that he did not attend his father's harvest; and I said, that was not inconsistant with relligion.

Sepr. 1.—I heard the E. of Seaforth had taken Mr. Jhon M'Kilican at Chanri.

3.—Die Dom. Ther was noe publick exercis at Penick this day. Therfor I resolvd to stay at home. . . . I heard of the death of Nicholas Guthree, Ladi Newnal. This is a new strok on the back of another: Mr.

Th. Urquhart, Ladi Kilraok, and others. I desir to be instructed by it, That the Lord calls out from us the choicest. . . . Oh! that I could hear the rodd, and were taught what the Lord says by thes providences: and that others ar sick, and duining away, as Mr. James Urquhart and Mr. Thomas Hogg; others taken and restraind, as Mr. John M'Culican. . . . The E. of M. his son Hari died.

6.—I did visit the Ladi Murray, and my lord. She was sick. . . . I heard of the troubl that Argyl was in by the M'Leans and other Highlanders.

Mr. Wm. Cuming and Mr. Patrick cam heir. We spok of the former tyms. "I rememberd God and was troubld."

Ther cam word that Mr. James Urquhart and Mr. T. Hogg wer to be seazd on.

9.—Donald Campbell cam heir. I heard his wyf was sick. He told me the E. of Seaforth gav som tyms liberti to Mr. J. M'Culikam. Kilr. cam heir, and visited us.

10.—Die Dom. I did read Durham on the 4th commandment, and did sie the exactnes and strictness of that command; nay, he said that a presumptuous murther or adulteri wer less hainous than presumptuous breaking of the Saboth, and sins of infirmiti against the 4th command wer greater sins then sins against ani of the 2d table, adulteri, murther, &c. I tak not this up, and acknouledg my darknes. Oh! ther ar mani truths which I cannot tak up. I desir to wait for mor light, grac, tendernes, strenth. I sie my short coming as to this day's duti, in idlnes, in taking mor tym to sleip then on other mornings, lying an hour longer, not oversieing my children and seruants, to put them and stir them up to the duti of this day.

I heard that Mr. Alr. Lindsay died 2 or 3 days since; a remarkabl exampl not onli of mortality and frailti, bnt against immoderat desirs after things of the world. He did with great earnestnes pursu the getting of Urquhart, and was not ashamd to seek it, and to travel south again and again, and to contend for it; and short quhil has he injoyd it.

11.—My neice and Mr. Tho. Ros' wyf cam at dinner. I spok a litl of ther buisines, but did not at leuth confer anent Mr. Thos. Ross Mr. Jhon Heburn cam efternoon. He told me ther was vast feild meetings, few hous meetings. He told me of his purpos to go south this winter. I did not

disuad him, nor persuad him to stay at Leathin. Mr. Robert Forbes cam heir. He told me of the Quakers obstinaci to be in prison err they bound themselvs not to meet and speake.

13.—I did visit the Ladie M. and desired to speak, but found noe opportuniti. The E. was much affected, and spok of mortaliti.

16.—I did antedat a disposition which I granted to my son of Kin[loss] I sie not clearli if this be a sin. Lord! teach me effectuali.

17.—Die Dom. I did at Penick hear Mr. Ja. on 76 Ps. Ther did the Ladi Calder com. I was apt to imagin that I might read in privat as effectuali; but the thoght I desir to abhorr and withstand, for it tends to vilifi the word preachd, which is His good ordinanc. I spok with Jhon Moor, and he seimd to censur Mr. Adar and others for the doxologi sung in ther churchs. I ever feard soe smal things may alienat, and divid, and caus offenc.

20.—I did visit the Earle of Murray, and enquired for my ladi, but saw her not. Spok with him anent his commission against thes quhom they cal Phanaticks. He enquired, Whether I did not hear of her: if I judgd it lauful. I said, As on the one part I durst not disclaim them who preachd, but som tyms heard, so I could not but often forbear, in testimoni of my dislyk and dissatisfaction with them, and especiali in regard of the bands which lie on us of prelaci. He said, Could we bind our posteriti unborn? I ansuerd, He knew the peopl of God of old did bind and sweare for themselvs and ther posteriti, to retain God and his worship, and renounced al others idols and fals gods. 2. In Baptism we ingadgd for our children: it was a couenant. 3. Would he not bind children against Paganism and Popri? He acknouledgd this: but the things in the Couenant ar not of that natur, but anent matters not fundamental, not clear and unquestionabl, but doubtful, debatabl, and things not in our oun power. He told me, that the ministers behov'd not to preach in ther oun houses except it wer to ther oun families. I perceaud no favour he had to them.

25.—I wryt, and sent my spectacls to the Bishop, with a warning to reflect how disagreabl his present practis is to his former doctrins and ingadgments and profession, and that he would tak this out of lov. Shal I send this or not?

26.—This night, about midnight, my grandchild, Herriot Brodi, was born.

27.—I heard that Petgauni had resolvd on suffering, had wryten his experienc, and was confirmd.

October 1.—Die Dom. I purposd to stay at hom, partli to declin the ill-will and rag of men, partli I heard Mr. James was doubtful if he should preach: onli becaus many wer waiting, he would giv them a word som tym of the day: and partli to declin observation and confluenc.

8.—Die Dom. Main cam heir, and told me of his wyf's sicknes: that honest men wer summond to Aberdeen. How few that stuck to the old principls. In the West, men wer looking for the worst.

13.—I kept at Forres betwix Innes and Bucki, and efter visited the E. of M. and his son Al^r. He apeird neir death.

14.—We met at Dyk again anent Bucki and Innes; but it took not effect. . . . This day, Al^r, the E. of M. his child, died. I did not perceav death to be so neir. I desird to simpathiz with thes that mourn. Let the Lord turn it to ther good that ar concernd in it. I heard the child had som inclination towards the best things.

I heard that the Chapter and ministers of this Sinod wer stumbld at Mr. Atkins who was namd to be Bishop, and at his excomunication,[a] and had sent Mr. Hugh Fraser south to the Bishop of St. Androes anent it.

15.—Die Dom. Ther was noe preaching at Penick, and I did not goe to Knok[oudi]. It is the eshewing danger that hinderd me from Knok[oudi.]

The L. Duffus and his ladi wer at Granghil yesternight. I heard that the E. of M. his son Al^r was to be buried this efternoon, and I thoght it fit, albeit not desird, to goe to it. . . . I rejoiced to hear that the child died weil, and from my hart desirs it may turn to the good of the parents and the famili.

18.—I was told that my Son was in danger by a coldnes contracted in his feet, thighs. I desir to be duli affected with it, and to know what the Lord cals me to, what he saies to me by it. It's tru my lyf is bound up in his lyf, in a sort. But I desir grac to be denid to al things for Thee, to be subdud to Thy will; to offer an Isaac, if Thou cal for it.

[a] James Aitkins or Aiken, a native of Kirkwall, and minister of Birsay, was excommunicated in 1650, for having conversed with the Marquis of Montrose. He escaped to Holland, and afterwards obtained a living in Dorsetshire. He was, notwithstanding the above disqualification, elected Bishop of Murray in 1677, and was translated to the See of Galloway, in 1680. (Keith's Bishops, by Russell, pp. 153, 282.)

23.—My Son was not weil, and took bedd this night. I could not but be deipli affected with ani thing that befals him. He is of al creaturs deirest to me, yet sur not dearer than Isaac was to Abraham, yet he acquiesed, and mor.

The L. of Calder cam heir and Achinbreak with him. He broght me a letter from my L. Argyll for the lend of money. I was pusld with it: on the one part I had lov to him and his familie, and to the father's memorie: I had bein beholden to him at London in my freind's buisines, and I desir not to be unthankfull. On the other part, I am unsatisfied with his government and the guiding his effairs, wasting his estat on trifls and things unnecessar. All that I am worth could not hold up his superfluities. Next, he is noe good debtour; he has not payd his oun or his father's debt; and I neid not expect better.

30.—My son continued in distemper, yet he thoght himself fre of a feaver. . . . I walkd out efternoon, and did meit with Mr. Will. Falconar. He desird to hav sein my son, but I declind it. Examin my convers with him. Is it not over open and familiar? Yet my hart condems me not, but that's not enogh to liberat me. . . . Tho. Gord. was heir al night. I heard how officious the Lords wer in Aberdeen and Banf against the nonconformists. Mr. James Urquhart had com heir. I willd him to com again, that he might communicat with my son on the cace of his soul.

31.—Mr Th. Hogg and Petgauni cam heir, and Coulbin. I said to Mr. T. H. that I desird, if it wer the will of God, rather to be removd than my son. But I am ashamd of the word, and desir to repent and mourn for it; it was from unsubdudnes, inordinatnes, rebelion, prid, presciving to God. I renounc and disclaim, and desirs no will, no chois, but to resign my will to His will.

Nov. 3.—I heard that the Chapter delayd to choos Aitkins to be Bishop,[a] becaus he stood excommunicat. But the votes wer equal except one.

4.—The Ladi Newmor visited us. She said, she was glad to sie me, and in som respect sorri that I was oft cast up to her and my Ladi Rothes, becaus we heard. I said, Evri one has ther measur, all sie not alyk clearli: som ar under a cloud in things that others ar clear in. She said, she durst not hear, unless she marrd her oun peace, and she had peace in not hearing; and she hopd it should not be the wors with her husband of that. She had

[a] See note, p. 366.

aprehension of much troubl quhen she resolvd first against hearing; but she thankd God who had caried her throgh. She told me, that ther was a warrand to transport Mr. Th. Ross and Mr. Jh. M'Culigan, and she was much affected with it.

9.—Mr. Hugh Anderson cam by, and told me of Seaforth his kindnes to him, and that he heard he was to be summond for the sacrament which they had ther, and that Mr. J. M'Gulican was cald for.

Sir Geo. M'Kenzie wryt to me that he was against feild conventicles, that indulgenc to other meetings may be had.

10.—Spini visited us. He told me, that the E. of M. and the rest wer to hold courts on the nonconformists: That Petgauni would be one of them that would be first summond: That my freinds would in appearanc be cald. I said, The countre was peacabl, and now ther was noe troubl: a poor man or two now and then spok a word: what did this troubl the peace? He told me, Mr. James Urquhart would be cald in question: the E. was angri at him for the publick baptizing his child. He told me of Coultfeld's indiscreit expressions of the Ladi Murray. He spok of the meetings at Elgin. I said, I did not allow them, yet new they wer not. He said, It was said, that I might keip al my freinds in ordour. I said, It was far from me, and I could not command thes in my oun hous. . . . I said, The E. of Murray might soon help al this, and he would be thoght the author of it, and that he drew on the employment on himself, and might doe in it what he pleasd.

11.—Elizabeth Innes, my nephew's wyf cam yesternight to visit us. . . . I purposd the next day, if the Lord will, to be humbld befor the Lord under the rodd which lies on my son and my familie. 2. Under the blast coming on by the E. of M. against Petgauni, Mr. James Urquhart, and others; and know not what the Lord may appoint me to com under.

12.—Die Dom. My Son continu'd under sicknes. . . . Ladi Leathin spok a word. I said, It was sad to want public ordinances and the occasions of worshipping God with others. She said, Thes men took oaths, and should not be conntenanced, they seik noe mor but to hear them.

14.—I did reflect on thes gracious men whom I had known, Waristoun, Al. Jafrey, Mr. Ja. Guthre, Mr. Sam. Rutherford, and I was readi to stumbl, not at ther suffering, had it been clearli, and for pure truth, but infirmities, darknes.

16.—Commissioner M'Kenzi cam to me and din'd, told me his father had

bidden him shew me the Commission Court was to sit at Elgin this day 20 days, and offerd kindnes. We did confer with Petgauni anent his staying or going away, and thoght it fitt he should retyr a litl quhil, till we saw what they designd and required. I had mor latitud than he in several things. Lord! guid my latitud and his tendernes.

17.—This day, Petgauni parted from us at Leathin, purposing to goe south. . . . The desir of my soul to Godward accompani him, and "the angel of his presence" guid him. Milton[a] cam with me al night I told him, it is lyk he would be summond. He said, He would ward it of as long as he could, but if he could not, he would resolv to suffer, if the Lord would. He had no inclination to hear, for he did not profit by them. Let the Lord give him light and strenth.

My Son continud veri weak, but seimd to recover a litl.

19.—Die Dom I staid at hom: partli my Son's sicknes, and partli the storm, and the danger of the tym, to declin ther furi.

20.—I heard from Sir Lod. Gord. that the E. of M. was bent on the comission against nonconformists, and exprest himself against Mr. James Urquhart. He pretended authoriti and law. Lord! what shal I answer to this? Thy law has noe place.

I heard Mr. M'Culikan and Mr. Jhon Stewart preachd yesterday at Knockoudie.

22.—The L. of Innes elder cam heir, and din'd. I observd ———.[b] I rest veri strang and shie as to the Comission; as if he knew not what they minded to doe. He said they would medl with the chaplains that wer disconform, and with John Dumbar in Elgin. But he thoght they would not medl with ani other. He did chid me for consenting to Grange to goe south and disput with the M. of Huntli for the offic.

26.—Die Dom. This morning I had som reasonings in my mind anent the differs and the causes of this suffering at this tym, and what I had to say, if I wer cald befor them. . . . Introduction and toleration of poprie, a profain ministri and ignorant, such as Mr. Ja. Gordoun, Thorntoun, and enogh besid, that ar in esteem, albeit the most profligat of men: Ar thes tokens of good?

23.—I heard that the hous of Glams was brunt: that the Captain of Clan-

[a] Brodie of Miltoun. [b] Short-hand in MS.

Renold's freinds had hangd a priest for debauching his Ladi by uncleannes.

24.—L. Duffus and Innes visited my son. Dr. Gord. told me, the E. of M. was in a great passion against the nonconformists.

25.—Tho Gord. and B. Brodie wer heir. . . . Tho. Gordoun told me, he and other wer summond to the Court for conventicls, and I desird to simpathiz with him and others.

27.—I heard Mr. J. M'Culikan was sent south by Seaforth: That Mr. Th. Hog yesterday had bewaild som that complied over far with the conformists. He said, Strangers should tread on the land, and monarchs should goe on foot, and servants ryd on horsback, for oppression, &c. I desird to examin if he pointed at me. Lord! bore my ear, and bow my hart, and keip me out of snars. He said, He was never a cald minister that could not say, "The things which we hav sein with our eys, heard with our ears, and our hands have handld the word of lyf."

I sent to visit Petgaunie's wyf.

28—Ther was a great astonishment at the commission against Conventicls, som purposing to flee, som to appeir. Lord! tak care of thes scaterd poor ones, and bring them yet together. I wryt to Calder anent Mr. Jhon M'Culikan.

29.—Mr. Hugh Anderson cam heir from Aberdeen: Told me that Mr. Jhon Menzies was not farr from taking a Bishoprick, if it wer sore prest on him, but hitherto had refusd it.

I did efternoon visit the E. of M. and his Ladi, but with much reluctanci, for I feard snars, and my oun weaknes and his violenc; but the Lord ordourd it so that he broght me back in safti. He told me, they had noe purpos to medl with me, if I would be peacabl, and weil conditiond. He exprest himself against the Ladi Burgi, Mr. James Urquhart, and Mr. Thomas Hog, and Cath. Colace. As the Lord helpd me I spok for them, but could not excus ther imprudenci.

30.—I did visit the Ladi Grang, Main's wyf, and cam to Elgin, and went to the burial of Geo. Dunbar of Aslisk, and to Petgauni at night, and Miltoun with me. I heard that Pluscarden had died on Monday, at night, the 27 instant, and had matter to be humbl'd under in his death. I found great distres and doubt among the poor honest peopl ther, anent ther compeirane, and what to doe; and I was dark, and knew not what to adviz them to, but

desir to simpathiz with them. Miltoun seemd avers from leaving, and I durst not adviz him.

Dec 4.—Mr. T. Ross wryt to me, and told me his fear to be caryd south. I desir to simpathiz with him as I may. I did meit with Mr. Wm. Falconar anent the place for the bridg, and I desird to submit my wil to God. He did expostulat with me for not hearing. I told him, it was not from prejudice against him mor then others, but being dissatisfied with the constitution of the church and government as it is now. I did withdraw lest my hearing might be constructed a consent and complianc. I told him, that, besid the covenant, I held the civil places of kirkmen unlawful and inconsisting with the offic of a minister of Christ. To sit on lif and death, and on civil things of fyning, punishment corporal, and the lyk, earthli dignities, as princes, and preferenc befor Duks and Marq^{s}, was unseeming and inconsisting. I durst not disclaim the present ministers of the church of Scotland, but I did hold them guilti of gross defections and corruptions. . . .

He askd, If my son had baptizd his child. I told him solemli, I knew not, for if it was baptizd it was mor then I knew. But, if my good daughter did it, I could not controll her; and I did not hold it unlawful to hear.

7.—I did goe with the E. of M. to Plusc^{s} burial. I spok to the E. of Seaf. anent Mr. T. Ross, and Mr. J. M'Kilican. I found he had ———.[a] Thorntoun preachd a funeral,[b] but I heard it not. I did with Calder and Aradoul tak som refreshment in B. Brodie's Grang returnd from the south. I heard of the conventicl in the feilds, that would not dissolv quhen desird by the parti, and a new parti directed to tak dead or living. I desir to understand what this saies. I heard that the gospel was doeing good in som places of the Mers, and on the border. . . . I heard the E. of Crauford[c] was dead. This is almost the last of thes who did undertak the last work of reformation in the year 1638.

9.—Petgauni wryt to me, that the storm was growing, and it wer thrift and wisdom in the spring and summer to lay up for winter; for the winter will trie and ask what the summer has bein doeing.

10.—Die Dom. Mr. Ja Brodi told me, that Thorntoun, besid the payment of the money which [he] gott on his fals perfidious pretexts, was forcd to

[a] Short-hand in MS.
[b] A funeral sermon.
[c] John Earl of Crawfurd-Lindesay, died at Tyninghame in 1676, aged above 80.

pay the Lord Aboin 4000 m. besid, that he might not be broght on the stage for his falshood and perfidiousnes.

12 Decr.—This was the day of appearanc at Elgin by the poor honest folk for conventicls: a stormi day. They bide greater storms. Let the Lord be with them. Mr Jhon Heburn[a] cam heir: he purposd south, and, as I conceaue, to put himself on a way to preach. I found much shaking in mind, especialli throgh the diuisions of the Lord's church and peopl, not onli opposers and unbelecuers, but of thes that ar sound in the faith, Lutherans, Independents, nay Presbyterians among themselvs, altar against altar, prayer against prayer, churches against churches. Litl tym hav we possest our gouernment in peac. I said, that quhen we had it, we took on us the directing of al ciuil things in the gouernment. Alace! my confusions ar great. . . .

13.—I did meit at Clous betwix Moortoun, and Leathin, and Innes about the mill. . . .

I heard evel was determind against poor Cathr. Collace to put her out of the contre Mani apeird at the court, but most was delayed to the next day. I returnd with Leathin hom at night. Mr. Jhon Heburn was heir. He said, Spini invented that Mr. Jhon M'Culigan had a conventicle in Calder on a Lord's day. I was angri at him, and said, that they who had said so to him had lied. I was displeasd with my own perturbation and heat.

14. I desird to acknowledg the Lord in Mr. John Heburn, that he had a zeal and affections towards God, albeit in ———.[b] I heard by Windiehills what they had don at Elgin with the poor honest peopl at the court, and I desird to acknowledg the Lord in it 1. That they had not proceded farther. 2. That he gav them strenth and courag to bear.

15.—Calder . . . advizd me to giv an ansuer to Argyll, either to lend or contribut; and accordingli I wryt to my lord, and to Don. Campb. . . . My Son said, The E. of M. said, I would approv him in what he did at Elgin to the nonconformists. The Lord knows it is far from my hart to approv one stepp of his proceedings. Albeit I do not ether keip thes feild meitings that hav ani noic as turbulent, yet I dar not censur them that do keip them.

[a] Mr. John Hepburn was privately licensed to preach by some Presbyterian ministers in London. After the Revolution, he was settled minister of Urr, where he died at an advanced age in the spring of 1723.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

Albeit I hold it lawful to hear, yet I dar not censur thes that do not or cannot heir.

17.—Die Dom. I heard the E. of M. had sent south to the Counsel for resolution and direction.

19.—I sent to Elgin to inquir how the prisoners were.

20.—Miltoun and Tho. Gordoun wer heir this night. Efter super, Tho. Gordoun reasond with me against hearing: that it was a countenancing of Prelaci, which by aith we wer bound to extirpat. He did alledg the Leag[ue] and Covenant to be injoind by King James, and refer'd to the Assembli of Glasgow. My woful passion brok out, and I cald him a fool and gouk, that knew not what he said. He reprovd me for this, and said I was an ill, and passionat, and hott reasoner; and alace! so tru. I desir to be unfeinedli humbld under this sinful passion, and the root of it, which was pride and contempt of my brother. . . . As to the question of hearing, I said that I [neither] did receav, took, nor understood the Covenant under that sense, that I should never partak of the Word, or Sacraments, or other Ordinances from officers admitted by Bishops, nor from ani other but Presbyters. . . .

24.—Die Dom. I staid at hom becaus of the tym, and the observation, and danger of the E. of M., and ———.[a]

26—Petgauni's wyf and Miltoun wer heir. Miltoun told me, that Mr. T. Hogg would not speak to him at his hous, but turnd from him. He heard it was, 1. Becaus he appeird befor the comission of the Councel or aknowledgd them, but was not rather absent 2. Becaus he declard not then that he would not heir, but admited it to deliberation or advic; had broken them, and weakend others.

27.—Petgauni's wyf and Miltoun went hom. Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, and Th. Gordoun. Mr. James did not approv Mr. Th. his austeriti. . . . I heard Jhon Man had com out of the Tolbooth at Elgin, and promisd to heare. This offended honest men; and it had been better if he had declard it first.

28.—Mr. Jhon Heburn took leav of me, he going to the south.[b] I found distanc in that he is mor rigid, and lays mor weight on the differs, and requirs a greater forwardnes and lenth in avowing and owning the differs then I doe.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] See note, p. 372.

30.—Tho. Gordoun told me, that Mr. James had expostulated with Mr. Tho. Hogg anent Miltoun and his carriag to him; as also anent appeiring befor the comission; and desird to withdraw quhen the summonds should com out. I desird to consider this, and I dar not adviz withdrawing, but I inclin he should stay and appeir in hop to get somthing effectuat for him.

31.—Die Dom. I did send earli to Mr. James Urquhart to com heir, partli to declin the storm, and partli to speak a word to us.

Januare 1, 1677.—I had conferenc with Mr. James [Urquhart] in the morning. Mr. Wm. Falconer cam in efter dinner. Some meat was broght to him, and I went out with him, walking to Dyk. He prest again my comming to hear him, and to giv that countenanc to his ministrie. I told him, this was not the tym, for it would be thoght fear led me, and that's an unsaf principl and rule. He told me, the E. of M would com or send to me anent this. He said, It would be sore against his will to doe any thing against me, or ani of myn. I said, He neided not except he pleasd; for he drew the comission (I beleev) on himself, and may doe in it what he pleasd; for none but he would troubl me, yet I expected no ill at his hands; but if I wer living as neer the Bishop of St. Androes he would allow me to liv without troubl as I doe. I told him, that what stumbld me was ther prelaci, the civil honours as princes and not as preachers which they had, and part. jurisdiction, and civil offices, which had noe warrand in Scripture. He aknowledgd that; but it was the King's will to giv it to them. 2. That all matters of the Church is in the hands of one person, Archbishop or other. 3. They ar not subject to ther brethren; but as kings and monarchs of the Church, as Lords over God's heritage, and dispene all ordinations, censurs of excommunication, and others at ther pleasur; and ministers ar but ther substituts.

As to himself, I told him that which made me stumbl at his entri was, 1. That he enterd not by the steps of reul according to this Church. I heard he had raild at our godli reformers, Calvin, Luther, Knox, and others. 3. He had exprest his lyking to the Service Book, and all the superstitious ceremonies of England, and approvd them.

2.—I heard of the laird of Pluscarden taking poor men out of ther beds

to send to Franc: one poor woman distracted for her husband. I commit this caus to God who judges righteousnes. . . .

Main, Mr. Al. Fraser, and others, wer heir. I perceavd that Mr. Alr. did not hold it lawful to compeir; for it did infer an ouning of the civil magistrat to be judg in matters of religion, and that it was as the high comission, and Bishops made judges. I exprest my dislyk of the opinion, but thoght it fre for ani to appeir or not, as seimd most for the honor of God, or his oun good.

3.—Main was in troubl, becaus of his wyf's sicknes, and becaus of the comission and courts. He inclind not to appeir.

4.—The Ladi Leathin cam heir. I had purpos to go and speak with Mr. Jhon Cuming anent the poor folk in Aldern that keips with the non-conform ministers.

6.—I was exercisd the night with the expectation to be cald befor the comission, and what I should say. . . . I was anxious anent Mr. James Urquhart. Should I petition to hav him confind, and find cation not to conventicl?

9.—I cald for Mr. James Urquhart, and considerd what was fit for him to doe, becaus the summonds wer coming out. His health servd him not to goe far off. He was content to declin appeiring, and to lurk. So we determined he should go to Leathin. Lord! ordour it to good. He resolvs to declin the comission as judges if he appeird, and that would irritat. I did not consent to this opinion; for do they right or wrong, they compt to God for the using of ther power. But I hold the magistrat may convein befor him his subjects, and ar judges of meetings that tend to sedition, tumult, breaking or disturbing peac. . . . I spok to him of the poor people of Aldern, and that it was hard to bind them up from hearing thes who conformd quhen they want other ministers. But he was against this, and said, Better to want ministers then to hav naghti ministers: the apostles would not hav compted them worthi to be ministers, whoes yea was nay, or ther nay yea.

10.—I purposd to send to Calder anent Mr. Jhon M'Culican, if he could be yet spard to stay under confinment, and surti for him not to preach.

12.—I did yesterday send Ro. Murray to Tain to Mr. Th. Ross

16.—Ro. Murray cam ham from Mr. T. Ross, and I was necessitat to send him back again this day to Fouls, to cal Mr. T. Hogg thither to avoid

the danger; and I writ to Sir Lod. Gordoun to wryt to the E. of Sutherland, to cal for Mr. Thomas. Ther was an errour in my first dispatch, soe that I was forcd to send another for the sam caus to Fouls.

17.—I heard from my nephew, D. C.,[a] and from my L. Arg.; much pains wer they at to get me fre from the E. of M. his fynning.

22.—I did speak to the E. of M., and found reluctanci in it. . . . I perceaued he minded to cit Leathen to present Mr. T. Hogg conform to his band, and then to imprison him. He said, If Mr. Ja. Urquhart did not liv peacabli and within his hous, he behou'd to doe the lyk with him. He spok much ill of Cath. Collace. I offerd shee should leav the countree once in March, soe he did let her alon. He did not promis, but he said he would not tak words for it; but he should consider it against the court which would be on the second Tuisday or Wedensday in Februar. He said, Miltoun and Main[b] would doe well to tak heid and giv satisfaction, or els they would find inconvenienc. He was jealous of Main's prudenc. He chalendgd me for my son's child priuatly baptizd. I told him, I knew not if it wer baptizd or not, and I had noe power of it, nor did I tak ani thing upon me in it; for I loud my domestick peac, and would offend him and ani subject, err I mad a jarr in my oun bowels. I said, It is not my opinion: I held it lawful to tak baptism from thes that conformd. . . . The E. of M. said, They had noe caus to forbear hearing, but humour. I said, They had a great caus of stumbling to see the perfidiousnes of ministers against al bands to prevaricat.

23.—I acquainted Mr. James Urquhart of that which past betwix the E. of M. and me, and desird to simpathiz with Mr. Th. Hogg, and thes honest men. . . . I did visit Major Heburn's wyf efternoon, and mett ther with Mr. Wm. Falconar. He was catechizing and praying, and spok to the sick woman. Poor and silli am I, and discern not differs. That sam deadnes, formaliti, unlivlines is in me that I perceave in him.

30.—I perceavd the E. of M. did not keip his courts so soon as he intended.

31.—I purposd to visit thes at Leathin for considering Mr. Th. Hogg, and Mr. James Urquhart's cace, and to simpathiz with them.

Febr. 1.—I staid at Leathin this night. Heir we resolvd Mr. James

[a] Donald Campbell.

[b] Alexander Brodie of Main.

Urquhart should keip his hous, but not keip meetings, nor preach, til this storm wer out, or that mor appeird. I made som dispatch to Edinburgh from Leathin, and visited Mr. Th. Hogg. I advisd him to withdraw for a tym to Ross or Sutherland, and told it was lawful quhen persecuted to fli from a citi; but he questiond if that precept was to be extended to futur tyms, but onli to the Apostles. Quhen I had given my opinion, I told him I had commission from Leathin to shew him, quhatever cours he took for his safti, and his peac, outward and inward, it should satisfi him, and he needed not lay stress on his releef of the band of cationrie. So I committed him to God. . . . I touchd the opinion of not answering and compeiring befor civil courts, and said it had noe exampl in scriptur. I said, Ther appeirance is noted, and noe declinatours; but refusing to appeir on citation is not noted; and we hav mani exampls on the contrari, Luther and others. He said, His exampl was no warrand.

2.—I heard the summonds wer to be giuen out, and I knew not what to adviz Mr. Ja. Urqnhart to doe. Main counselld, that he should go ouer Spey to Lesli, and Tho. Gordon with him. I begg counsel and direction for him in particular, and for others. Ouer rule our witlesnes, and folli and weaknes. . . .

8.—I heard Brey[a] was taken to the Bass.[b] I desird to simpathiz with him.

9.—Mr. James Urquhart was heir som nights.

10.—I heard that Calder was to be summond south for Mr. Jhon M'Culiken and the ———.[c] I wryt to Calder, and desird to inquir if I should desir him to anticipat the charg, and send south testimonies from the E. of Seaforth and the Bishop. I detaind Mr. James Urquhart, that he might speak the next day. . . . I desird the next day to sympathiz with thes that wer suffering, even Ja. Fraser, and others: to ask that my love to him, and the grace of God in him, may not mak me allow ani mistak, errour, or infirmiti of his: and that the opinion of an errour in him, may not alienat me from him, or mak me les simpathiz with him, or to vilifi the grace of God in him, or others. I approv not the feild meitings, nor ordination by thes honest men that ar outed. Examin me in this, and teach me to examin this opinion. I desir to know the duti of the t ym.

[a] Mr. James Fraser of Brea.

[b] At this period the Bass was fortified, and used as a state-prison.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

14.—Major Heburn and his son Patrick cam heir, and dind with me on this day. I heard of the meitings and places for non-conformists at London: how litl hav we in this land of that liberti: and that thes ther ar not so strict as thes ar heir in communication and societi. He said, The Presb[y-terians] ther would be glad to accept as much as we hav heir.

16.—This night I gott a letter from Argyl to com to Stirling, the 7 of March. Lord! giv me light and counsel. . . .

17.—I did meit with Calder at Aldearn. He thoght that the diet which Argyl had made 7 March could not be alterd, and from that I inclind to goe, if the Lord should clear me, that I found his allowanc, and noe impediment fell in, and the wether serving, and in submission to his will and providenc.

19.—I had inclinations to yeeld to Argyl's cal, drauing me to Stirling. 1. From an unfeined desir of his weilfare and preservation, and his fameli's who had bein, and might be, useful to the Kirk and peopl of God, as som of his predecessors had bein. 2. As also in gratitud for his willingnes to help me and my friends quhen we wer in troubl. Now I resign my will to God's. If this be not approven, Lord! hedg up my way.

20.—I cald for Spini, and imparted my cal to goe south. He told me the E. of M. might dispene with fynns, but not with the obligation to hear. He said, We had more rigiditi and crulti by Presbytri, and they took so micl[a] on them, and wer the causes of so much confusion, that he could never desir to sie it up again. Alac! how could I ans[r] to this I purposd to sie the E. of M., and to deal that he may not troubl my freinds, and my famili, in my absenc. . . . I told him, I had delt with Mr. James Urquhart to forbear publick preaching in his own paroch, and he had not preachd, etc, ther, 3 months past, to shew that, so farr as we could lawfuli, we desird to obey thes that wer in authoriti. . . . Mr. James Urquhart was heir al night.

21.—The next day, I did ask his counsel, if I should sie the Bishop of St. Androes, and tell him how maiters went heir, and inform him plainli: by that means to hold off the E. of M. his peremptorines. He said, he should consider on it, and tell me. . . . Leathin was heir, and told me that the erl had wryten to him, that he was to requir him to present Mr. Tho. Hogg. I did efternoon visit the E. of M.; so did Leathin. He approvd and alloud my going to Stirling. He promis'd that my son, or my famili, should not be

[a] So micl or meikle, so much.

troubl'd til I returnd, and if I would assur him that Mr. James Urquhart should not conventiel ani in his hous or els quhair, he should spar him. . . . I dealt that he might deal with the concationers, which are bound for Mr. T. Hogg, and not charg Leathin onli, and to charg Mr. Thomas himself first.

22.—I did go earli to Elgin, and did communicat my purpos to Innes, anent my going south; and went at night to Kin[d]. I did sie the prisoners at Elgin, but staid not.

23.—I did visit Sir Lod.,[a] and his Ladi, and spok a litl of the tyms. At my hom coming, I reaceavd Fouls' letter, and the E. of Sutherland's to Mr. Th. Hogg; and that sam day Mr Th. was chargd to appeir at Forres, and Leathin to present him. I heard the M'Leans had gotten suspension of the intercommuning, and I gott a lyn from the Ladi Calder, expressing her unwillingnes that her husband should go south.

25.—Die Dom. Cathr. Collace wryt to me anent Mr. T. Hogg, to desir him to withdraw, and to concurr with Leathin to pay the faili.[b] I soght the Lord in it, and returnd ans[r], That if he could secure himself, L[eathin] would preferr his saftie to the money; but it wer a disadvantag, both that he should fal into ———.[c]

26.—Leathin cam heir. He spok of Mr. T. Hogg, so did Kinsterie, and desird that we might contribut for the fynn. I did ———.[c] I found Calder would not goe with me. This is a great discouradgment.

27.—Kilr[avock] cam heir, and Kinst[eric] and spok of Mr. T. Hogg, if ani way could be fallen on for his liberation. They offerd to concur for paying the faih.[b] They movd if a day could be had to a longer tym. But I said, It would be ill taken, if a day wer soght, and he go away in the mean tym. Mr. Th. wryt to me, and told me his resolution to appeir, and my hart faild me, at the troubl he was entring in, and I desird to reflect on my oun hart and ways, if I had don al for him that I was bound to hav don.

28.—I did goe earli to sie the E. of M. He and others had bein distemperd throgh eating of hemlock roots. I spok to him anent Mr. T. Hogg, that he would not put him south, but detain him at hom; and to Spini anent it; but I had smal ground to expect this favour ———.[c] I

[a] Sir Lodovicus Gordon.
[b] Faili, forfeit or penalty.
[c] Short-hand in MS.

spok anent Petgauni ———.[a] Spini advisd me to bring him hom, and assurd me my lord would not imprison them. . . . I spok anent Don. Campbell, and Cathr. Collace.[b]

1 March.—I took journey from my oun hous towards Stirling. I did perform worship with them, and comended them and myself to God, and I trust them to his keiping, and my oun soul, spirit, and bodi, and my way, cours, and counsel, and will wait for good at his hands, throgh Jesus Christ, albeit, I be worthi to be left and given up. This day, I did in God's prouidenc meet with Mr. Th. Hogg at the boat. He did present himself this day to the Earl of Murray, and was put in prison at Fores. I was desirous to sympathiz with him, and to be burthened with his condition. They ar passing sentences on them, condemning; but let the Lord absolv. . . . Mr. James Urquhart cam a part of the way with me. I did at night com to Miltoun. . . . I did receeav letters from my nephew Donald Campbell, shewing me that the E. of M. had informd the [Earl] of Arg. against me and my familie. Mr. James Urquhart did stir me up to fortitud and patienc, and gav me encouragement. Alas! it does not tak the impression that it oght. I heard that the Duk of Buckingham and Shaftsburi wer put in the Tour for declining the Parliament.

2.—I cam from Miltoun to Clet at Towie at night, and had a rogh, cold day, snow, and wind and sleet.

3.—I cam to Cuttichillok. . . . I cam at night to Fettercarn. I had fears of my oun lukwarmnes, and that I am neither hott nor cold. . . . I am not principl'd rightli as to the tym; differences; hearing or not hearing. I suspect that it is not conscienc that maks me think hearing thes that conform to be lawfull, but witt, and to avoid suffering. Lord! examin and trie me, and deliver me from unsoundnes of hart.

4.—Die Dom. At Fettercarn I staid al day, and did resolv to hear this day. . . . Balbegue sent to me betwix sermons; but fear of being intangld in compani, and in conversation, and communication, made me forbear.

5.—I cam from Fettercarn, and parted with Mr. Ja. Brodie, and din'd at Forfar, and cam at night to the Kirk of Collac. . . .

6.—I cam to St. Johnstoun and din'd. . . .

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Catherine Collace wrote Memoirs of her own Life, which have been published. Shortly after this, she went to the south, and died 10th July, 1697.

7.—I cam earli from Achtererdour to Stirling Bridg befor eleuen. The day was rogh, and snowie; and we went wrong in the way til we wer informd and put right again. I acknouledg the Lord in this, and now blesses him for his prouidenc ouer me this voyage, and broght me hither in saftie.

8.—I lodgd in Baili Clamsleys, and past this day idli. In the evening my brother cam, and Petgauni, and Don. Campbell, and the E. of Argyl. We spok of Petgauni his returning, quhairin he was averz.

9.—I did wait on the E. of Argyll, and with him went and saw the M. of Huntly and his ladie, and had conferences with my L. Argyll efternoon anent his effairs, but found that is friends did not com. But som of them wryt to me to com to Edinburgh; and seing it was desird, albeit I did perceav I could be of litl use, yet I yielded to goe with him. He forced me to lodg with him in his hous this night. Let this favour be noe snar to me.

10.—We did tak journey from Stirling, and Argyll went to Edinburgh. I cam at night to Dudistoun, and he cald Don. and Petgauni and Wm. also to stay heir, and heir cam also a brother of Bamaldie's, maried on the old Ladi Colvil, cald Carmichael, and the yong Ladi Dudistoun's uncl.

I heard Mr. Alr. Hamiltoun was by the counsel removd from Dalmenie to Sydserf, becaus it was near Edinburgh, and mani resorted to him.[a]

11.—Die Dom. The day was tempestous, yet I went to Dalmenie, and heard Mr. Alr. Hamilton, and did meit with Mr. Murray and Mr. Inglis, and was refreshd by them. I rememberd former days and was troubld.

12.—I cam to Edinburgh. . . . I did visit the L. Argyl and President, and in my lord Argyl's affairs found great difficulties.

17.—The E. of Argyll took me to Hattoun, quhom I found sour and unkindli. He said to Argyll of me, that I would fare as I walked. Lord! Thy favour can make up the favour of men, albeit I want it. They ar not God. Be Thou with me, and I shall litl car who be against me.

18.—Die Dom. I did stay within this day at Edinburgh, least I should give offence, and stumbling to honest folk.

19.—I did earli go to Smettoun, and visited them, and thenc to Newbotl, and visited them, and ther children. I did sie much of ———.[b] I returnd to Edinburgh efternoon, and met with Argyl, Glenorchi, and the rest.

[a] See Wodrow's History, vol. ii. p. 347. [b] Short-hand in MS.

22.—I did visit Mr. Jhon Kirstairs[a] late. He exhorted me to be doeing good in my station, and stirring up others. Alac! so farr as I am from this. He exprest his dislyk of Mr. Jhon Welwood's[b] expression, saying, It was as great a sin to goe to hear thes that conformd, as to goe to a bordell hous. He said, he durst not condemn and censur them that heard out of conscienc

23.—I cam from Edinburgh. The L. Argyll cal'd me to dinner at Leith. He told me the aggreiment betuixt him and Athol was not goeing on, least he might hav less credit with the M^cLeans. I did, efter dinner, visit the [Marquis of] Atholl, and E. of Aboin, and Boin, they dining abov us. He did expres himself kindli to me. . . . I cam this night to Kirkaldie, and yong Innes, and my nephew.

24.—I cam to Coupar, and dind, and that night to the 8 myll hous. . . .

25.—Die Dom. I cam earli to Breichen, and past the Saboth ther, and heard Mr. Skinner and Mr. Lindsey. . . . We conferd together betwix sermons. . . . Yong Innes prayd with us. I heard that Sir Ja. Stewart's son, James was fallen unweil, and in som fitt of a distraction. I desird to be humbld under this, as a sor strok, not onli on his father and relations, but on others also that professd religion.

26.—We cam from Breichin to Towi Clet at night. . . .

27.—From Clet cam to Dippil be 2 efternoon. I heard Mr. Tho. Hogg was sent south. The prisoners at Elgin wer detained ther yet. That Kilraok had put away his chaplain, Mr. Al^r. Dunbar, from his son and famili. . . . The Ladi Innes spok to me what she should do anent the keiping her chaplain, and desird rather to keip him til he should be taken away, then to quit him willinglie. She thoght hearing off curats at this tym was not convenient or lawful. Lord! pity me that comes short of her.

28.—I cam earli from Dippil to Elgin, and dind with Innes, and visited Petgauni his wyf,[c] and cam at night to Windihils quhair Leathin was, Milton, and others.

29.—The day was foul by rain, snow. I cam hom earli, and visited my daughter at Granghil. I heard what the E. of M. had don at his Court of

[a] Mr. John Carstairs.

[b] Mr. John Welwood, a popular minister among the Presbyterians during the reign of Charles the Second. A volume of his letters in MS. addressed chiefly to Catherine Collace, is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

[c] Petgaunie's wife was Mary Halden.

Forres, declard the absents fugitivs, did grant a new day to thes that compeird to the next court to be 8 of May, either the 1 or 2d Tuesday. Spini at Elgin exprest much bitternes ag^t^ Cathr. Collac and Don. Monro. . . . I heard som did hear Mr. Th. Hogg at Forres.

30.—I purposd to sie the E. of M. this morning. . . . I found him fair and plausibl, and exprest himself much against Poperi, and the appeiranc of the growth of it.

April 3 —This night James Innes, my brother-in-law, cam heir.

4 —I cald at Mr. James Urquhart, and heard that Cromarti had a design to hav Mr. James Urquhart confind to Cromarti.

6.—Yong Cromarti[a] and his Ladi past by, and wer this night in Darnway. I did sie much of vaniti and affectation. . . . I heard of yong Cromarti his expressions of Tarbet, that he was a knav and a cheat. I fear evel may com of it.

10.—The E. of Murray and his Ladi cam heir to visit us. How hard is it to know what is ———.[b] He spok of ———.[b]

20.—This morning my daughter[c] at Granghil was delivered of her daughter.

24.—My grandchild, Janet Dumbar, was baptizd this day.

25.—I went to the Ladi Duffus'[d] burial, quhair I did not sie that sens and tendernes which she deservd.

May 7.—My brother told me, that my daughter-in-law said, that my anger at the compts broght on and was the caus of my son's last sicknes. This is heavi. Lord ! piti me, and cleans, and tri my hart, and pardon. This was som burthen to me. Lord ! teach me to bear it patientli, and soberli, and humbli. I had thoghts of withdrauing from them to England or to Edinburgh. But is this taking up a croce and following Thee? Oh noe ! Lord giu me not up to my oun spirit, or counsel, or passion.

9.—I heard that Mr. Tho. Hogg had gotten som inlargment in the toun.

[a] Jonathan Urquhart, eldest son of John Urquhart of Craigston, afterwards of Cromarty, by a daughter of George, second earl of Seaforth. He married Lady Jean Graham, daughter of James, second Marquis of Montrose.

[b] Shorthand in MS.

[c] Brodie's only daughter Grizel was married to Sir Robert Dunbar of Grangehill.

[d] Lady Duffus, or Marg^t^ Forbes, as Brodie states in some notes at the end of the volume. She was the fourth wife of Alexander Sutherland, first Lord Duffus; and after his death she married Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart.

11.—Yong Innes and his Ladi cam heir to visit us. We prayd that our meiting and societi might be for His glori and our mutual good and edification. . . . They did goe up to sie the E. of M.

12.—I heard that the Marquess of Huntli had boght the Bailiri from the warden's son: that I was to be charged for absenc from Head Courts. I desird to sie the Lord in al his prouidences, and particularli in the papists ther grouth in power and in expectations. . . .

13.— . . . I remarkd that the Marquess of Huntli his taking and bu[y]ing jurisdictions, had startld the Earl of Murray; and now he pretends to be for the countree's good, and is becom mor sober as to the commission against Conventicls.

18.—James Innes cam heir this night. I told my daughter-in-law of the exceptions that the Ladi Grant and Leathin had at her, and warnd her.

19.—Margaret Dumbar cam heir, the old good-wife of Windihils, and spok of her children. I chid her for her querousnes, and said she had broght miseri on her self; but others had not done her hurt, nor would not, and she had bein kindli enogh dealt with, if she had made right use of it. I was desird to wryt in recomendation of Glengarrok to Argyl, and others. Lord! direct me.

21.—I did goe to Elgin with Grant and met with Boin, and spok of his effairs, and staid al night at Elgin.

22.—I did dine at Dippil. . . . I staid this night at Dippil. Mr. Al. Ker cam ther, but found no countenanc from the Ladi, and therfor was permited to goe away late.

23.—I determind to goe to the Bogg[a] to visit the Marques, quhair I found civilitie beyond what was fitt.

June 5.—Petgauni cam heir at night. I heard ther wer meetings south: that som mean men wer taken, and did subscriv the band. This humbls me.

7.—I heard the Earl of Murray was incensed at me, becaus Mr. Ja. Urquhart preachd in my hous, at yong Innes being heir. I desird to examin this.

9.—I cam to Mon[aghti]. . . . I heard at my return that the Earl of

[a] Gordon Castle, the magnificent seat of the Gordon family, in the parish of Bellie, was originally represented by a large gloomy tower, in the centre of a morass called the Bog of Gicht, or, in former times simply, "the Bog." It was accessible only by a narrow causeway, and a drawbridge.

Murray had causd summond Mr. Ja. Urquhart to Elgin against the 15 instant. I desir to be exercisd under this, and to seek the Lord for direction to him, and to myself and others. . . . I got a letter from Mr. Jhon Heburn full of zeal and chalendges. He did not compt thes who preachd Christ's ministers. . . . . Now (said he) It's counted wisdom in men to be partners in pulling up the staks and losing the cords of Christ's tent, let my hand never be at that work (said he) directly or indirectli. That wisdom is cried doun in Scriptur and in heaven, even that wisdom that's against Christ and the truth.

11.—Mr. James Urquhart cam heir. I spok to him, and askd, whither he would appeir, and what he would say. He told me, he would avow his calling to be a minister of Christ, which neither Bishop nor parliament could depriv him off. I did sie the danger he would be in.

12.—Sir Geo. Monro his Ladi in her south going din'd with me. I observd the Lord's kindnes to her, in ordouring a tolerabl lyf to her with ———.[a] I did visit the E. of M efternoon, and spok with him anent Mr. James Urquhart. He exprest his anger at me for calling Mr. James Urquhart, quhen the Ladi Innes was heir. I said, Neither he nor I had don ani fault. But he was unexorabl, and would not dispene with his apeirane, and he behovd either to giv surti not to keip conventicls, or els be imprisond, or els remov out of the countrie. I promisd to advertiz him, if he would com or not. He would not allow him to be confind to my hous. Nor would he allow him to preach in a privat famili, as myn. . . . I offerd to goe and heir Mr. Wm., if he would let Mr. James stay with me.

14.—Mr. Ja. Urquhart cam heir, with a purpos to appeir next day befoir the Earl of Murray at the Court. But considering the E. of Murray his inexorablnes and his peremptorines, he resolvd not to appeir but to wryt his apologie. . . . He has resolvd not to declin imprisonment if he be cald to it. Lord! giv light and strenth. I expect to be blamd for his not appearanc. Doe Thou accept and be weil pleasd with me; and let come of me what will. . . .

15.—I spok to Innes, and told him, that the faults of thes that conform not lay on me, ther suffering was laid on him. I said, I had not sin'd against God nor the laws of men, in permitting Mr. James Urquhart to

[a] Shorthand in MS.

speak in my hous on the 13 of May, quhen Innes was heir and his ladie. . . . Comissioner McKenzi spok to me anent that conventicl as he cald it. I did clear and vindicat myself to him. Jhon Dumbar desird adviz, if he should tak the L. Huntlie his favour and credit to win out of prison.

18.—I did visit the Erl and found him in great anger at Mr. James Urquhart and would not let him stay in the countree. He is forcd to retyr. Yong Cromarti cam heir and supd, his father being in Granghil. He quareld at Don. Camp. his taking assign. to his father's bands, and he spok rudlie and arogantli: That he would mak him cast of his doublet, and the lyk, if he repaird him not. This givs tokens of small good expectation of him.

19.—My son and his wyf went to Mon[aghti]. I desird Main to speak to Cromarti to interpos with the Earl of Murray for Mr. James Urquhart. I heard that it was not going weil with Argyl in his effairs. I desird to simpathiz with him.

20.—I did meit with Mr. Ja. Urquhart, and Tho. Gordon, and spok of his departur and going to Irland. He had litl freedom to meet with Cromarti but less to goe liv under him. I desir a hart to simpathiz with him in sincerity. . . .

23.— . . . Spini did visit me efternoon. He told me the Earl of Murray was offended at me. He advizd me to speak with the Earl of Murray, and to preuent troubl to myself; and to com and hear my oun minister. I must goe to God with this. But I sie a cloud as it wer readi to break out upon me and my relations and freinds. . . . I desird Spini to deal for Mr. James Urquhart to get him a litl tym's forbearanc

26.—I did visit the Earl of Murray, and took leav, he going south, and I purposing Eglsgreig. I desird him to report weil of us. He said, If we deservd it. . . .

Juli 5.— . . . I heard of the death of my beloud friend, Sir John Cheisli, and desir to be duli affected with it and instructed by it. For it is mor then an ordinari prouidenc. Thou hast noe mor use of him heir. . . .

11.—This night at midnight I receaud an advertisment from my L. Argyll, advizing me to com and see Latherdaile I desir to spread this befor God, and to pray for counsel and direction. . . . I had som purpos to visit Leathin. I commit my way to God. Calder met me ther: he was cald to Edinr. also by my L. Argyll. But becaus I did not resolv to goe at

this tym till I receaud new advertizment, he did so also; and he and I writ our excuses. Calder took me with him to Calder this night to conferr with his Ladi[a] anent Mr. Jhon Wilson; for she scrupld to join with him in the famili worship, becaus he was licensd to preach by the Bishop. I spok with Mr. Jhon, and found him not fully resolvd anent the question, but unsatisfied, partli with prelatick gouernment and fauouring the persons of others that did not conform, and acknouledg[ed] somthing mor of the grac of God with them and ther ministri. He cam with me and Calder to Leathin, and ther spok with Mr. Ja. Urquhart, who did think that the Ladi Calder might join with him, so he walked soberli and forbor preaching. Lord! what confusions and darknes ar we in. . . .

14.— . . . Jhon Douglas, Spine's son cam heir, and soght my assistance for getting men to Holland. Petgauni cam heir, and told me of his purpos to remov south, for declining the Earl of Murray his troubl. I said, If he had resolvd it, I would not withstand it, but I thoght he might safeli stay for a quhil. I said, The troubl is lyk to grow. Mr. Jhon Heburn prayd at noon. Tho. Gordoun and his wyf cam heir. They desird to hear Mr. James [Urquhart]; but I did diswad and show inconvenienc in it.

16.—I heard that ther was much prejudic against me at the south, and manie advizd me to goe ther to vindicat myself.

17.—I writ to Grant and others for men to Jhon Douglas: let not ani guilt cleav to me in this: but pardon for Thy nam. . . .

18.—The Earle of Murray his children din'd heir. . . . I did efter dinner goe to Kin[d.] and ordourd som help to the Bishop to transport his stuff. . . .

19.—I cam in by Burgi, and did meit with Grang, new returnd from the South. I heard of the state and grandeur of the Duke of Latherdaile; all men creiping in to seik his favour. I desird to be instructed by it. He told me the Earle of Murray said, that if Mr. James kept Scotland, he would hav him: that Latherdaile was [to] mak up freindships with all factions and parties: that the Chancellor was become violent in oppressing the poor nonconformists in Fyff: that Mr. Th. Hogg and Mr. J. M[c]Kilican wer kept clos prisoners: that Mr. Th. had soght leav to goe out of the countree. I desird to lay thes things to hart. . . .

[a] Lady Henrietta Stewart, third daughter of James, third Earl of Murray.

21.— . . . I heard that Alexr. Davison, who had bein put in prison by the Earle of Murray for conventicls, and refusing to hear the conformed ministers, and had relented, and on promis to hear, and to forbear conventicls, had gotten his liberti : that he had fallen unweill and distracted in mind, and was forcd to be put in prison for his furi, and was troubld sore in conscience for relenting, and putting his hand to the plough (as he said), and looking back again, wishing he had sufferd death the day that he cam out of prison and left ther compani that wer in the tolbooth I desird to consider this, and to be instructed.

28.—I did efternoon goe to Penick, and met with Mr. James Urquhart. I saw his purpos to goe from this, becaus the Earl of Murray would not suffer him to stay heir in this countrie.

Augt. 1.—I was cald to meit Calder at Aldearn. Lord ! giv counsel. At Penick I met with Calder, and his brother. The L. Argyl wryt to him anent me, That he could not denie but *qui bene latuit.* I shall aknowledg the Lord in it, if he cal me not south.

Mr. Ja. Urquhart took journey from this towards Irland. Whateuer darknes I be under, I desir to be affected duli with this, to part with him and to be separated from him, and that the land cannot bear such. Let the Lord bring back the banishd, and loos the prisoners in his oun due tym, and teach me how to walk and be affected in the meantym ; principl, the judgment, and mind aright. . . . Mr. Alr. Dumbar went along with Mr. James. Alace ! I did not consider his straits, what they might be, and I was wanting.

2.—Grang and Colloden cam heir efternoon. I heard off the oppressions don to him by Alr. Chisolm, and by the Frasers of Belladrum. I see much of oppression and injustic in the land, and non to releev the opprest, nor is ther ani zealous for justice or for truth, nor valiant for them.

6.—Grang cam heir, and told me what cace Colloden was in by ill neighbours, that neither his oun or his children's lyf was in saftie, nor ther lands, goods, or tenents. He was compast about with many enemies and difficulties.

10.—I spok to Mr. James['s] wyf of her matters and her children. I mov'd to tak her son Jhon to com to the hous, and tak his diet.

11.—The Bishop cam in to visit, and tak leaue in his goeing to Orkney. I made noe professions to him, nor requests. He desired me to look to my-

self, for it was lyk I might be cald for. I said, I should never declin to giv account of all my conversations and actions; I had not don anithing that I should be ashamed of; nor, God willing, should I doe; and if I wer put to trials, I hoped the Lord would be with me, and strengthen me, to mak an honest confession, and bear a testimoni to the truth. He told me, that Tarbet was in favor with the Duk: the Duk was goeing to Hamiltoun: that Bishop Aitkins was waiting on the Counsel and the commission for Church effairs; who had reneud al ther acts against Conventicls.

20.—Mr. Jhon M'Culikan's wyf cam heir from the south, and told me, that her husband and Mr. T. Hogg wer in health, but had mani inconveniences in ther restraint: that the Lord Cardross was fynd again, and put in prison for baptizing a child with a nonconform minister, and a new fyn imposd. I desird to consider this aright.

22.—Tarbet cam heir late from the south. He told me the duel which Argyl had designd with Athol: Lord! pitie, for this is noe good token: . . . The design of giuing som indulgence to Presbiterians within ther oun parishes, soe they abstained from feild conventicls: Som stird up men to arms, and against the King's authoriti. I professd myself against all risings and tumults, and that I would acquies in such concessions That he might hav gotten Mr. Jhon M'Culican confind to Ila or Kintyr.

25.—I heard from my brother, and receav'd the instructions for the governors of shyrs, and I desir to spread them befor God: The severe acts against thes that hear not the conform ministers, and against privat baptism, and marriages, and meiting with thes that ar intercommund: The escheits, fynns, prisons, and other punishments, and debarring from the benefit of justice, either pursuing or defending.

Sept. 1.—Mr. James Urquhart's wyf cam heir. I heard he was gon to Irland: That ther was great divisions and bitter differences amongst the godlie, even provocations of sones and daughters. I desir to be exercisd with this. He wryt to me, that ther was noe token to expect good from the postur and fram of ther spirits ther. Portending much evel. He would hav purgd, and we would not be purgd. . . . He desird me to tak a lift of the burthen of the valley of vision.

5.—I heard that ther was much stir about James Fraser of Brey, and that he was thoght to inclin to Arminianism in som things: that my brethren Petgaunic and Main wer lyk to goe out of the countre for eschewing

the E. of Murray's prosecution. I desird to consider this, and be instructed.

7.—The Ladi Newmor[a] cam in the evening, but would not stay, having sent befor her to Leathin. She told me she had som hop of Mr. J. M'Culican's releas, but non as yet of Mr. Th. Hogg's: that ther was appearanc of the M. of Athol's son's mariag might goe back yet with the Dutches daughter: no appearanc of indulgenc, poperi spreading, diuisions in our state: that she had gotten her desir in enjoying the blessing of the gospel since she went south, and it was death to be deprivid of it: that ther was much thirsting for the Word amongst them, Mr. Welch his communions, and others: Mr. Kirstairs had preachd oft, and in ———,[b] and in Edinburgh also.

10.—Yong Culloden cam from the south, and din'd with me. He told me how violentlie the Earl of Murray defended Alr. Chisolm's deeds: The outfall betuix the Earl of Murray and the President anent the convoying the Ladi Hattoun: Sir Geo. MkEnzi admitted advocat: All the Officers of State to enjoy ther offices *ad bene placitum* of the King: The effairs of Germani, and Holland, and Spain going hard, and the French prevailing.

18.—Petgauni and his wyf wer heir. He told me of his purpos to remov south becaus of the troubls that wer feard, and to enjoy the benefit of preaching. I was somthing avers from it. Park cam heir late from the south. He told me the appearanc of som indulgenc, and mor liberti to Presbyterians, to hav the prisoners releasd, mor liberti to preach in houses, and som other articls.

22.—I read somthing of Erae his tractat of universal redemption, and was shaken, and saw my darkness, and my shallouness, that could not tak up thes questions, nor did I conceiv of them clearli.

Oct. 1.—Tarbet cam heir in his journey south. I spok to him anent the Indulgence, anent the Chancellor, anent Cromartie's cationri. He is on the rising. Lord! ordour it for Thy glori, the Churche's good, and his oun soul's.

21.—Die Dom. I did com to Fordice to sermon, and heard Mr. Blair. I had som conflict least I should offend honest men by hearing; and on the other part, I was loth to be singular, and to separat from the congregation, and the publick meetings and occasions of publick worship.

[a] Probably the wife of Hugh Monroe of Newmore.

[b] Short-hand in MS.

25.—I heard of the death of Alexander Deuison in Elgin. He had com out of prison from the rest who wer put in for not hearing. He confest he feined himself sick that he might be taken out. His death was remarkabl, not without suspicion of wrong. Let the Lord tri the truth, and caus me to gett instruction.

1 Nov.—I heard the Duk Latherdaill and the Counsel had wryten to the L. Huntli and the Clans to be in readines, with 40 days leav, to com to Stirling on aduertizment, and insinuating som commotion.

5.—Mr. Jhon Stewart preachd, and baptizd two children at Penick yesterday. I scarr at thes things. Lord! guid and teach me, that I stumbl not. . . . Mr. Jhon Stewart was heir al night. He told me that as the Apostles went about exhorting and confirming the brethren, so wer they now at this tym cald to that duti.

13.—I heard the L. Huntli had put his highlandmen in a postur to be readi to march. Alace! who is so forward for Thee?

14.—Andro Livingstoun cam heir from Edinburgh, and told me Mr. Ja. Urquhart had latlie preachd at Air: that Conventicls wer ryf in the south and west, but ther had bein no rufl. Ja. Ru [? Row] was put in prison for not opening to the major of the Toun. Rothes was against the Presbyterians and Conventicls, becaus Latherdaill was for them. Lord! overrul thes confusions.

19.—The Ladi of Leathin returnd. She expostulated with me that I heard at Fordice an conform minister, and especiali my son. I said, I could not quit my liberti. I held it lawful to hear, especiali on an journey, and having noe occasion of privacie, and retirement, or hearing of others.

2 Dec.—Die Dom. My son went to hear Mr. James Urquhart at Penick. It's tru I did think it had been best and fittest for Mr. James to hav spoken in one or other of our houses rather then in Penick; but I reverenc the Lord's providenc and renounces my oun witt. . . . I was discouradgd in the familie exercis at noon, becaus few of the famili wer present, being at Penick, and also being conscious of my oun weaknes.

Spini cam to me in the efternoon, and diuerted me from caling the children together. Lord! imput it not to me. He told me of the Lord Doun's mariag concludit with the Dutches of Latherdail's daughter, and Lorn with the other daughter. I desir to be instructed by this. This man's societi is readi to blunt and dull me. Lord! guard. He told me ther

was no hop of an indulgenc: The Duk was goeing to the west: The Princ of Orang was returnd: The Bishop's letter to my son to produc his infeftment and taks: His peremptorines: The priest said the grace quhen the Bishop din'd in the Bogg: And his purpos to reduc the Bailiri, and reform the Commissariots. I am apt to be shaken at thes things.

7.—I reaceaud a letter from my brother. He told me my purchasing of land was much talked of among the great men. They said, I might spare a fynn.

14.—I did meit at Aldern betwix Grant and Mr. Hugh Ross and Plusc., and visited Mr. James Urquhart, who was sickli. He told me the King had bein seiking a divorc from the Pope, and that ———.[a] Mr. Th. Hog had offended at Mr. James his teaching in Mr. Adar's kirk at Air. Lord! piti me that sees not ani evel in that. I cam late home; and the next day was appointed for a meeting betwix Al^r. Hay and Baili Brodi's daughter.

15.—We did meet on Al^r. Hay's mariag with Marg^t. Brodi, the Bailie's daughter. It did tak effect.

17.—I heard of the Deuil's appearing to som Quakers in Irland, and giuing ilk one of them a foul, and promising them succes and inlargement and gifts. I desird to consider this duli, and to be taught of God.

18.—This day the L. Doun was married to Ladi Cathrin Talmash.[b] My son went to sie the children at Darnway, quher they kept the day with som smal companie. Lord! turn it to Thy glori, and the good of this ———.[a]

29.—Mr. James Urquhart refused to com on the Saboth day heir, for fear of bringing me to troubl.

Januarie 1, 1678.—I heard that Al^r. Chisolm had som purpos to apprehend Mr. James Urquhart. . . . Mr. James Urquhart cam to me. Our conferences might hav profited me mor then they did.

3.—Collonell Innes returnd from Cromarti, and told som passages of the riot and disorderlines of the yong man Cromarti his beating Newhall, and another in the place, and tym of sitting in Court: Newhall's marriag.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Lady Catherine Talmash was the daughter of Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, in her own right, the Duke of Landerdale's second wife, by her first husband Sir Lionel Talmash of Helmingham in Suffolk, Bart.

4.—I had a desir to hav Mr. James Urquhart exercis once in the week heir, becaus I am, throgh the tyms, detaind from hearing him on the Lord's day. I commit this desir and motion to God, to guid and to answer it. . . . I read a litl in Boil [Boyle] of the love of God. Lord! kindl and direct my hart in it.

5.—I heard Milton was disquieted anent the baptizing of his children. He was willing that the minister of Birney should baptiz his twins, his two daughters, but declind Mr. Horn. I said, I thoght that noe cace of conscience, but humour and recentments, and they wer alyk to me. I greive for the snars he is in. In him I sie my own darknes, dubiousnes, staggering. . . .

I had advertizment from Donald Campbell of the death of the Tutor's second son, slain by the M'Leans.

6.—Die Dom. I staid at hom. Examin the grounds and forgiv infirmiti. Learn me to be rightli exercisd under thes solitari Saboths, and this withdrawing from the publick, at this tym. . . . I desir to hav the sam thing on my hart this day which I had the last day, the poor desolat handful that for Him expos themselves to the utmost danger; that they may hav counsel, shelter, acceptance; that as to ther differs I may hav light, strenth, fortitud, stedfastnes, soundnes of mind, and affection.

10.—I heard from Edinburgh of the death of Robert Innes of Moortoun. . . . It was wryt to me that they wer inquiring for Mr. James Urquhart. Lord! cover and hide him.

11.—My son did goe, and my daughter, to Moynes, to sie El$^{z.}$ Innes, and to comfort her anent her brother's death.

12.—I heard of the expedition against field conventicls by Athol, Murray, Marr, Cathnes. Lord! look doun. . . .

16.—I heard of the fall of a daughter of the E. of Dalhousie with Will. Lockhart, good Baili Rob. Lockhart's son, and of her end.

21.—Grang cam to Granghil, and told me, that Mr. James Urquhart had conventicls at Main's hous several days, week days and Saboths, and ———.[a] He warnd me, and told he behovd to summonds them for his oun exoneration. Lord! I know not what to adviz. . . . Grang told me that mani of my freinds had been ther.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

22.—I visited El^z. Innes at Moynes, and found her verie infirm. I found her complaints against Calder. I desird to be greivd for ani thing amongst them that irritats and separats them. I visited the E. of Murray's children at Darnway. In the evening I cam home, and expostulated with my Son for his anger the last day. He condemnd his anger, but said, He wonderd why I should lay that charg on him. He perceavd mor dinn for ———.[a]

24.—The Lord Duffus[b] and his Ladi[c] cam heir. I heard that the men of Fyf had taken band that they should not keip field conventicls: And that Cesnok and others had com to the Counsel from the West and had offerd to hear for the peace, but that the Counsel had refusd to accept it, and they had made ther rendevouz at Glasgow, the 26 instant: That Mr. Mitchell who attempted to kill the Archbishop[d] had been executed.

27.—Die Dom. This day, the King's forces and host under the E. of Lithgo, Mar, Athol, Glenarchi, Airli, and others wer to be in Glasgow for suppressing the west. I desird to simpathiz with them.

31.—Spini cam efter noon and visited me. He told me that the Bishop had said, The———.[e] That the Bishop was addicted to his oun opinions, and would tak noe counsel. Befor he got the ruff from the Lo. Huntlie, he was clear that papists wer loyal subjects, and might be imployd by the King to suppress nonconformists, but since, he had chaingd his mind. That the Earl of Murray would com north immediatly, and he thoght it might [be] for the conventicls and Mr. James Urquhart. He said, I was blamd for all the conventicls in this countree. I leav this on God.

2 Febr.—Leathin din'd heir. He told me he feard the oppression of the mighti, so that he was rather content to quit his right then to involv himself in troubl, for he expected noe justic. Ther's great appeirane of such tyms coming. I heard ther was evel determind against Mr. James Urquhart.

7.—Miltoun was heir, and spok to me of the mariage to his daughter with Jhon Hay, and that he had us'd mor austeriti then was fitt, and she was somthing avers from it. I reprovd this, and said, she should not be compeld.

[a] Here are twenty lines in short-hand, apparently recording some instances of Brodie's own anger, of which his son had reminded him.

[b] James, second Lord Duffus.

[c] Lady Margaret Mackenzie, eldest daughter of Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth.

[d] Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews.

[e] Short-hand in MS.

11.—Miltoun cam heir, and told me that Pluscardine had chargd him befor the Counsel; and soght counsel. Litl know what to adviz him to in soe euel a tym. Let the Lord giv him and me also sound counsel.

12.—I heard that Mr. Th. Hog and Mr. J. M°Kelican wer sent to the Bass.

16.—Jhon of Inverloghti cam heir, and told me [that] the Bishop had said, that al the West countree wer coming in and swallowing thes scrupls which they had stuck at. The Earl of Murray had written, that ther work was not so difficil as it was thoght: That ther wer forces to be sent north. L. of Grant cam heir, and Leathin, and Milton, anent the charg that Pluscardine had given him to goe south.

18.—Grant prevaild with Pluscardine to pass from the charg against Milton for appeiring befor the counsel.

24.—Die Dom. I heard that Wariston's two daughters wer maried on Coul[a] and Mr. Roderik M[k]enzie. I desir to aknowledg the Lord in that providenc. I heard also that the E. of M. was violent: [that] ther should som hors be sent heir.

27.—I was at Innes all night. This day Park and Don. Campbell from Edinburgh cam hom to Elgin, and Coul maried on Wariston's daughter. I heard what desolation was don in the west countree, and what they wer resolving to doe anent the pursuing of thes bounds.

28.—Pluscardine cam to Innes to me. I know not if his condition merits piti; but his sinful temper, and his natural distemper of mind, and his miseri, may al mov pitie. But he was extravagant. Jhon Brodi, my servant, was readi to hav quareld with him for speaking ill of me; but I reprovd Jhon, and did bear his follie. This night I had a dream: That Petgauni and I coming to a water, he ridd in and fell doun: that I saw him not again. Thes ar the imaginations of my mind. Lord! I look not to them but to Thee.

7 March.—I past a part of the efternoon with the Ladi Leathin. She askd what I thoght of privat baptism. I told, I did not hold it unlawfull. She said, In regard of the superstitious opinion of papists, who say that it is necessar to salvation, she held it duti to testifi against it.

[a] Sir Alexander Mackenzie, second Baronet of Coul, after the death of his first wife, Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart., married for his second wife, a daughter of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston.

9.—I got letters from my brother shewing the perplexiti that men wer in anent the taking of the Band: The Lothian regiments goeing to the West Alac! for our confusions.

10.—Die Dom. This morning, William Keth cam from my daughter. Granghil, and told me that Glassach's child, Robert Abercrombi, was dead this night in the bedd, and not known or perceavd till midnight, that they wakd, and found the child dead. . . . My good daughter went to Granghil about noon to visit them under the Lord's hand. Lord! teach and comfort.

11.—I . . . visited my daughter at Granghil, who was much affected for the death of her grand-child, Robert Abercrombi.

15.—I did meit betwix Jhon Hay and Miltoun, with Calder, Park and others, and agreid the mariag with Miltoun's daughter, Eliz. Brodi. I heard ther was som reluctanci in the yong woman. Let the Lord inclin and bless, and turn it to her comfort, that He may be glorified. I heard Seaforth was com hom, and took not the Band, nor D. Hamilton.

16.—Milton cam heir. I spok to him anent his daughter's mariag, and desird him to mari [her] by an conform minister.

20.—Spini cam to visit me. . . . He told me, that the tenents in the west would hav complied, but the ministers stood out. The Lord knows the truth of this. That the Earle of M. was reaceau'd in great state with coches and canon quhen he cam to Edinburgh. That Lorn was maried on the 12 instant. I becam unweil with the cheuing a litl tobaco. I acknouledg the Lord in my frailti.

21.—Yong Gordonston dind with me. He told me, he did adviz the D. H. [Duke of Hamilton] to subscriv the Band.

23.—I heard that the good Ladi Argyl, Ladi Margt. Douglas, died the day efter the Lord Lorn[a] was maried on Ladi Betie Talmash.[b]

April 3.—I heard that the Duk Hamiltoun, Cassils, and mani Lords and gentlemen, wer gon to Court without leaue, to supplicat the King anent the oppression in the West.

9.—Mr. Ja. Brodi cam hom, and told that thes at London desird others to concurr in the address to the King; for al was at the stake; our hazard was noe less then thers: if the other party prosperd we would be swaloud

[a] Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyll.

[b] Lady Elizabeth Talmash was the eldest daughter of Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, and Duchess of Lauderdale, by her first husband, Sir Lionel Talmash, Bart.

up with the first; if thes that wer gon up for the conntrie gott ani success, it would not be extended to this countree nor to us. Lord! giue counsel and direction. I desird to ponder and weigh duli what the Lord cald to. . . . Torwoodlie, Cesnok, Jereswood, and others wer gon up. . . .

11.—I heard of Cromartie's death; taken away in a moment, unexpectedlie, suddenli, and almost without sicknes, or witnes, hauing risen from tabl, and gon from Murray the day befor. I desird to consider this, and be instructed. I was grieud and affected with his death as being my relation, and especialli that he died so.

12.—I heard that Cromarti had ———.[a] Don. Campbell din'd heir, with the Ladi Grant. . . . I desird to bewail Cromarti his dreadful death in stabbing himself with his own hand, his despair, his impatienci of a croce. Oh let others fear, and be afraid of Thy judgments! Let persecutors, oppressours, proud enemies, ambitious, violent, covetous men, sic, and the haters of Thy peopl, giv them a wakining. . . . Mr. Tho. Urquhart's wyf was heir this night. My poor daughter Granghil was passionatli affected with Cromarti his death. Lord! strenthen and giv her a sober, patient, subdud miud to Thy will, and to reverenc Thee in Thy holiness and judgments.

16.—I wryt to Cromarti, and Newhal, and Mr. Hugh And[erson.] I commit it to God. Let it be noe snar to me; for I fear societi and familiarity with them, albeit the Lord knows, I wish them and the famili weil. Grang dind with us. . . . Rob. Don. cam heir. He told me Cromarti had struck himself with a dagger, a sword, a penknif, and a fork. I heard his tutour, Mr. Tho. Urquhart ———.[a]

21.—Die Dom. I heard of the death of Mr. Jhon Welwood at St. Jhonstoun, his burial at Dron, the impediments made to his burial, and that it's said Mr. Petkarn[b] resisted them that would buri him in his kirkyard.

25.—I heard of the Bishop of Argyl's sermon, "Is ther noe balm in Gilead," and, "oh! that my head wer," &c. He said, The rulers and councel had not applied right remedies: *ensa recidendum.*

26.—I drew up a letter to be sent to Torwoodlie, but I feard, and durst not ventur.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Mr. Alexander Pitcairn, minister of Dron, in Perthshire. He afterwards went to Holland; but was restored to his parish in 1689, and four years later was appointed Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.

30.—Spini told me [that] the Bishop would cede him nothing. I returnd to Elgin, and heard that the Duk Hamilton had reaceaud smal countenance at Court. Honest peopl wer fearing mor suffering, and that troubl was not at an end.

May 2.—I writ to Edinburgh, by Mr. Ja. Brodi, to Don. Campbell and to my L. Argyll.

10.— . . . This night, about 9 of the clock in the evening, my pets [peats] at the Bankhead wer brunt, whither by ani ignorant heards or out of malic, I know not. But I desir to acknouledg the Lord in it, and to reuerenc and submit to his prouidenc. . . .

16.—I did visit the Ladi Cromarti, and did counsel her to tak hart, and to be cheerfull, and not let ani thing discompos her mind, for that will affect the bodie, and draw on distemper.

18.—My nephew Don. Campbell returnd from Edinburgh. . . . I heard of the straits that Argyl was in, and I desird to simpathiz with him, but alace! ther seims a cloud above his head. The Lord scatter it. The tyms wer dark, and we ar under great confusions, and our jarrs and factions strong. . . . I heard Leuchers was at his rest.

21.—I did go to Petgauni at night.

22.—Innes and Calder cam to Petgauni, and dind. I trifld som tym at Spinie's hous, and cam hom late with the L. of Calder. I saw the Earl of Murray his letter from London to Spinie, shewing they had not sein the King as yet.

28.—My son and his wyf told me of ther purpos that she goe south. I had a dislyk of it. 1. Becaus of her weaknes. 2. I did conceave mor fit a phisician might be broght to her. Yet I determind not to withstand it least it should be constructed that I wanted tendernes.

31.—I heard that thes who went to London had com noe speid, but wer som of them returning, others going sundri ways. This maks troubl and distress. Lord! uphold and guid me.

3 June.—This day, my good daughter took journey south, and her daughters Ann and Cathr.

4.—I yesterday reaceavd a boasting letter from the Bishop, and answerd it as I could, but remitted it to Spini, if it might pass. The Lord restrain that man. I again heard of the indiction of a Convention of Estats.

6.— . . . Tarbet cam heir efternoon from Edinr., and he told me they

could cary al in a Convention. The Lords wer coming hom, and all ther purpos marrd: noe countenanc from the King. He said, If ani ther did send or choos commissioners for the Convention disaffected to the Court, the band and lauborrows would be put to them. Presentli they were doubtful what to do with the general prosecution of the Band. The Parliament of England had put in the King's will to mak peac or warr as he thoght fitt, and yeilded. He cried against our feild conventicls, that they had stoppd all hop of indulgenc. The Duk Hamiltoun, Drum, had moued onli ther oun greiuances, nothing for the countree, except what Cochran movd a litl. That the E. of M. was in great favour with the King. He thoght the Lords would not com to the Convention.

My son cam hom and told me Innes purposd to be Commissioner to the Convention. The E. of Murray had written to them to choos Innes and Dumphail. . . .

8.—Sir Lo. Gordoun cam to me in the evening, and prest me to com to the election, and he was forward for it. I declind, and said, If Innes would goe, I would not withstand him: he has mor forwardnes and couradg than I.

12.—I did meit with Innes at the Clous: he chalendgd me and blamd me that I cam not to consult about the election, and was earnest with me to com and elect and countenanc; and he almost persuaded me. Yet I told him I had noe freidom, and I could not vote if I cam. He told me his end was to hav somthing to ansuer for me, and my son, and for his oun. I said, I dislyked the courses and ways of thes men; and desird not to promot and serv them. . . .

13.—I did goe to Aldern in some buisines of Grant's with Colin M^{k}enzie and Jhon Dumbar. . . . We spok anent the electing Commissioners. They dealt with me to go to Elgin; Grant and Don., Leathin, Calder; but I declind it. Not having bein at ani election this 24 years, I held it not expedient to go at this tym.

15.—Mr. Jh. Buchan cam heir. He told me that the L. Huntli caried al in Aberdeen. This is the frame and constitution of our land. They that are great will cari all with them; not what's right, but what they will. I did tak my son with me to Calder, to tak leav of him; for he was goeing south to the Convention of Estats. He said forwardli, he would not goe abrest with the speat. My son heard from Edinburgh, that they wer pursu-

ing the Band violenti, sending severals to the plantations. The Band was coming heir. I desird grace to be fitted for thes evels.

17.— . . . The Commissioner his wyf told me that Chisolm was Latherdal's intelligencer. I considerd this, and thoght fitt to imploy som to speak him to giv right impressions of the countrie. Lord! teach me Thy way. . . . Don. Campbel wryt for Chisholm to meit him. Shall I mak use of this or not? I was in doubt if I should wryt to Argyl, to my brother, or others anent our vindication.

This night Tarbet and Commissioner M^k^enzie cam heir in their journey south. Alace! I have not a due antipathi with evel. He spoke against feild meetings; so did I. . . . I spok to him to indeauvour to moderation in ther counsels and causes. He promisd to befriend me quhairin he could. I desir not to trust in man. . . . I heard Sir James Stewart's chaplain and others were sent to the Barbadoes, and banishd. Lord! fitt me for coming under this temptation. I read 5 Matth.; and read a letter from Sir James Stewart. He said, God would appeir.

19.— . . . Mr. Geo. Kay was heir, and Mr. Ja. Urquhart. I feard Mr. Geo would discouer; but I commit it to God. . . .

27.—I writ to Spini to vindicat myself as to the election, and shewing him my purpos not to medl in ani publick maiters.

28.—I heard Sir Lod. Gordoun was going of the countree, fearing the Band.

Juli 3.—I visited Major Beatman's Ladi at Moyness, and heard from Pa. Fraser that the convention was constitut: [that] E. Crafourd and Carmichal refused the declaration: and that things were lyk to goe as the Court pleased.

6.—I reaceavd letters from my good daughter from Edinburgh: That ther was litl hop of good from the Convention: Som taken at a conventicle: Lorn and his Ladi at variance. . . . My good daughter's health no better.

13.—Mr. Al^r^ Dumbar and Mr. Dunoon cam heir from Edinburgh. I heard that they and Mr. Jhon Hepburn were enterd on the ministri. Grang and Culloden cam heir to sie me. . . . I heard it was objected to me, my wylie ways, because I apeird not at the elections, and cam not south.

25—Mr. James Urquhart and Mr. Hugh Anderson wer heir with me. . . . Mr. James Urquhart mov'd, what should we doe as to the paying of this cess which was imposed for suppressing honest men. I said, I knew

not whether the subject had a power to tri the causes of imposition, for we had seldom had ani imposition but it was ———.[a]

1 Augt.—I heard this day that good Sir Ja. Stewart, on the 26 Juli was taken out of his bedd and put in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. I desird to consider this and to be instructed. Shal I not sympathiz with a poor honest servant of God? Shal I be unconcernd? Lord forbid! 2. Shal I not be preparing for the lyk? . . .

2.—I reaceavd a lyn from Mr. T. Ross, and perceavd he was recoverd a litl.

9.—I writ to Innes, and saluted him efter his return from Edinburgh; and said, I would put none of them that wer namd to be comissioners in ballance with him.

21.—Granghil, and my daughter, and Dumphail, cam heir at dinner. . . . My daughter askd my opinion anent the taking Mr. Wilson to her sons, and Dumphall's son. I did inclin she should tak him, for he had gifts to teach the children. Yet she was straitnd in it, because he had once disclaimd the Bishops, and brunt his warrand he had from the Bishop to preach, and now had taken it of new.

27.—Mr. Jhon Heburn cam heir from the south. I perceavd he was enterd to the ministri by the nonconformist. He seimd to hav som purpos to tr[illegible] feil conventicls. I could giv noe incouradgment or advic to him; but in my judgment and inclination, I am against it.

September 10.—Mr. Hugh Anderson and his wyf cam heir from the South. I spok with him anent the lawfulnes of paying cess, seeing it is exprest to be for suppressing conventicls. He said, Som said we might pay, had we occasion to use a protestation that it was not for that use. He told me that the yong men preachd against the indulgd men, and som preachd that stipends wer not lawfulli to be payd to ther conform ministers.

11.—I went to Elgin to meit anent Cromarti's effairs. . . . I was greivd to see Innes mak jest of thanksgiving, and had litl desir to eat or drink quhair I saw God's nam and worship so litle reverenc'd. I returnd hom. . . . I found Innes sharp, and recenting the opposition he met with in his election, and charging it on me.

20.—Milton told me what troubl he was in with the Bishop and toun of

[a] Short-hand in MS.

Elgin. I desir to consider this and to be instructed by it. I sie injustice, violenc, oppression; and in our just caus and defenc we cannot stand, for we ar hated, may I say. Lord! Thou know for what caus

25.—I spok with the Provost of Elgin anent Milton's questions with them. I got a fair general answer; but micle deceit and unsoundnes lies under fair generals.

7 Octr.— . . . Mr. Massie cam heir. He told me sad things: 1. That Socinianism is growing ryf: Justification by Christ questiond and denied: Supernatural asistanc of grace or influences of the Spirit not needful: Moraliti is al that is requird in religion: Plato and Seneca of [as] much authoriti as Peter or Paul: Dr. Skougal that's dead[a] vented this doctrin: The Bishop his father does not disclaim or discountenanc it: Ther be that inclin to it: They ar in danger to get Arminian professors of Divinity: Mr. Horn defends images, and condemns Caluin for taking them away, and [the] reformation which he made might hav bein forborn: Dr. Laud's designs in religion is coming in: Arminianism recommends men to preferment: Profan Dr. M^cCulloch,[b] Prouost of old Colledg in St. Andrews. I spok to him of thes things, and how it concernd ministers to strenthen the scholars against this poison, which wicked men did project to poison fountains of learning.

13 October, 1678.[c]—Die Dom. I desir to be burthend at the afflictions of the day: the land and church divided in their worship, and use of the Lord's ordinances. 2. The declining among us. 3. The breaking in off corruptions and errours, not onli in the government which we stand ingadgd to, but even in the doctrin; Socinianism, Arminianism taght, favord . . .

17.— . . . I heard of the Popish conspiracie against the King by Dr. Oats and others. I desir to consider this, and to be instructed. Lord! turn it to Thy glori and Thy churche's good. Lord! bring forth good out of this hellish plot. . . .

[a] Dr. Henry Scougall, author of the "Life of God in the Soul of Man." His father, Patrick, Bishop of Aberdeen, survived him.

[b] So in MS. This was George Pattulloch or Pattullo was Provost of St. Salvator's College at this time, (1677—1680.)

[c] Here the last volume of Brodie's Diary commences.

19.—I heard that yesternight they had taken away Kinsterie's cattel. Want of the gospel is the great caus of barbariti, cruelti, and rauenousnes in thes dark places which ar ful of the habitations of cruelti. It's the Lord restrains, els soon might they ouer-run the land. I traveld efternoon to and fro, til I wearied, but scarce a thoght of God.

21.—I wryt to the goodwyf of Inverbrakie, and Mr. Th. Urquhart's wyf, by Geo. Finm.; and was efternoon in the quarrie. In my return I had som thoghts of death. I desird grace to be fitted for it, and to be helpd, as in my lyf, soe particulari at my death, to bear a right witnes and testimoni for the Lord; not onli to tell what He has done for my soul, but to stir up others to serv Him, and cleav to Him, and not in general onli to pray, read, keep form of duties, but particularli anent the tyms, to bear witnes, and leav a sound legaci to my poor son and the childr. Lord! what should I say anent the Covenant, Prelaci, Presbytri, hearing or not hearing thes that conform, indulgences, feild meitings, magistrats ——,[a] anent the Lord[s] work and providences in thes lands, and since the year 1638, and anent the present tyms, snars, dangers, duties? Oh! soe dull and dark as I am in thes things. Let merci be reservd for that tym of death, that I may sie more clearli then al my lyf, and witnes mor plainlie. What will be said by others if I should not then giv Thee the testimoni of a Good Master, albeit I hav not been a faithful servant?

22.—Sir Lod. Gordoun cam heir this night. He told me he had sein Mr. H. Forbes in England. I considerd this, and was humbld.

26.—I did pass the tym efternoon in Dyk. I heard that the Earl of Murray did giv ordour to tak Mr. James Urquhart, Mr. Jhon Heburn, and Mr. A. Or.

2 Novr.—I saw a letter from Andro Read's daughter, a quaker; and it disturbd me to sie such efficaci of errour and delusion, and scripturs misapplied. L. Grant cam heir, and told me he was cald to send men to Inverlochie. I desird that he might ordour his men to doe no harm, and to caus tell his freinds that he sent them in obedienc to the Counsel, but without ani intention of hurt to them. Lord! examin this. I wryt to my L. Argyl anent this expedition. Whateuer is unsound or doubl, Lord! purg it out. We ar as among lions. Oh! how hard it is to keep innocenci and integriti. . . .

[a] Shorthand in MS.

6.—I went east on the ———[a]; and was at night in Petgauni. The last night befor, we wer alarmd with Highland men, and the yong men wakd al night. But ———.[a] I cald at Innes, and went thenc to Dippil, and found they had cald me to adviz anent ther effairs. I purposd to hav exprest myself to old Innes anent my differ with him in the matters of Religion, Covenant, Prelaci ———.[a]

8.— . . . I heard much noice of a conventicl at Elgin, which Mr. J. Heburn had; and one at Perth, quher several wer kild by the men of Atholl. I desir to sie this and to consider.

10.—Die Dom. Elz. Forbes cam heir efter morning exercis. She told me she had reaceavd much good by a sermon of Mr. Jhon Wilson's at Forres, on thes words: "There's noe peace to the wicked, saies my God;" and on thes words: "Send Thy light and Thy truth to guide me."

12.—Mr. Sken cam heir, and spok with me anent the taking out our armes. I did sie it an airi vaniti; yet I conform with the cours of men. Lord! purg out vaniti. . . .

27.—Balnaferri cam heir, and din'd. I did consider his low estat, and the low estat of the Sherif's famili. Ther is not ani living com of the Sherif's famili[b] thir 100 years and upward, but Patrik, and Sanders of the mill: others ar increasd. I desir to be instructed by this, and humbld.

Decr. 1.—Die Dom. I heard of the Earl of Murray his zeal and violenc against thes that did not conform, and particularly against Mr. J. Heburn.

2.—Andro Fordice was buried, but I was barren.

3.—I did goe east towards the Bogg for Grant's buisines. The day was sharp and cold. I staid at Elgin al night with Baili Brodi. I heard of further discovri of the plot. I visited Innes at Moortoun's hous.

5.—I cam at night to Aslisk, and broght Mr. James Urquhart with me ther.

6.—My grandchild of Glassach was deliverd of her son Alr. Abercrombie, on the 5 instant.

7.—Yong Colloden cam heir from Edinburgh. . . . Colloden told me som men doubted if ther was a real Plot. . . .

9.—Granghil and Glassach younger cam heir. I wryt for old Glassach to com over to the baptism of his grandchild.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] The Dunbars, Sheriffs of Murray.

10.—I heard that Argyll and M^cDonald had made a cessation of arms. I reflected on thes confusions, and desird to be instructed: and on Argyl's condition, and was greivd for him, and cannot but ———.[a]

13.—This day, the Ladie Pluscardine was buried. My son went to it, but I was cald to Leathin. . . . Old Glassach cam over to the baptism of his grandchild and my great grandchild Al^r. Abercrombie. . . . I heard that the E. of Argyll was gone in to Mull, and that M^cDonald was to follow him privatlie.

14.—My great grandchild, Al^r. Abercrombi, was this day baptised by Mr. Wm. Falconar.

16.—This day, by 7 in the morning, the E. of Seaforth[c] died at Chanrie. I desird to consider this, and to be instructed. Vain is the glori of man; pleasur of sin short, and the end bitter. The fear of God is sound wisdom, and to liv ever as expecting death and fitting for it, and for our appearanc befor God. Oh! to see the vaniti of greatnes, lands, possessions, wealth, rent, freindship of men, prosperiti, sinful pleasur. Alace! so deceitful. Lord! work the faith of this. . . .

29.—Die Dom. I did read somthing of Mr. Fleming's App^ces.,[b] and anent the affliction of this Church of Scotland, through adhearing to the government which we receavd and ar ingadgd to. Alas! I cannot receav the word, nor dar I renonce fellowship with other churches. Albeit I am persuaded it is of governments the best, yet it is liabl, through the corruption of men to be abusd to divisions, factions, schisms, ruptures, as we have sein.

31.—I heard that the E. of Seaforth's daughter was brint with pouder, and the hous indangerd.

11 Januarie, 1679.—Durn, Both, younger, and Al^r. Dumbar cam heir becaus of the storm.

12.—Die Dom. I heard the goodwyf of Tanachi died.

17.—I went to the burial of the goodwyf of Tanachi, and was glad to heare of the good report of her death.

23.—This day was the E. of Seaforth buried. . . .

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Meaning, no doubt, a portion of Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures, which appeared originally in separate volumes.

[c] Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth.

24.—I did see the Bp. of Ross[a] buried this day, and attended it. This I owe to al men, as I am cald to it. Thorntoun I heard preachd the Erle's funeral, and said, that it was a judgement to hav such men removd as the Bp. and the Erle. Is not this to tak Thy nam in vain? I heard non of the funerals; speciali becaus I was stumbld at Thorntoun's conversation, name, and the application of his doctrin, which I hav oft heard.

25.—I heard of the death of good Mr. Th. Ross.[b]

27.— . . . Petgauni cam heir and spok to me anent the laufulnes of paying the Cess: seing the act declars the caus to be to suppres the feild meitings, and so religion and the gospel. I said, I held it lawfull. 1. It's laid on by a lawful authoriti. 2. The magistrat neids not tell, nor ar we bound to know the caus. 3. Priuat subjects ther obedienc in paying tribut must not depend on ther satisfaction anent the caus and the way of imploying it. For then litl ———.[c] 4. Quhil exampl and precept to pay tribut to the Romans, quhen heathen, usurpers, oppressours of the peopl and worship of God. The Apostl. "Render tribut to quhom tribut is due. To Cæsar the things that ar Cæsar's." 5. It's not ours; it's the magistrats. 6. Albeit we knew ———,[c] would we not giv or part with som to sav the rest? 7. They would mak mor gain by our refusing to pay then by our paying; nay, they would be content men refusd: they would mak that a pretext to swallow up all. 8. Feu Duties, Teinds, Stipends, albeit we know, nay they declar, and it is manifest, for what end they seik it, and it's payd to intertain corrupt men and corrupt. ———.[c] Mani other motivs and reasons may be thoght on and adduced for defending the lawfulnes of paying this Cess. But I suspect my judgment, least it may be blinded, and fear to suffer, and lothnes to incurr the danger, may darken my mind and cloud the conscienc. . . .

29.—I read Musc[ulus] his Life, and, in his Com. Places, of Magistrates. He gives them power in religion to mak laws, and allows not a co-ordinat power to ministers and church officers in the matters of religion, but seims to be Erastian. I was humbld and exercisd on this, and desird to be kept from errour, and could not consent to this doctrin. What were our cace if

[a] John Paterson, Bishop of Ross.

[b] Mr. Thomas Ross, minister of Tain, died of fever, 13th January, 1679. Wodrow's MSS., vol. xcix., 4to., no. 31, where is an account of some of the expressions which he uttered before his death.

[c] Short-hand in MS.

we alloud this to Magistrats? Alac! to whom shall we give this power? to ministers, to parliaments, to judicatours civil? If the Lord secure not religion, what power on earth can, or will secure it? We have seen all means unsufficient and weak. Lord! pity my ignorance and unstedfastnes; for I am shaken. Mr. J. Hepburn ———.[a] I found my self censuring his extending his voice, and his ———.[a]

31.—I reaceavd a letter from my L. Argyl and returnd ansuer.

Feby. 1.—Alexander [Brodie] of Balnamoon broght me letters from the South: That the K. of Franc was preparing armies and fleets, and intended to inuad us, hauing made peac with all ther neighbours except Brandeburg: The farther discoueri of the plot, and Godfrey's murther: The great darknes in London in the day tyme.

4.—I was exercisd in my spirit with the sense of the universal corruption of the earth, and of thes lands, and how mani ———[a] I hav sein broken with mistaks, errour, delusion, stepping asid, weakneses: Straqn., Kerr, War[sn.], Swentoun, Mr. J. Menzies, Ruth., Thes at Aberdeen, Craighail, Dundas, Freuchies, L. Ruthven.

6.—The Ladi Marr[b] and her daughter, Ladi M[arquis] of Douglas,[c] and others with them, cam heir. I found great weaknes in the act of worship befor and efter dinner.

7.—Rori M[c]enzi, the E. of Seaforth's brother, din'd heir. He told me the buisines of the supposd witchcraft about Redcastel, and cleared himself and his wyf and al his of it. . . .

11.—I found much desertion in the famili morning worship, and my speich and tong fail. I falterd in my speich, that I could hardly speak. I desir to consider this and be instructed; for it seems not to be merli a natural infirmiti. It's tru, Zachari was smitten dumb in the tyme of the publick worship becaus he beleevd not. Thou mayst now justli smit me. But Thou told him why Thou [didst] smite him. Lord! vouchsaf a word to teach me by Thy spirit, and let me not be without understanding. The impediment in my speech grew in the efternoon. . . . Newhall and his goodson cam heir and others. My speech faltered much.

[a] Short-hand M.S.

[b] Lady Mary M'Kenzie, eldest daughter of George, second Earl of Seaforth, and relict of John, ninth Earl of Marr.

[c] Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest daughter of the preceding, by the Earl of Marr. She was married 7th September, 1670, to James, second Marquis of Douglas.

14.—I heard ther had an ordour gon to tak Fouls,[a] and Mr. Dunnoon and send them south: That E. Seaforth had sent a testimonial anent Fouls.

18.— . . . This day Mr. Walter Dunoon past by, being taken by the E. of Seaforth on the 12, and sent from shir to shir. My soul greived that this should be the first act of that yong man's lif.[b] Lord! overrul and turn it to good.

21.—My son went to sie Leathin, and Mr. Ja. Urquhart cam heir. He performd famili worship. He told me that Mr. Jhon Heburn escapd nar[ow]li at Keith: That Thornton and Kemphorn had a parti to apprehend him: That the Bishop had procurd an ordour to tak him and som others.

26.—Leathin cam heir. We spok of the Lord's providences over us in tym past, how low we had been broght, and yet deliverd again, and again, that we ow ourselves to Him, . . . and all that we ar. We spok of former troubls on this poor church and land. Leathin said, It was litl matter of our particular in comparison of the gospel, the work of God, and His Son's kingdom. We spok of my son, children, and the danger they might be in, if the evel tyms break out.

March 6.—I was doubtful if I should bigg the ducat this year, in regard of the fear of troubl, and that I had not al things readi. Let the Lord ordour my way aright.

7.—I heard Mr. Colin Falconar was presented to the Bishoprick of Galloway.

13.—I heard that the Duke Hamilton had receavd a precept on the Exch^{r}, but the King countermanded: The Duke of York was to declare himself a Protestant: That Latherdal was purposing to retyr.

14.—Young Gordonstoun cam heir, and staid this night. He told me that Duke Hamilton had noe court favour.

17.—I and my son went earli towards the meeting with the Mr. [of] Forbes, and was all night in Innes. I heard of the Duke of York and his Dutches ther going beyond sea to Holland. Lord! turn it to good. I heard. . . . that Mr. Walter Dunoon was set at liberti in Fyff: The King of France was using the Protestants hardli. I desir to be rightli affected with these things.

[a] Sir John Munro of Foulis.

[b] Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth, who had just succeeded his father of the same name: See p. 407.

22.—Milton returnd heir from Edinburgh. He told me how graciousli the Lord dealt with the passengers which were sent away; what kindness the Lord made them meet with in England.

24.—I heard that my two great grand-children, Glassach's sons, Jhon and Alr., were both dead, and the mother in danger. . . . Mr. Tho. Ross['s] wyf cam heir and spok of her condition. Lord! keip me from stumbling.

26.—Cromarti cam heir, and soght to borrow monie. I did sie litl caus to yeild to it. Yet efter I had soght direction from God, I yeilded to treat, I getting his papers in pledg. Examin my hart if ther be ani deceit in me; and Lord! purg it out.

27.—Mr. Tho. Ross['s] wyf and her daughter was heir, and spok of taking the mother with her.

April 3.—Jhon Grant of Moynes cam heir, and spok of his effairs with me. I sie how uncertain outward things ar. They tak wings and flie away. Sanctifi this instanc and exampl of vicissitud and chang that I sie in him.

8 April.—Don. Campbell, Simon Fraser, Miltoun, cam heir late. I heard that ther wer som kild at a conventicl about Lenrick. Som honest ministers were taken. . . . Torwoodlie wryt to me that the gospel had fredom amongst them for the time; but dark was the cloud over our head. Ther apeard no visible help, if it cam not ———.[a] I desir'd grac to consider thes things, and to be instructed.

10.—I read somthing of Baxter's Cure of Church Divisions, and was humbld under the darknes and divisions on the spirits of men, even godli men.

12.—I heard Mr. James Urquhart's wyf remaind veri infirm, and in danger. I desir to sympathiz with them.

14.—The vessels went out with the victuals. Let the Lord bless and be with them.

16.—Dr. Gordon cam heir, and shew[ed] me a speech of Shaftsberrie's,[b] quherin he pointed at Scotland, Irland, and the Protestants abrood, "the litl sisters that had noe breasts," &c. and pointed at the tyranni and arbitrari gouernment usd and exercisd in Scotland; and they could expect noe better in England. This raisd my spirit a litl, and I thoght I might declin to ———.[a]

19—I desir to lament and mourn under the divisions in the church, and

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury.

in the land, and particularli that our church societies and communion is so broken, that we cannot meit together and enjoy the ordinances of prayer, sacrament, and hearing.

20.—Die Dom. I desird to set apart this day to the Lord for supplication and humiliation.

This day the Sacrament was giuen in Dyk. But non of this famili did communicat.

21—I did goe to the burial of James Spenc[e's] son at Kilflett; and from thenc veiud the bounds betwixt the town of Elgin and Milton with Major Heburn; and cam at night to Aslisk.

22.—We did meit with the Toun of Elgin at the Moss. Innes and Commissar Stewart did accept the commission. The town would not com in til the stons were sett quhair they thoght fitt, and unless Milton submitted to themselves, which had bein a taking the guilt upon him of removing a march stone. This, in the confidence of his innocenci, and in abhorrence of such a crym, I would not consent to.

28.—Eliz. Forbes was heir. She told me that Main had diswaded her from communicating at Kinloss, and said non had don it but Wm. Crombie's wyf, and it is known what befell her. This afrighted, and was sadd; yet she went, and found peac and comfort in it.

May 5.—I heard that the Bishop of St. Androes was kild. It greivd my soul to hear that ani professing reall grace should fall in such an act. I abhor it perfectli.

20.—Innes, Kilraok, Leathin, Spini, Mr. Hugh Anderson, cam heir. I found my ill disposition to continue to bodili infirmiti, and of mind also.

I did disclaim that act which was laid against the Bishop, and said I would hav rescud him if it had bein in my power; that the taking away his life would do mor harm to religion than ever his life had don or could hav don; and I wish that that parti which wer thoght to hav hand in it might emit som testimoni against it and send to al the reformd churches. . . .

22.—Sir G. Monro cam heir; Mr. Blar's son. I heard of John Spreul being taken: Mr. Wil. Hamilton's death: many of our great men sent and cald to Court.

26.—The strangers went from me, and Hugh Blar.

30.—I heard of the L. M°Donald his insurrection and taking arms, and marching into Argyll. Lord! learn me how to be rightlie affected with this publick bold insolenci. . . .

June 2. — Innes, Kilraok, and Ladie Innes, cam heir. Mr. Wm. Falconar staid dinner with me; and Mr. James Urquhart performd the famili worship. My respect to the one is beyond the other; yet I retain civility with Mr. Wm.

3.—I heard that L. McDonald and Argyl had falln in blood: that som wer kild on both syds.

4.—I did meit at Dyk anent my grandchild, Mary Dunbar's mariag with Moortoun Chines. I did sie litl mater of incouradgment to it except a livlihood. I commit it to God's providence. Lord! over rul al our thogts and ends about it, and ordour it to Thy glori, and this poor child's eternal good.

11.—I heard that they that kild the Bishop of St. Androes wer with thes in the West. I was greuid for this. Al things ar against us, our sins, guilt, transgressions. . . .

13.—I heard that the heritours and the militia were cald out to march ———,[a] Stirling, and my son told me that I was aimd at ———:[a] therefor advisd us to com south. It was movd in the Counsel ———.[a] Now I was in great perplexiti, confusion, and doubt, seing the danger on the one hand or the other. . . . I desird to send for Mr. James, and to set som tym apart for seeking direction and grac how to cari at this tym. I sie my person, my f[amili], ———,[a] livlihood, and al my outward concerns at the stake. But ar ther not other things in danger more deir and precious then thes?

16.—I heard that McDonald was retird from Argyll. . . . I was in the dark anent my son and his going to Stirling. . . . Spini cam heir. . . . I did sie and aknowledge the rashnes, unadvizednes, of thes in the West that took arms ———,[a] and that they could not stand befor the host.

18.—This morning I had wrestlings with confidenc if I should be prest [to] go against thes in the west. 1. I did not allow their rising ———.[a] 2. There is micle rashnes. 3. They seim not to hav a call to it. 4. They hav no rational grounds to expect that they can prevail against thes that ar against them, being the armies of three Kingdoms. . . . It is not the question. Is it safest towards ther ———?[b] but is it most acceptabl to God, wil it get approbation, and hav peac? "It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] A word here illegible.

of the living God." On the one hand, I sie if I draw back ther is unavoidable danger of destruction to me, my poor children, and famili. Ther laws, ther venall greid, ther covetousnes, will inhance and swallow up all. On the other hand, I hav onli to ponder what God uters, what he calls to, and being clear in that to tak Him for all, and cast dangers, fears, power, malic, lust of men, upon his al sufficienci, truth, providenc, wisdom, sovereinti, power.

19.—This day the militia foot of this plac was put out. . . . Leathin intended [to put] out 3 horsmen to Stirling. . . . Quhair ar we?

19.—Spini cam heir, and saw me. He told me som men past by to Ross, and warnd me to bewair. We were much disturbd with putting out the men . . . I heard that Innes would go to Stirling. I desir to reflect on the lawfulnes of putting out ———.[a]

20.—Calder cam heir, and the rendevous of the heritours was at Forres. I wryt to Duffus and Cham. anent my self and my son's goeing, and desird to be excemd. But my mind was confusd and broken with the darknes, and fear lest I had stretched my self too farr in sending forth foot, and noe hors. . . . I heard Park, Kinstri, and Bright. [? Brichtmonie], had sent noe foot to Stirling. This reproves me.

21.—I reflected on my putting out the foot and promoving and strenthening ther hands that were goeing out against the handful, and was shaken, and doubted if God did allow Albeit ther may be failings and infirmiti in them, and ther rising in arms without a call cleird, yet should my hand be against them? . . I am to resolve this day what to do anent the sending out for my son to appear at Stirling.

The Lord Duffus sent a parti and took our hors and arms: yet [I] had offerd them to him befor. I desir to be instructed by this prouidenc. I acknouledg the Lord in it, as being better then if I had voluntarli sent and furnishd them. 2. This is but the begining of euels. What may we look for err al be don, and from strangers, quhen we meit with this from freinds and relations? . . . This evening my grandchild, Mari Dumbar, was maried with Tho. Chines, [one] of Moortoun's sons. . . . Milton was heir, and his hors taken.

22.—Die Dom. Bothwel Bridg foght this day[b]

23.—I had on my hart the poor peopl in the West; destitut ar they.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

[b] This entry was made at this place in the Diary after Brodie had received the news of that battle.

Ther quarrel with them is becaus they desir to be fedd and gouernd by Thee. Lord plead!

Jhon Brodi cam from Elgin, and told, Duffus had sworn he was not bound in honour to tak me of anent Stirling, albeit he had taken my horses, and knew my own and my son's sicknes. I spread this befor God. I think I sie an ocean of troubl breaking in on me, my bodi, my spirit, my soul, my freinds, famili, and the poor ———.[a]

24.—I writ letters for exemting me at Stirling.

26.—Leathen, Both, and Main, and Tho. Gordoun cam heir. I could admit of noe hope or comfort. "Oh! that I had a cottag in a wildernes." Quhilst I am at the last gasp, Lord! quicken and comfort.

Ther cam an alarum of Highland men coming doun. But it was Argyl's men seiking the cattel of Keppoch, and others. . . . I heard Argyl, Keppoch, M'Donald, and others, had cald for Calder. Lord! direct and guid him.

27.—My brother went to Calder; for he was going to meit with Argyll, and M'Donald, and Keppoch.

28.—I sent for Mr. James Urquhart, to sie if the Lord, by him, would send a word of direction or comfort to uphold me under the burthens that ar sinking me. Petgauni cam heir efternoon. We read 17 Ps., and worshiped together.

12 July.—I gott letters from the South telling me the danger I was in; men's ill will to me. Som took exception at that which I had done. I was advized that we should send to London, to crave the benefit of the Indulgenc, and to ward off dangers. I was greatly cast down. I had noe life in me, noe fortitud, no courag, no strenth, nor light.

14.—Calder and Leathen mett heir to deliberat if we should send ani to London. . . . They appointed Thursday next at Dyk.

15.—Lord! giv counsel and direction to the next day's meiting. The Mr. of Forbes was expected.

16.—Don. Campbel was heir also. The Mr. proposd ———.[a] I and my poor freinds wer the object of men's ill will, and could expect nothing els, nor they that join with me in ani alliance. He said, His father was in the sam cace, and expected noe better measur. . . . We reaceavd a letter from

[a] Short-hand in MS.

Park on sending to London. . . . We ar doubtful whom to imploy, whether Mr. Martin, or Park, or ani other.

17.—We made the despatch to London, and choos yong Innes and D. Cam[pbel]

19.—I heard Innes would not let his son goe. Lord! what shal we doe for direction and counsel? Shal Don.[a] goe?

23.—The L. of Calder and Grang resolvd, in the Lord's strenth, to set forward to Edinburgh anent the application for the Indulgenc. . . . They wer doubtful whither they should pass by the Councel altogether, and go to the King immediatli, or if they should appli themselves to the Councel first. It seims most dangerous to pass by the Councel; and they may slip. Lord! give direction, and ordour their steps.

25.—Calder and Grang took journey south this day.

31.—Spini visited me. I told him and shew[ed] him the address. I soght his counsel. He said, he feard my dauger.

August 1.—Next day the Bishop of Argyl cam to sie me, Mr. Colin Falconar. . . . I told him of our address for the Indulgenc. He told me of Mr. King, that he was drunk befor the Counsel, and som other suspicions of scandal on him. I desir to tri ere I believ. "Let the mouth of them that speak lies be stoped."

5.—I feard the success of our address for the Indulgenc. I feard if we gott it, that we should not use it aright; that it may be a snar to weak ones; that mani would not have freedom to accept it as it is offerd.

7.—I heard Mr. King and Kidd wer sentenced to die on the 14 day. Lord! caus me tak up this providenc aright.

8.—My nephew, Donald, took journey from this to Edinburgh. Let the Lord direct and accompani him and others in this journey. . . . Dr Gordoun was heir. He told me the M. of Huntly had written to the Chancellor anent us. Lord! let it be noe snar to us.

11.—Grang cam heir, and told me they had not made the address for the Indulgenc, becaus others had com noe speid. Ther was danger in seking it. They had sent up Mr. Martin and Calder, and Innes staid on advertizment and incouradgment. Monmouth made general of the forces in England and Scotland against Latherdal's will. Kinkel had gotten remission. Non had

[a] Donald Campbell.

yet taken the benefit of the Indulgenc. The prisoners in the Bass would not tak the Band, and therfor not yet at liberti. Ther wer hous meetings. Edinburgh and others wer dealing to get the Indulgenc.

14.— Yong Gordounstoun[a] cam heir. He said ther was appeirane of an indulgenc to Papists and all others. Lord! avert.

16.—I did this day begin my harvest and went to the feild, but I found my sight so dim that I could be of litl use.

20.—I staid at Elgin the 19, 20, 21, and heir closd the marriag betuix the Master of Forbes[b] and my grandchild, Ann Brodie. Ther was som reasoning anent som addition of portion if my Son had not airs male; it ended fair; and I acknouledg the Lord in it. . . . My Lord Forbes and the Mr. cam to Brodie at night.

23.—They went efternoon to visit Coubin and Granghil.

26.—Grant cam heir, and desird me to goe with him to meet with the M. of Huntly. But my infirmities and the disorder of my health and mind was such as I could not weil goe.

4 Sept^{r}.—The last night I was exercis'd much with greif, and I had chalendg for asisting the levies. I desir grace not to suppress or withstand light in the conscienc, but to be subdud to it.

20.—I found great disordour in my head, brain, mind, and temper, tending to lightnes, apprehensions and imaginations disquieting me, neidlesli, sinfulli, throgh want of faith in God. I spread al this befor him. I feard distraction, and such temptations as others had been exercisd with at ther death: L. of Lunan, Ch. Russel, Ladi Hadingtoun. . . .

22.—Mr. Ja. Urquhart spent som of the morning with El^{z}. Forbes. I walkd out and in, and efternoon lookd a litl to the theiking of the stucks. Mr. Ja. told me it was my calling, and I might goe about it; quhen I said, It was unlyk cure to a sick soul. I past a litle of the efternoon with Mr. James in secret, but with much infirmiti. I found great distemper in my head and mind; my imaginations and apprehensions did crush me. . . .

My son told me of his purpos to mari his daughter on Thursday, 2 of October.

2 Oct.—This day is apointed for the marriag of my grandchild, Ann, with

[a] See p. 351, note [d].

[b] The Honourable Archibald Forbes of Putachie, third son of William, eleventh Lord Forbes, by his first wife Jean, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Calder.

the Mr. of Forbes. I desir first to give her to God, and then to him, and to that famili for and in the Lord: that His anger against me may not be drawn out against the child and against her apparent husband and that famili. . . .

Lord! shall I call Mr. Wm. Falconar to com heir or not? Teach me and lead me, sway my will, spirit, inclination, judgment, conscienc, and all that's in me.

My grandchild, An, was maried with the Mr. of Forbes. . . . Mr. Wil. Falconer supd with us and prayd in the familie. Mr. James Urquhart was not with us.

3.—Next day Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, and performd the famili exercis, but went away at night. Mr. Alr. Dumbar[a] staid with us, and exercisd at night. I had no delight nor pleasur in ani thing.

7.—Mr. Hugh Anderson was with me. He said, in the Lord's name, that it should be weil with me, and that I should hav peac. Lord! mak good what he said in Thy name.

11.—Mr. James Urquhart spok on Micha. 7, 18, 19, 20, and held out the offer of grace to us, and invited us to com into His covenant and to tak on with Him. On this occasion I did speak to Ann, Cathr., and Elz., my poor grandchildren, and askd if they wer content to enter in covenant with Him, and they consented, and gav themselves to the Lord to be His for ever, and accepted the Lord to be ther God, and tuk on His bands.

20.—Grant cam doun to sie me. Leathin, and Burgi, and Grang, cam about ther effairs. But I had noe pleasur in ani effairs. I heard of the good E. of Southerland's death, and of a palsie, and in few days. 1. I desir to observ this his disease is that sam that myn is. . . . This day Wm. Brodie took journey to Edinburgh, and I writ with him to my Brother a kind of farwell.

22.—Kilraok and Mr. Hugh Anderson cam heir this night; and Mr. Hugh staid, and worshipd with me in the morning.

Novr. 5.—Tho. Gordon cam heir: spok of the contribution. He said, Mr. Jhon Heburn was displeasd with Milton, that he did not let al com in that lykd to hear him.

7.—Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, and past the day with us.

[a] Dunbar, as appears from numerous entries in the Diary, both before and after this, "exercised" frequently in Brodie's house, during his last illness, and to his death, on the week days as well as on the Sabbath.

12.—Mr. J. Steuart cam heir, and asisted. Yong Coubin and Ja. Kinard, wer heir al night. Mr. Jhon Steuart gav me advic anent fixing the mind on meditation. . . .

13.—Don. Campbell cam to me err I had bein about the worship, and distracted me. Mr. Jhon Steuart prayd after we read.

14.—Mr. Jhon Steuart went away hom. He promisd to speak Mr. D[uncan] Forbes, and to set som tym apart to hold my cace up to God. Brey cam heir efternoon, and I was helpd by him a litl.

20.—Jhon Grant took a kind of a pluresie by one in the morning. He was bled, and som thing recoverd.

Decr. 19.—I heard that the counsel of Scotland had sent thanks to the King for sending the D. of York to them. My hart was cast doun under this. . . . Lord! piti such a land, that has such rulers, and over rul al thes abominations, and ther pronness to evel.

23.—Under sens of my unbelief and weaknes, I gav up my soul, spirit, bodie, gifts, parts, injoyments, estat, land, money, famili, children, and al that's deir to me, even my will and choic to be thyn onli.

24.—My soul was in great distres and heavines. I wryt my cace to Mr. James Urquhart. Brey [Bray] was cald, but cam not to me. I was readi to faint altogether. I told my cace to my son, and to Mr. Alr. [Dunbar], but I found noe rest, nor eas, nor light, nor comfort.

26.—I was in great distres of spirit and mind, under the sens of the Lord's anger, and hiding of His face and departur.

28.—Die Dom. I look up for merci, and for piti, and forgivenes, of all my sins for 60 years past; that He would put al right that's out of ordour.

30.—The Lord gav som liberti in the famili prayer, morning; but alace! no ansuer, no light, no sens of his lov, no faith, no joy.

Wm. Dr. [Dunbar] of Durn was heir this night. I heard of the death of Mr. Staton, minister of Banff, and was affected at it. That that countree was overspreading with poperi and sin of everi kind. . . . There was a blind yong woman cam to the hous and ———. ———[a] ow to God's preventing ———[a]; and therfor shal I bless him. Mani evels wer complicated in this one sin.

[a] Short-hand in MS.

1 Januari, 1680.—I thoght I fond som faltering in my speech again. I goe to God with it. How does the year draw to an end! Help me to reflect on this year, and the Lord's providence in it.

3.—I heard that the prisoners wer shipwreckd at Orkney, and most of them drownd, and som land safe. Lord! instruct me by this providenc, and grant me to tak it up and lament it aright. I heard Bishop Murdoch[a] was kindli to them. I heard of the death of the tutour of Duffus.

4.—Birdsyards[b] cam heir, and was much troubl'd in spirit, and felt distance and sin, fears in the night, and decay in his memorie, indisposition to buisines, and great weight and burthen on his soul.

8.—Spini visited me. Grant and Leathin cam.

29.—I could not sie to wryt from the 9 to the 29 of Januari. I reuerenc His prouidenc and His hand upon me. . . . I had great apprehension of the snars and dangers approaching by the new model of the standing armie, and debated in my own mind quhether I should denud myself of the estat to ———,[c] or to ani other, that might free me of the troubl and sin and snars of the tym, and affoord me any liulihood and my poor famili. I professed myself willing, if He cald me to it and gav strenth, to sell all and follow Him. But I must see His call and warrand. . . . I feard the E of Murray his power, greatnes, ill will at me and myn, and his injustice and couetousnes. . . .

30.—Mr. Tho. Hogg cam heir from Edr, to sie me. My burthens, darknes, bands, confusion, troubl, continud; soe that I could not look up. Mr. Th. scrupld to preach to them that heard the conform ministers. . . . As to Mr Th. Hog's cariag and exercis, Lord! direct him and us anent it in a way that He approvs off.

10 Febr—Mr. Th. Hogg went west to visit his freinds.

22.—Die Dom. Mr. T. Hogg spok at 2 and at 6 efternoon, and supplied the famili exercis.

March 8.—Mr. Th. Hogg cam heir and Mr. Jhon M'Culican. I was helpd by Mr. Thomas. The Lord requit him.

12.—Mr. Th. spok comfortabli to my soul, and said he was persuaded

[a] Murdoch Mackenzie, Bishop of Orkney.
[b] See p. 303, note [a].
[c] Short-hand in MS.

that the Lord would com in due tym, and grant a merciful outgate of my troubl.

15.—My good daughter purposd to goe to Castel Forbes and sie her daughter. Lord! direct and ordour ther journey. . . . This night I had ill rest, and was exercisd with troubl within and without. Mr. T. Hogg did contribut for my comfort.

18.—Mr. Th. Hogg staid with me, and was comfortabl to me.

23.—This night my good daughter cam hom from Castel Forbes. I aknowledg the Lord in her saf return, and giv him thanks. Grang cam heir and Leathin.

26.—Dr. Gordoun cam heir, but he could afford me noe help. . . . I heard that the E. of M. did what he lykd in courts, judicatours, and pnblic effaires.

27.—I ros earli to read Ps. 31.

28.—Die Dom. I read a part of the 31 Ps. in the hous, and prayd with the famili. Mr. Alr. [Dunbar] spok on Ps. 130. . . . Mr. Thomas spok at night on Is. 35.

29.—I heard of Spini his bitter expressions against Mr. T. Hogg. . . . I went out on hors back a litl, but was more distemperd, wearied, and indispos'd, quhen I cam in, and this night slept ill and unsound.

3 April.—This day I took a fitt of the gravell, and passed som small stons. The pain increasd throgh the stoping of the water, soe that neither this day nor the next till 3 efternoon I had no passag, but remaind in great pain and torment. I cried, and was shaken in my mind with doubts, mischief, blasphemies, impatience, fainting, wearying, repining. I mourn'd secretli under all thes spiritual infirmities, distempers, disorder of my hart; and cried to God, and said, "Thou art my God, and my hop is in Thee"; and "Thou hast made me to trust in Thee from the womb." . . .

7.—This night was past in much unquietnes. I acknowledg the Lord in it. Quhen He hids His face who can give peace? Mr. James Urquhart, and Petgauni, and Durn, wer heir al night.

9.—I had unsound disturb'd sleep this night. . . . My good daughter was cal'd to Elgin, to Orkney's wyf in troubl. . . . I past the day with much infirmiti, and could descern no sign or token of light.

10—Don. Campbell cam to sie me. I heard from him several things that wer said anent the tyms.

11.—Die Dom. I read Job. 13. 23. . . . I spok and worshiped in the famili, morning. . . . Mr. Alr. Dumbar spok before supper on Eph. 5. 14. Great was the distemper of my spirit, and the mani diseases and distempers of my bodie. . . . I went to bed heavi with sleep, yet I got no rest. . . . Spini cam and visited me in the efternoon betwix the exercises. My Son went east to meit the Earl of Murray.

13.—The Ladi Main cam heir this night. I had noe delight in ani compani. The Lord did afford som tolerabl rest; but I sie all that concerns me in His hand from moment to moment. I desird to be humbl'd under my sor wearying of troubls, and the Lord's hand; and wearying of tym, and even almost of lyf; albeit I condemn my self for this impatienci and feeblnes. I cried to God for grace to spend, pass over, and use tym aright, for I know not how to pass it: infirmities of spirit, mind, and bodi ar sor maiters.

14.—Mr. Ja. Urquhart went from me, quhairat I was much troubl'd, because he was a mouth to God for me quhen I could not pray myself. Darknes and confusion remaind, and heavines, distress, fear, and troubl: we prayd, but could discern noe ansuer. Mr. Ja. Brodi and his wyf wer heir. I causd read Job 14. 14. "What is man that he should be clean, or he that is born of a woman that he should be righteous? Behold He puts no trust in His saints, yea the heavens ar not clean in His sight; how much mor abominable is man which drinketh iniquiti as water?" I desird to be rightli exercisd on this word, and that the Lord would remov whatever hinders right convictions and sight of sin. Onli show it in merci, but do not enter into judgment with me for it. I find much desertion and bands in my approaching to God.

15.—Dr. Gordon was with me. My darknes has not taken an end, nor my confusions and heavines. I was detaind from the secret worship by the Dr.'s compani: this was a burthen. Main and his wyf wer also with me. Quhen wilt Thou return, and quhen shall Thyn anger be turnd away, and when will merci find a way to overtak a poor rebell?

16—I heard read Job 15. 20. "The wicked man travels with pain all his days, and the number of years is hid to the oppressour."

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY

OF

JAMES BRODIE OF BRODIE.

M.DC.LXXX.—M.DC.LXXXIV.

DIARY OF JAMES BRODIE OF BRODIE.

17 April, 1680.—This night, betwixt 12 at night and 2 of the morning, being Sabbath morning, dyed my precious, worthie, and dear Father, of a fitt of the gravel. I had come hom only the night before betwixt 12 and one of the morning. I was not apprehending that this strok was so near. It found me secur, and stupid, and asleep; which has been the plaug and disease I have been held by long before. This has a loud cry, if I could hear it. I can hardly aprehend the consequence of it to the land, and church, and famely. The Lord give instruction, and open the ear; and awaken out of securitie!

We were further threatened with a dismal sad symptom in his being removed. He was like to have passed away without a word to anie of us, in a sound. It pleased the Lord in his mercie and goodnes to give som blink of reviving, so that, with the intermission of sleip and slumbring now and then, we had sweit, savorie, seasonabl words, thrie or four hours before his death. His advise to myself at the last was, "My son, be strong in the Lord, and the power of his might. My son, to the Law and to the Testimonie" Mr. Jas. Urquhart prayed, and I hope was heard in it, that the Lord would not tak him away in such anger against us, and that the Lord would open his mouth, and that his death might be edefying. These words were always in his mouth, "My father and my God; Lord Jesus leave me not; tak me with Thee;" and being asked a word concerning his hop and expectation of the Church and interest of Christ, he said, "The Lord would redeem his people." He longed to be ridd of a body of death and sin. He was afraid while he lived, and in the tym of his sicknes, to have been in great pain and distraction; but it pleased the Lord to give him a

quiet passage and end, without complaint of pain, or working, or thraching. In his lyff also, he thought it would be desyrable to pass out of tym to eternitie on the morning of a Sabbath, and to begin an eternal Sabbath; which he obtained. He was brought so weak and low by his continued sickness and enervitie of bodie and mind since the 5 of May last, at which tym he took the beginning of his sicknes at Ballachastel, which has continued and increased upon him ever since. I desire to be instructed and tak warning, and to be awakened by this strok, and to hear what it speaks to myself, the poor famely, the land, and church. There are many things in it, if I could winn to read or be instructed by it as to myself. I have had the benefit of instruction, warning, means of knowledge, and has not profited in and by the company of such a one since ever I had it, and now I am deprived of it: this speaks anger. I have seen the godlie conversation, holy and christian walk of a father,—his watchfulnes, fruitfulnes,—his secret communion with God,—yet cannot say that my heart has been gained or winn to the following his example. I have not made that use of his company that anie other would have done. The famely has not profited. O! how unlike and unsuitable to the pains taken on them. He has kept up a light amongst us; I and others have been weakening his hands, drawing back; he has, in some measure, fard the wors of such a person; and now, while I am under thes and many such convictions, I cannot recal or get back thos occasions which I have lost, mispent, and livd away. And now, if the Lord should say he would not reprove or be at anie mor pains with me, he wer just and holy, and it were the just punishment of my iniquity. But let his mercy, and grace, and love in Christ Jesus, com over al thes provocations.

Now, what can or will this sad strok do to me? if the Lord strike not in by his Spirit with it, I will sleep on. Oh! that this night, and dark cold winter would kill and nipp bitter roots which are within me, of securitie, wordlines, passion, pride, carnaliti. Oh! that the Lord would give a tender, spiritual, holy, zealous, frame of heart, and to be watchful, that this be a tym of getting acquaintance with Christ; a tym of weaning affections from the world, and things in it. O! that the Lord would com in and fill the room and place in the famely, and in hearts, and mak up the want of a dear father and instructor.

18.—Die Dom. Mr. A. D. [Alexander Dunbar] only prayd in the

famely, in the morning. It was our complaint that Sabbaths wer desolat formerli; but alas! al our sun seems now to be gon doun. I read with the famely a pairt of the 3 Lament., and prayd, if I may cal it prayr. Mr. A. spok a word in the evening. . . . Main and his wiffe wer heir. Ther cam one from Castl Forbes to enquir anent my dear Father. I wrot a line to my daughter, and dispatchd the bearer that sam day.

19.—Lethen, Urkney, Petgownie, Miltoun, and som of our freinds wer heir, to advise anent the disposal and ordouring of the burial of my dear Father. Ther wer several occasions occurred to make us delay till the 5 of May.

20.—Calder, and my uncl, Joseph, cam from the south heir this morning. We had a sorrowful meiting, upon the remembranc of our loss.

21.—I found som stirrings of natural affections, greiff, and troubl. Lord! teach me to discern and know things that differ, and to get the greiff and sorrow to run in a right channel.

Granghil and his son wer heir, and several other companie. We wer ordouring som things concerning the funerall of my precious Father. . . . I dispatchd to Aberdeen for som things: som things we declind, lest we might be mistaken. Mr. James Urquhart was heir. He seimd to have somewhat to warn and admonish me of, which his love and his faithfulnes would not suffer him to spare. I desir to receave and welcom. His reproofs I trust sal not break my head. He delayd to speak til another tym. . . .

I desir to be troubld that ever in word or thoght I offended my dear Father, that I have not made that use of his companie and societie that I oght to have done. My uncl told me, that I was quarreld with by others for unkindnes, nor having so open a hart as my father. I desir to tak with evrie chalange. The seed and root of al evil is in me; if the Lord subdue not, and piti not, I am undone. My uncl, Joseph, went to Both to sie his daughter.

22.—This day my wiffe and Alr. Finlater, and I put the bodie of my dear Father in his cerecloth, and caus anoint with oyls, and pouders, and spices. The bodie was the cask which keipd a nobl jewal; the bodi is united to Christ; ther is hop of a resurrection; therfor we tak car for the bodie, which sal rise again in glorie, tho' sown in corruption.

23.—We wer this day ordouring the dispatch of letters for the burial. . . . I wrot to Huntly. Let it be no snar to me, for I am rude and ignorant.

24.—I heard with great greiff that Mr. James Urquhart had got som offence in this place and hous, and he thought his compani was not acceptable, and that he was straitn'd to com among us. I desir to be humbl'd for this. Alas! how much more know I of myself than al the world does. I desire that none of us may be under any mistak with him. I found appearance of others offending with us. . . .

My dear Father was this afternoon putt in his coffin. I desir to sie and aknowledg God in al this. O! for grace to live as having the faith of a resurrection, of death, and judgment.

25.—Die Dom We read in the famely a pairt of the 51 Psalm. Mr. A. Dunbar on Phil. 1. 21, " For to me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain.

27.—I found manie mistaks betwixt us and freinds. . . . I found Mr. James Urquhart was offended and stumbl'd by us, and that he was alienat from the hous, and had no liking to com neir it. I desir to be helpd to search and try my oun ways. I desir grace to welcom anie chalang, or reproof coms this way as from the Lord.

28.—My Uncl, and Main, and Miltoun, and I spok somwhat together of the condition of this famely, the Lord's goodness to us, and of our unansuerablnes, of the decay and wearing out of former tendernes [and] zeal.

29.—Urkney cam heir this evening. He looks to be in a decay as to his bodily condition. Let the Lord spare him, and doe him good by al he meits with. By him I heard of Tarbet's being at Elgin; his apprehension of troubl by M[urray].

30.—Urkney was heir with us; and we wer making som preparations for the funerall of my precious dear Father. . . . Jo. Brodie returnd from Aberdeen. Lethen, and Granghil, and som freinds, wer heir to advise what we had to doe.

May 4—I went doun to sie the burial place whar my dear Father is to lye. I cannot winn to make anie right use or improvment of what I sie or hear; nay I sleip stil, notwithstanding of al the alarums I gett. Som of our freinds cam heir at night. We went again doun to sie the burial place, and appointed it in another place then before.

5.—This is the day of the burial of my deir Father; which I desir to keip in remembrance whil I live; which strok of his being remov'd speaks my sin, and God's anger and provocation, and the necessiti of repentance and turning to God. I desyr to apply that word of Elihu to Job, 34. 31,

"Surely it is meit to say to God, I have born chastisement, I will not offend ani mor." We worshipd God together in the famely in the morning. Alas! so littl stamp or impress as I have on my hart of what is upon the famely.

I miss a spiritual fram in goeing about this sorrowful action. A day or two since Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, and told me som grounds of mistak and offence he got in the hous, as particularli that cariage of theirs, whil the L. Marr was heir. Other things he warnd off, and exhorted to keip God's way; told hou readi and bussie Satan would be to tempt and draw away from God. Oh that this might sink in the hart! . . . After the burial som freinds cam to the hous with us. We begud not at worshiping of God. We took som bodili refreshment.

6.—Freinds went away several ways.

11.—My Ladie Murray and L. Doun cam heir. I found no inclination to ani companie. I went with them to Darnway, and waited on the Earl of Murray, but made no stay. . . . We heard of the continuance of Don. Campbel's sicknes, and how smal expectation was of his recoverie.

12.—I directed advertisment to friends to meit heir on Friday the 14.

13.—I read in the morning Calvin on Math. and on Isai . . . Grant cam heir from Forres, and expressed his sence of his loss in my Father, professd kindnes and affection to his hous and famely. I desir to be taught of God in evrie thing that concerns dutie to himself and to al relations. Calder went by and cam not in. I desyr to affoord no ground or occasion to anie friend to draw away.

14.—Most of the kindred and persons of my Father's famely mett heir. The Lord helpd som to give a word of warning. Al wer sensibel of ther loss. It was thought to be our dutie to search and try our ways wherby we had provoked the Lord. It was rememberd, as the observation of the worthie head of the famely whil alive, that he expected stroks upon us, and that altho' the Lord had shown us kindnes, and had raisd us out of the dust, and made us somwhat in the world, yet had we bein unfruitful and barran. . . . Evrie one spok as the Lord helped and gave assistance, and exhorted to keip God's way, to sett up His worship, to fear and serve Him, to live in union and harmonie one with another, to seik the good and welfare one of another. I did express my adictednes to my friends, my willingnes to be warnd and admonishd by them, and that, as the Lord would give grace, I

should mint unto my dutie to God, to seik and endeavour, so farr as I could, al ther welfars. Ther was som motion that the work and dutie of supplying honest fouks suld not decay and be forgotten. The Lord helpd to make som agreiment and setling for supplie of the poor distressd goodwiffe of Aikenway, our friend. I desir to aknouledg God who enlargd ani bodie's hart to doe this.

It was pressd and thought fitt we should meit again, and frequentlie. . . . I spok somwhat to Leathen of other concernments of the famely, which was not meit to handl befor so many witnesses, such as the provision of my children, the security of my wiffe in her lyffrent, the convoyance of the estait, and interest of the famely.

It pleased the Lord that we wer together in some measur of oneness and good understanding. Let the Lord be aknowledgd in this. The goodwiffe of Aikenway cam heir this night. My Uncle went to Both and Lethen. Most of our friends went hom.

15.—We are in expectation of citations befor the Justice Court, for absenc from the host. . . . Mr. Tho. Innes was heir anent som bussines with my Uncl. I found my Uncl peremptor and tenacious. . . . I am mor apt to sie infirmities, and censure them in others then to sie my own.

17.—Monday. Calder cam heir, from whom I had not one expression of kindnes, sympathie, sence of the loss of my worthie and deir parent, bot som useful profitabl warnings and admonitions; which I desir to receave and embrace. He advisd to depend on God, to follow the exampl of him who was gone, to keip my freinds; and manie other useful, seasonabl, profitabl lessons. . . . My Uncl visited my Lord Murray and Spynie. My wiffe went to Darnway afternoon. I was desird by Spynie to goe frequently to my Lord Murray, and was told that he had no quarrels with me.

19.—I wrat south to my Lord Argyl, and Advocate, and gave my Uncl my dispatch.

21.—Windihils was heir, who had bein with my uncl Joseph at Innes. I heard Innes was stil in mistaks with me, and spard not to speak of me. The Lord knows if in my hart I desingd him anie inconvenience. I desir to sie and acknowledg God. . . . I intended and purposed good offices to him and his famely, and lo! I am tristed with this in stead of sympathie, or remembranc of the kindnes of the dead. I desir to sie al men ar a lie; and let not

my confidenc or dependenc be upon them. . . . I heard that my Lady Seaforth, Belnagoun and his Ladie had bein heir this afternoon.

22.—Urkney, Dr. Gordoun, young Gordonstoun cam heir, and several others. I did sie much alteration, extream weaknes in Urkney, so that it was a verie wonder if he might com thorou, or recover.

24.—I was purposd to goe to Darnway this morning; which I did. I lookd up to God for guiding, teaching, leading, and furnitur which I stood in neid of. I spoke with the Earl of Murray anent my expectation of his protection and favor, and that I had rather owe him, and be debtour to him for his kindnes then any other Earl or Marquis. He told me he had never done anie act of unkindnes to me or my father, nor had done anie thing to occasion my doubting of his kindnes. He told me he would com doun to this, and tel me al he had report of, and would not harbour anie thought to dwel or sitt down on it. Let the Lord keip and deliver me from snars and lead me in ways approven of him. I spok to him of my absence from the host, and what my exceptions and defences wer. I went with him from Donnun to neir Auldearn, where he mett with Calder. I staid at Auldearn with Calder most of the day. I heard of Kinstarie's purpose of changing his interest, leaving this countrey. I desir to be instructed by it, that thes who had anie favour towards the best things ar like to leave the place.

I was with Calder at Mr. Jo. Cuming's in Auldearn. I desir to consider what offence this may give to honest men, my companie and correspondence with these. I cam in by Penick, visited Mr. James Urquhart and his wiffe, who wer both verie weaklie and infirm.

29.—I was purposd to have mett with Spynie after the sermon at Dyk, bot was disapointed. I declind goeing to Darnway this day; was affraid of snares.

This evening there cam heir Mr. William Cumming, and Kirkmichel, Kennedie, a gentleman of my dear father's acquaintance, who had intended a visit to my father. Alas! what an emptie roum and place wil al men find heir! I desird to have a due sence of the gentleman's respect to my father.

30.—This day . . . my wiffe took bedd, and keiped clos bed of a feaver.

3 June.—This was a day of rendevous of our militia, foot and hors in the shires. Kirkmichel went out to it. . . . My wife continues sick to death of feaver, and can tak nothing to sustain or hold up nature.

4.—Kirkmichel went from this hous upon his return and journay hom. I

was trubld and ashamd with the marks of his respect put on this place, and that his journay sud have bein expensive to him by anie of us. I desir not to lye under this debt. Mr. Alr. Dunbar returnd heir this day. Mr. William Cumming cam heir. I offerd him back sum gold which Kirkmichel had left heir, bot he would not.

5.—Tarbet cam heir in the morning in his way South. . . . I was frie with him upon several things. . . . He thought I would not declin a citation before the justice court. Let the Lord prepar me for trials. In the evining, I got letters from Elgin of Urkney's sicknes, and a cal to com ther. They apprehended I would not overtak him in lyffe, for he was becom much wors then he was before.

6.—Die Dom. I sent Jo. Campbel to Elgin, to know how Donald Campbel was, and to bring me word; who returnd at night with the account of his being somewhat bettered, and that he had som hopes of himselfe. I desir to bless the Lord for this. If he spare him, let it be in mercie, and let him sie the evil, and be recoverd and reformd in al that is wrong, and out of ordour.

My wiff's feaver encreasd greatlie this day, and her weaknes is great. The Lord is threatning to tak away the desir of my eys. . . . She did express her hope and faith in God, the engadgments [that] wer on her to Him; and albeit she had not walked ansurablie to them, yet she desired to stand to the bargain. She had manie savorie expressions, and desird to improve experience of the Lord's kindnes to her formerlie, and his deliverances. She told me she had no anxietie or care about children, or anie thing in the world. She had cast them over on God, who was faithful.

This afternoon I was affraid of the event of this sicknes. Let the Lord disapoint and turn away my fears. She told me, It was not the mater of her greiff to die. She hoped it would put an end to her miserie and sin. She told me she had purposd thir many days past to have com under new bands and engadgments to the Lord, bot was hinderd somwhil by sicknes, and otherways; bot, as she could, with her hart, soul, affections, she desird to resing al to God, and . . . to remain and abid with him for ever.

7.—Graing, and several companie, wer heir this day, visiting my wiffe, whos sicknes continues and increasses. . . . Graing was to goe south within a day or two. I wrat a line to Mr. James Urquhart, that he might know our state, and mind it befor the Lord; who promisd to com heir the next day.

8.—Which he did; bot my wyff's infirmitie was such as she durst not heir or speak. She said to Mr. James she was weil pleasd with that high sublim devyce of saving sinners by a Redeemer; and who would not be pleasd? She aknowledgd she was unwilling: He only made her willing.

10.—Windihils, the Doctor Gordon, and my sister Granghil wer heir with her. Al their hopes of her wer bot small. . . . I sat up beside her al night.

11.—It did not appear that she was like to get anie cool; bot this day her feaver seems to be less.

12.—It pleasd the Lord that this last night my poor wiffe got som eas and sleip, and after thir 14 days abstinence begud to tak som litl refreshment. . . . Dr. Gordon thought that she was out of the feaver.

18.—This day I went to visit Mr. James Urquhart, and his wiffe, and the goodwiff of Both younger, who has bein dangerouslie sick of a feaver.

19.—I went to visit the Earl of Murray, who had bein verie sick, and in danger. O that the Lord might sanctifie his sicknes, and bring him to consider with whom he has to doe, and to reflect on his ways! I heard mor of that ill reported of papers found with one Cargill. I desir to intertain a dislyk of them, according to any report I have heard of them.

21.—I went to Elgin to visit Urkney. . . . I found him plaintiff of his Br[other] Al^{r}. He had hopes of his oun recoverie, albeit indeed his caic looks most dangerus.

26.—I staid at Mon[aghti] som tym with Miltoun, and did som bussines; cam hom by Burgie, wher I saw that paper wherein the King his government was renuncd. . . . I could not bot dislyke that paper. I heard of the recaling the indulgences.

28.—I went up afternoon to visit E. M. Let the Lord visit his soul, and do him good by what he is tristed with.

1 July.—I heard that the King had taken away the mater of the host and absence from it from before the Justice Court to the Councel, and that al wer remitted, and indemnified, bot such as wer suspected in ther principles; and thes the Counsel might call for and convein at their pleisur. I desir to be instructed by al this, and prepard for trials.

I got a call this night betwixt 11 and 12 at night to goe to Urkney, for som sudden chang was expected.

2.—I went to Elgin this morning; mett with Mr. Hugh Anderson by the

way, who had com from Aberdein, from whom I had an account of the sad differs and divisions among the Lord's people. He had heard Mr. Menzies and Mr. Meldrum; he was much displeasd with that paper which som persons had drawn up at [the] South. I had a letter from my Uncl, confirming that of the indemnitie to al be north Tay who wer absent from the host, reserving to the Counsel to call for all suspected or disaffected persons, and to punish them. I found Urkney verie weak, bot stil hoppful of his own condition. He had passd by stool a deal of congeald blood, and he imagind this being gone, he might be the better.

3.—I spok with Mr. J[ames] U[rquhart] and Milton anent Innes his unkindnes. I desir to aknowledg God in this; and let the strangdnes of men lead me more to seik for the favor and loveing kindnes of God.

4.—Die Dom. I was purposing to have taken some tym with my daughter, and to have spok to her anent her duty to God, and as to others among whom her lott is cast. I was purposd to move to her the coming under new bonds and engadgments to be the Lord's, and to sett up his worship in their famely, and to give him the throne of their hart.

5.—Ther appears to brak out som cross and trubl betwixt Cowbin and me. We had a meiting, first at Dyk with the heritors of the parish, and then on the ground be north the bank. We desird Cowbin to meit with us, bot he cam not. We made civil interuption. The Mr. of Forbes went from this on his way hom. I staid at hom this night, visited the E. of Murray at evening, and was purposd, God willing, to goe with the Mr. and my daughter the nixt morning.

6.—I cald at Burgie the nixt morning, and afterward went to Elgin; visited my Lord Duffus; staid with Urkney most of the day, who seemed to be growing dailie weaker. I was raisd al night to have sein him expyr. It pleasd God to give him som blink. There was ordourd som of his bussines, whil Mr. Robert Donaldson was ther.

7.—The Mr. and my daughter went to Innes, and thence to Dippil at night. I desir to comit my way to the Lord. Let him ordour and direct my steps. I went to Dippil, and from that to the Bogg; was detaind to their dinner. Let not their company be a snare to me. We cam, by God's providence, to Castle Forbes at night. My Lord was from hom.

8.—I went this day to visit Leslie, my Ladie Marr at Tiliefur, and cam in by Putachie and Whythaugh to Castle Forbes at night My Lord

Forbes cam hom from Eight; had bein setling thair affairs. I heard that Eight had reflected upon his complyanc, and what a snare the world and preserving his estait was to him; and his carnal witt. I heard he would not allow Mr. Ad. Barclay to pray; regretted his too much familiaritie with him. I desir to be instructed by this.

9.—I spok of bussines with my Lord Forbes, and went afternoon to Brux, but found none of them at hom. I was purposd to return the next morning homward, but their importunity prevaild with me to delay til Monday.

10.—This day we went to Putachie; dind at Whythaugh. I found the young persons would neid prudence and circumspect walking; and that ther wer mistaks apt to fal out betwixt nearest relations. My Lord drew me doun to Mr. Ad. Barclay's hous upon this evening. Let not this be a snar to me.

11.—Die Dom. I desird to be exercisd in the dutys of the day, that I may know how to sanctifie the Sabbath. Let God draw neir to my soul, and let my soul be neir to him. I desird to mention and have on my thoughts this new societie and famely erected in this place. My Lord Forbes cam in the morning to my chamber and prayd. I called for my daughter, and spok to her, as I could, of her duty; minded her of what obligations lay on her to be the Lord's; asked her, if she did repent and rue the bargain; admonishd and exhorted her to fear His name, to avoid al snars and temptations, to warn and incourage her husband, to countenance the worship of God in the famely, to strenthen Mr. Geo. Monro his hand in the famely duties.

12.—I had bein cald hom several tyms since I cam heir; was told of the sicknes of several of the children, and the troubl that was made to us by yong Cowbin and his father. I left Putachie this morning, and visited the old Lady Leslie, and Urkney, at Elgin, and cam to Miltoun at night.

13.—I ordourd the hors and men at Mon[aghti] to com for leading my petts. I cam in by Burgie in my hom coming; met with Cowbin, and did expostulate with him anent his unkindnes, and way with me.

15.—We had a meiting, this morning, of the heretours of the parish concernd with Cowbin. . . . I went to Forres and Burgie, afternoon, but missed Graing. I heard Urkney was verie weak, and that I was like to be cald for; gott letters from the South anent the new model, [and] compearance

before the Counsel for absence from the host. I heard of petitions by severals for the Parliament's sitting in England; petitions anent removing D. K. [Duke of York] from Court and England; anent his being a Papist recusant; of a Parliament in Irland; the King's expect[ation]s of great soums from them; the forfaulter of 29 mor heritors, who wer at Bothwel; proclamation against Cameron and others; of a new paper of theirs, which I could not relish, nor conceive to be sound, and agriable to the principles of either Christian religion, or Presbytry.

16.—I desir to seek counsel and direction from the Lord as to the ordouring of my conversation aright, according to His Word, and as to our present jarrs and differs with Cowbin.

Miltoun went to Lethen; and I gave him in comission to speak to him of several things concerns this bussines.

We had advertisment that Cowbin was building at his hous. I cryd to God for direction. I advertisd Granghil; conveind the tennents; and on the way we wer stopd, upon knowledg that the report was false. I desir to aknowledg God in this, in that he prevents.

I heard Urkney was neir his last. I was cald to goe to him that night; yet I staid at hom til the nixt morning.

17.—I staid this day also, until I should hear som further account of my freind. I find a great deal of prejudice and ill will from men. I desir to be helpd to sie God, and his hand, and to have his peace and favor throu Jesus Christ.

I heard that Cowbin and his men wer in arms, the last night at the new hous.

18.—Die Dom. I was this day again cald to Elgin, and told that I could not overtak a word of D[onald] Campbell. O that I wer learning to die! Let the consideration of what fals out, excit and sturr me up to secur his peac and favor. I writ a line to J. U. [James Urquhart] at Lethen to mind the caic of our family, that the Lord might sanctifie his trials, and give the right use of all that we ar lying under. The children continoud unwel, Kat., Eliz., Girsl, Margt. This is God's hand immediatly. I am also folloud with unkindnes and trubl from neighbours. . . . I wrot to A. D. [Alexander Dunbar] to com to the famely, that it might not be without som remembrance of God's name. I went towards Elgin; halted a litl at Tho. Gordon's; and found, when I cam to the toun, Urkney was removd. I am traveling

to death, but finds litl preparation for it. I heard that he died weil, and that he had given satisfaction to persons about him. Oh! for grace to live so as that the end may be comfortabl.

19.—Seing Innes, Grang, and others cam not, friends who wer ther advisd and orderd som things concerning the burial, and appointed Thursday to transport to Aldearn, and Fryday nixt for the burial. I found much unsoundnes in my oun hart, and rottennes, and that which may humbl. We satt up dispatching letters til near one o'clock in the morning.

20.—I had account of the Mr. of Forbes his being sick, and that my daughter and he both wer lying of a feaver.

21.—I went afternoon to meet with the E. of Murray; found him at the Walkmil. I told him, that I heard he was our partie as to our affairs with Cowbin. . . . He quarrelled at my calling the tennents to lead petts, as if it wer a convocation. Let the Lord make my way straight befor him. The Earl said, He would not medl with either of us.

22.—Thursday. We mett at the bank head with Cowbin and his friends. I desir to aknowledg God in his Providence, that ther was no heat or sturr among us, we ending in appearance fairlie, and appointed a new meeting. . . . After our meeting in the evining, we went al to the water syd to attend our friend's corps from that to Auldearn. The water was verie great; it pleasd God that al passd without hasard. I cam hom at night. Mr. J McKilican had prayd in the famely eir we cam hom.

23.—This was the day of the burial of Donald Campbell. He was caried from Auldearn to Calder. I heard that som shires had represented to the Councel how unpractical and contrar to law the model was.

I visited the Ladie Calder, and cam hom at night. I cald at Penick by the way. I had a word of warning from Mr. J. U. [James Urquhart] anent reforming the famely, looking to dissordours.

24.—My wiffe went to Darnway. I got advertisment to a burial of Cowbin's daughter, a maid, who had bein long sick.

25.—Die Dom. I read Dickson on Ps. 84. "How aimabl ar Thy tabernacles." . . . A. D. [Alexander Dunbar] on Math. 6. 33. "Seik first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, [and] all other things shall be added [unto you]." . . . In the evining we went doun to Cowbin to the young woman's burial.

26.—Tho. Gordon was dispatched to Putachie, and the rootman. Let

the Lord visit that hous and famely. . . . I went doun to visit the moss, and parted the petts. They had stolen many of them. I desir to be taught patience, humilitie, moderation to suffer wrongs.

27.—We enterd this morning to the leading of the petts. Albeit I be apt to be intent on thes things, yet ther is one thing necessar. Let the Lord help to know dutie. I had occasion to writ to Ila, to the Laird of Calder, by an express his Ladie was sending. I had letters from the South anent my affairs with Cowbin. I could not be satisfied with the account I had from my uncl, nor the consultation.

28.—Cowbin's brother made interuption to the leading of the petts.

29.—We had letters from Putachie anent the condition of that famely. I spok with Lethen of several affairs.

30.—This day, morning, we heard from Putachie of the continuing siknes of thes two young persons. Let the Lord sanctify this trial. I went to Elgin upon affairs which concern Urkney. Let the Lord ordour and direct my way. I met Grant by the way. I heard of Mr. Cameron and his brother, and several other persons being kild in the West: That ther had bein an engadgment betwixt them and som of the King's forces: That one Hakston was apprehended. I desir grace from God to construct aright and interpret al God's providences. We met on Urkney's affairs. We found matters in dissordour. I suppd at Colin Innes, where I had litl satisfaction by reason of the companie.

31.—Ther was som thing done anent Bogholl's affairs. I sie that man disquiets himself in vain. How soon does the Lord cutt the throat of a man's hopes!

1 August.—The last night I was tossed al night with defluxion and the toothach. How easily can the Lord marr al outward comforts! We spok somewhat of our affairs with Cowbin. I went to Moortoun; spok with the Ladi anent her father's alienation and unkindnes to me. She regretted thes mistaks, wisht me to goe yet to Innes. I find aversion from it. She reflected on her brother his carriage, as unbecoming, and being a stain to religion.

We comund a marriage betwixt old B[aili] Brodi in Forres, and one Hamilton, the Ladie Mortoun's woman. I sent Windihils to excuse the disappointment of the meeting with Cowbin. When I cam hom I found a call from Putachie, and their earnestnes to have us over.

3.—This day we made out, both my wyff and I, towards Putachie. I desire to commend the famely to God. Let him also ordour and direct our way. I waited on the E. of Murray in the morning. I found him reservd and straitnd. I desir to aknouledg God in al that I meit with. I heard that Innes elder was goeing to Darnway to the E. of Murray, and was cald for, in ordour to the model of the militia. . . . We wer al night at the mills of Towie. We heard by Kat. Watson that our friends wer somwhat recoverd. . . . We mett with young Bellendalach at Whytlumms; visited Leslie by the way; and cam before evening to Putachie. We found the Mr. verie weak and low; ther condition was mor dangerous than we apprehended. They wer both dull of hearing.

5.—I heard Mr. Duncan Forbes had bein there with them, bot staid not; only went to a roum and prayd. . . . The young persons wer not in cace to hear or receave a word from him thorou ther sicknes.

10.—I heard som accounts what the shires in the South were doeing anent the modl. I heard of Park's quarrels against me. I desir to giv him no ground of offence; al I intended was to be securd. I cam away from Putachie this morning, and cam to Elgin at night. I heard that the E. of Murray was gone. I had purposd to have sein him.

11.—Most of the gentlemen of the shire wer gone over Spey with the E. of Murray. . . . I did sie great appearance of carying on the modl. . . . I cam hom towards evening.

14.—I read Calvin on a part of 50 and 51 of Jeremy. . . . Alr. Dunbar, the Sheriff's brother, was heir. . . . Granghil and Glasach wer heir. I was invited to a christning of Glasach's child to morrow. I would fain have declind it; yet I yeilded. Let it be no snar to me. Mr. Jo. Stewart spok to Lethen and me anent Aik[in]wais affairs, and the mariag betwixt Duncan Forbes and ther daughter; pressd me to do somewhat. We ended som affairs concerning our friend Miltoun, in taking on us som of his debt.

15.—I . . . went to baptism of Glasach's daughter, Girsel. I staid at Granghil. I wait for light, counsel, and direction from God in al things. My L. Doun cam ther. I was afraid of his company; would have bein away how soon he cam; and told Granghil I was not frie to stay, and I feard ther companie. . . . I was som thing unweel when I cam hom. I desir to be humbld befor God for the evil of my ways, my sinful complyance with ill company, and corrupt evil practices. Dumfail was heir, and

was verie extravagant. O! "let not my soul taste of ther delicats." . . . I was purposd to writ south to the E. of Murray, and am willing to tak away all mistaks with him, so far as I can by lawful means.

18.—I went to Forres this fornoon. Famely prayer is neglected in the morning when I goe from hom. The Lord reform and correct al that is out of ordour.

This day was appointed for ordering the model. The meiting not being frequent it was delayd, and a new apoint[ed] on Thursday nixt com eight days. . . . I was much overcom, and taken by heat and passion with my coosing Miltoun. Oh! for the servitud, slavery, and bondage that I am under to that lust. Let not the Lord give me up to the power of it, but forgiv, and subdue, and cleanse, and purge. I got a letter from the young Lady Innes anent Moy; which I answerd. I mett with the old Laird Innes. I desir to love and wish him weil, albeit he has requytit ill the kindnes of my deir father to him, and his famely.

This evening was Jo. Brodie in Forres maried the 4th tym with ———[a] Hamilton, the Lady Moortoun's woman.

20.—I heard of chalanges against Mr. A. D. [Alexander Dunbar], and my keiping him, his goeing to conventicls. I desir to know and understand the Lord's will and mind.

22.—Die Dom. I read Dickson on Ps. 97, 98, 99, and 102 Ps. . . . Alas! they ar gone out of this famely who made conscience of spending Sabbaths. . . . Sanders Dunbar, the Sheriff's brother, was heir. I wearie and keip not out to the end of the Sabbath. When sal it be my delight?

23.—I heard that Cowbin's new hous he put up was left without any indwellers. I desir to aknowledg God in that ther is anie abatment of their violence and forwardnes. . . . I am apprehensive when Park coms hom he may sturr up Cowbin furder against me.

24.—I went to Granghil. I heard with greiff and sorrow that that night of our publick meiting at Forres, Granghil cam hom drunk. Let the Lord forgive, and reform, and give repentance.

25.—I went this day to Forres to the publick meiting anent the model of the militia. . . . The mater of the militia had almost caried, had it not bein jarrs betwix Highlands and Lowlands. . . . I was chalenged by ———[b]

[a] Blank in MS.

[b] The name in MS., a contraction, illegible.

for being against the model, and dissafected, and an obstructor of the King's service; and that it wad be represented. Alas! where ar we landed that men dare not speak ther mind, or express ther judgment? . . . I was warnd again by Spynie anent Mr. A. D. [Alexander Dunbar]. We heard the E. M[urray] was gon to Court, and divers others; that he staid no tym at Edinburgh. Let the Lord overrule al to His glory, and the good of his poor broken Church.

27.—We heard that Coll. Robt. Halket was dead. We got advertisments to his burial at Elgin on Saturday nixt. . . . Granghil and Dumfail wer heir in the afternoon. Leathen staid al night with us, and we went east to the burial of Col. Halket the nixt morning.

28.—I heard that the Duke of Monmouth was gone a progress throu England; had great aclamations from the peopl: that Shaffsberrie was to be Tresurer of England: of great appeirance of sturrs. . . . I visited my coosing, the Ladie Boghol. I returned hom at night, Granghil and I.

30.—This day we begud our harvest to cutt doun the corns. . . . Alr. Dunbar, the Shiriff's brother, was heir with us.

31.—I went to Darnway, and spok with Spynie, that he might com to our meiting with Cowbin. I heard of the great following and resort the E. Murray had, and the appeiranc of his rising and being in favour. I desir to be instructed by this. I met at Leylands with young Kinsterie anent my affairs with Park. I was unwilling to goe on furder in ane legal diligence. I met my Ld. Tarbet, the E. Seaforth, by the way. I heard of the great appearanc of troubl, confusion, intestin truble and blood. . . . We mett with Cowbin at Grishipp; but the meiting had no effect.

1 September.—Mr. Robert Martin was heir with us this night. . . . I heard of ther forwardnes anent absents from the host. It did not appear that I wil be frie of troubl. Lord! fit me for it.

4.—I ended the shearing of the Mains. The day was rough and stormie.

7.—I went East this day. . . . I cald at Windihils and Coltfald, and visited Sir Lodovicus at Dreny. I heard of the Councel's fyning of absents from the host; and somewhat anent the model; that the King had writ doun to the Councel to carie it on.

8.—I went this morning to Spynie, and mett with Bishop Falconer. Let the Lord keep me from the snar of his companie, that I may not be engadgd in compliance with anie thing that is evel. He spok to me anent

A. D. keeping conventicls, and said, It would be put over on me. I advisd him to be sparing in thes maters; it would be his wisdom. I cam in to Elgin. Park cam to Urkney's, when I was ther. He caried verie hielie, and abstractly. I desir to consider if I have given just occasion to it. I was not purposd to straiten him; nor did I anie thing from prejudice; and whatever corruption cleave to me, let the Lord purge, and reform, and forgive, and keip me from harbouring evil. I did com doun of purpose to the dinnin room to have caried civilie. I desir to sie and aknowledg God in al this.

9.—I was purposd to have sein Grang and his Ladie in my hom goeing; but neither of them wer at hom. I visited the old Ladie Lethen, where was also the Lady Moortoun. I cam hom by Kinlos, and visited the Sheriff's Ladie at Forres, and cam hom at night, and Tho. Gordon.

10.—I visited Mr. James Urquhart: gave him account of maters betwixt me and Park, who had bein ther. I heard that he said, If he had not a conviction and impression to the conterar, the cariage of profesors wad make him question if ther wer a God. . . . Mr. James promisd to be with us the 12. He exhorted me to keip God's way, to labor to know it, and to follow it, to sympathiz with thes in troubl, and told me that the Lord did sie neid of trials and rodds to be keipd on my back.

We heard of the condition of our friends at Putachie. We got letters from that, shewing that the Mr. his mickl toe was cutt of to prevent the danger of rotting and cutting of his foot. We wer quarrelled for not seing them.

12.—Die Dom. We read Dickson on the 107 Ps. . . . Mr James Urquhart on 119 Ps. "Let my hart be sound in Thy statuts, that I may not be ashamd." He was directed to speak to my cace, albeit, alas! I cannot say that I make ani right use or improvment of it. . . . He spok a word in the evining on the same.

14.—This day was a meiting of the 3 shires, anent the model. I admird to sie men so caried headlongst without consideration. . . . Ther is none to consider whereto this cours tends and leads. Let the Lord keip me at a distance with al that has appearance of evil.

16.—I went hom in the morning. Windihils and I went east to Elgin that night; staid at my coosing, the Ladie Boghol's hous. The Bishop was at Forres entring Mr. Law to that place. Oh! for the plaug the land lyes

under of such teachers. Granghil was present, and receavd him. Let the Lord open eys, and discover the evil of ways, and forgive.

17.—The old Ladie Gordonstoun died som days since. I desir to be instructed by this, and the death of Andro Read in Fedden.

18.—I was drawn in to Mr. M. Cuming's this morning; which Windihils declind. He told me a word of Mr. Tho. Ross in the like cace, which had influence on him: "He had no will to eat the bread, which was the price of the blood of souls." I saw much contention and striff among tennents; much custom of swearing among them pretended to be honest men. Oh Lord! forgive, and reform, and send out a gospel ministry. I heard that Calder was com hom som days since.

21.—I conferrd with Calder on bussines of my oun, my service, affairs with Cowbin, Park, the E. of A., and Murray, anent the model. He seimd to be discouragd from staying in this countrey and inclind to retire, and live privatly. I found affairs of his brother was reveld and disordourly. He told me he heard I was severe to tennents. I desir to tak this warning, and to reflect upon the ground of it. Let the Lord open my eyes to sie the evil of my ways. We went doun to Eun Campbel's, to sie him and his wiffe. We had som debate concerning the land's desertion, concerning Church government, prelacie. I desir to be ledd by Thy Spirit in al truth. I cam hom by Penik; visited Mr. James Urquhart; heard of Park's prejudice and censures: desirs to aknowledg God in al I meit with. It was lait err I cam hom this night.

23.—This day was the burial of the old Ladi Gordonstoun. Sir Lod., his mother, Lethen, and I, went ther. Huntley and his Ladi wer ther. . . . I was persuaded to speak old Innes to be at my service the 7 October nixt. I heard that many in the shire wer resolvd to have the men readie in arms at the nixt meiting, 5 October, for the model. . . . I found great striff and contention among the tennents about their roums and possessions. . . . Oh! that the Lord by His grace wad teach me to doe to others as I would have others doe to me. . . . I cam in by Elgin; visited the Ladi Boghol; heard that Kat. Brodie, in Elgin, had and continued to be verie sick. . . . I cam in by Miltoun; heard of Park's expressions of me and my friends. I desir to look to God, and to sie and aknowledg Him in this. He said of us, That we wer men of wisdom, and wisdom dwelt with us, and that becaus we had gatherd and com to som welth, and wer swelling, therfor we wer vain and

lifted up. Oh! let not this sin and evil cleave to us; let Thy goodnes humble and abase us; and albeit it sud be chargd on us, let not that evil stik realie to us.

I went to Pluscarden at night, and staid with John there. . . . We went thorou that old ruind palace at Pluscarden, and did sie the vestiges of a great old building and edifice.

25.—I cam hom this fornoon. . . . I heard young Calder had bein heir: that Doun and his Ladie wer goeing South. I heard from the South of the discoverie of an intended masaker in Irland.

28.—Peter Hepburn was heir, who had come north; by whom we heard of the bakwardnes of Southern shires from the model; the surrender, or taking in of Tangeir; and that the Parliament of England was like to sitt in October.

30.—This day in the morning, I got an account of the death of my worthie honest friend, Jo. Brodie in Pluscarden, who died suddenlie the night befor, and was in the marcat al day, cam hom at night, satt doun to tabl with his famelie at supper, comended his hous to God, and after he had gone to bedd, died within a quarter of an hour, without anie bodie's getting a word of him; even those of his own got not anie word of him. . . . This is not only a sore stroke on the hous he belongs to, a weil governd hous, such as ther ar few like it in the countrey, both husband and wiffe godlie persons, and worthie children: I am also smitten in this stroke, and desirs to be humbld under it. . . . I went in the evining to visit them at Pluscarden. I found the woman her cariage most Christian, and she appears to be a pattern of peace and grace, and submission to God's hand and will. I cam to Tho. Gordon's at night.

1 October.—I went in with Grang to the head Court at Elgin, visited Katrin Brodie who has bein at the point of death: visited Ladie Bogholl. I heard of the shires suspending the letters of horning anent the model, of the President's being called to the Counsel, to make appear the legalitie of it. . . . The corps of my honest worthie friend Jo. Brodi was transported from Pluscarden to Forres this night; after which I cam hom and Miltoun with me.

2.—This was the day of the burial of my honest worthie friend Jo. Brodie, who was brought from Forres to Dyk. After the burial friends took a word, and appointed a meeting on Saturday nixt at Pluscarden, concerning the affairs of our removd friend. . . . This day's work might affoord me mater

of exercise. This was a man in vigour, strenth, a man of conscience, having a weil ordourd famely, trained up in the fear of God, a man of my familiar acquaintance, taken away on a sudden: this I desyr to be instructed, and taught, and warnd by.

4.—The post Williamson, whom I sent south, returnd with his letters. I heard from uncl that my self and al my friends wer to be cited befor the Counsal, and that the letters were sent hom to be execut. This I desir to spread befor the Lord. Oh! so light, vain, and so farr as I am out of frame to meit with trials. Let the Lord pity, strenthen, fortifie, and bear me through with his approbation.

5.—I went to Forres to a meiting of the shyr anent the model. Ther was few present. The Laird of Innes and som others had their men present to offer. . . . I cald and invited several persons to my service on Thursday nixt, such as Spynie, Moortoun, and others. I was advisd by Spynie to spair and lay aside what concernd the E. M. the being secur'd anent his cautionrie. My coosing, William Brodie, cam from the South. Alexander Dunbar cam from Putachie, by whom we heard that the Mr. of Forbes was somewhat recoverd. Som of the shire wer forward in the model. Grang was unweil, and cam not.

6.—I gott my citation befor the Counsel for absence from the host, to the 11 of November. Mr. James Urquhart being here, advisd me to spread it befor the Lord. Al my friends in the country, and my uncl, and the worthie honest man, Jo. Brodie, wer containd in the sumonds.

7.—This was the day of my service as air to my father. It may affoord me ground of much serious exercise. I am rising up in place of a worthie parent, an usless and unprofitabl wretch. . . . The service was past without ani contradiction.

8.—We mett with Grant this morning besid Aslisk, and advisd with him anent our concernment as to the host. He was inclinabl to goe South anent Lethen.

We went to Pluscarden, where we saw a societie and famely sympathising one with another. The widow's cariage was such as might evidence much of the grace of God in her. Ther was such compliance one with another as gave friends litl to doe. We cam to som setlment betwixt the mother and children; in which I desir to aknowledg God. I went at night with Petgounie.

12.—I mett with the tennents this day concerning the setting off and parting the Mains among them. I found complaints amongst them, which I desyr to wye [weigh] and consider, and seiks grace fra God to be helpd to deal tenderly with them; and I purpos, thorow the Lord's strenth, not to burden them without consideration. In the afternoon I went to Calder; spok with young Kinsterie by the way anent affairs with Park. I staid at Calder al night. The Ladie was brought to bedd of a young son. . . . I wrote to the E. of Argyl, and to Mr. Jo. Campbel.

15.—I . . . went in again by Calder and Lethen, and cam hom at night, being somwhat distemperd with cold. . . . The Ladi Lethen spok to me anent Mr. T. H. [Thomas Hog], and accomodation and cal to him. I desird to remember, and doe what may be proper for me in it.

19.—I visited the Ladie Murray at Darnway, and Spynie. Mr. James Urquhart cam heir this night. We got an useful word, which I desir to remember and mak use of upon the 25 Psalm. The nixt day, being Wednesday the 20, I went from this place on my journay South, upon citation befor the Councel for absence from the host.[a]

13 December, 1680.—Oh! so ill an account I can give of my stay, and abode in this place, where only I am transported with vanitie, idlnes, folly, overcom with sensualitie, intemperance, unsobrietie. Is this to adorn the profession of religion, and the gospel? Oh what a stain and reproch am I to thes! Albeit I confess evils, yet ar they not abandoned and cast off. I was employd in making readie for my jurnay and return homward.

14.—I dind with D[uke] Hamilton and others this day. Ther was litl to edification among us. I visited the E. Cassills. Oh! wher ar the worthie verteus parents, and what is ther coming up in ther roum and place? If the Lord contineu not, and doe not perpetuat the remembrance of His name to succeiding generations, it wil wear out. Let Him preserve a seid to serve Him.

15—I was detaind thir days past upon the burial of the Lord M'Donald, and for Grant's company. He was buried this day. Ther was a great train. . . . This day I took leave of the Lord Advocate, Register, Salen [Saline],

[a] After this several leaves in the Diary are left blank, and the next entry is "13 December, 1680."

Colintoun, my Lord Argyl and others. I dind with Argyl at Balcarras lodging.

I greive to be coming off in anie mistak with Park, albeit the Lord knows how I have bein willing to carie fair with him. Yet dare I not justifie my selfe in anie thing. I cam doun to Leith at night, and several friends. The night befor ther was sein, and this, and for many days therafter was sein a remarkabl bright shining comett, with a lightning lik a rainbowe in the firmament. Many wer gasing at it.

The Laird of Grant, and others with him, cam doun betwixt one and two in the morning, and disturbd us in our quarter. Their company was unpleasant.

16.—This day we crossd the Ferrie to Bruntiland, and found Duffus and his Ladie on the other syd. We dind with them in Captain Seaton's. We wer in som confusion about hyring horse, and other trifls, which did discompos us. We cam to Kenna [Kennoway] at night.

17.—We cam to the Ferrie side of Dundie the nixt fornoon. The frost hinderd our passage many hours. We crosst in a litl boat. We wer in confusion anent our horse and other things. . . . We lodgd at Dundie this night. Our company tended nothing to edification.

18.—We cam nixt fornoon to Brichen, and on this Saturday at evening we cam to Fettercairn, wher we purposd to stay the nixt day, being the Sabbath.

19.—Die Dom. After our purpose and resolution to stay the Sabbath there, we found it inclining to a change of weather, and fearing the storm in the Kairn, and the waters, we considerd on it as fitt to croce the water of Die. After we had worshipd God, Petgauni, and Windihils, and I, in the morning, we sett upon our way and journay, and cam forward. . . . We cam to Lumfannan, finding no good lodging elswher, and to declin Arthur Forbes[s] company at Kincairn.

20.—The nixt morning we cam to Putachie; had verie ill way, and ill crocing off the water of Dolie. The Mr. of Forbes and my daughter have had a feaver since I saw them. The Lord sanctifie everie trial to them. Grant and Petgauni went from that to Whytlumms. I staid there al night.

21.—I parted from Putachie the nixt morning, and was detaind at Whytlumms with lord Forbes['s] man, Mr. William Johnstoun. I cam to Mulbenn at night.

22.—This nixt morning I was in a most immanent and apparant danger beyond what ever I was al my lyff tym, at the water of Spey. The boat and al in it was caried doun by the force of the speat and the jaes, and grew not only beneath the first dangerous stream, bot mor than half a myl, neir the bushes belonging to Ortoun. We wer, in the opinion and estimation of onlookers, past al hop and expectation of coming to land, and ther was nothing but a present looking for of death. It pleasd God at last that we wer brought to land to the sam syd of the water which we entred in. I desir to keip the memorie of the deliverance. I cam back to Mulbenn, and staid som hours with company, in whom I took no great pleasur. . . . We crocd Spey in the evining, and cam lait to Elgin.

23.—We visited Eliz. Innes, Urkney's relict. . . . The water of Findhorn was great and ill to pass. I sent back my hors to Forres, and visited thos in Granghil, and cam hom at night, where I found the famely in ordinarie health.

25.—I went with Graing to Leathen, and visited thos ther, and did sie the worthie old Ladie infirm and continuing weak. . . . I cam hom by Darnway and visited Spynie.

27.—Several persons cam heir to visit me: Tho. Gordon, Main, Spynie and others, and some tennents. . . . Alr. Dunbar, the Shiriff's brother, cam heir.

30.—I visited thos of Boath and old Kinsterie at Inshoch, who was com from Edinburgh. I cam hom at night. Coltfald and Windihils was heir. I had invitation to Makintosh his brother's burial. It was reported his ill dyet and intemperance had killd him. I saw Mr. James Urquhart. I regret the want of the societie of good men.

1 January, 1681.—I had gott som letters from Edinburgh, bearing Stafford's appointment to dye the 27 December; and som votes of the Houses. I desire to be instructed by al this. What appeirance is there of trubl and confusion!

2.—James Fraser was at Moynes. We expected him heir.

3.—I read Calvin on Christ's being ledd to the wildernes and tempted of Sathan, and the several kinds of temptations, and the way he breaks and reasons against them, and his victorie. . . . I was to goe this day towards

Invernes to the buriall of M'Intosh his brother. I cam at night to Calder's where James Fraser, and Major Betman, and Mr. Angus M'Pherson wer. . . . We heard of som nois and stirr at Edinburgh, anent the students burning the Pope in effigie, &c.

4.—The day was unmeit for travel, the way al lyk glass, so that I did not venture to goe to the burial of Wm. M'Intosh, but sent my excuse.

5.—We took som inspection to Donald Campbell his children their effairs, and found them in much dissordour. Ther was appeirance of mistaks among them anent som particulars.

6.—I gott a letter from my wiffe, showing that she had one from Dippil giving account of the Ladie Innes her dangerous sicknes, and that she was past al hopes, and given over; and she was gon there to sie her. This did affect me much, bot thes of the company would persuad me ther was no hazard, after so long continuance of the feaver.

8.—I read Calvin on som pairt of the end of the 4, and beginning of the 5 of Luke.

E. Innes and A[lexander] D[unbar], the Sheriff's brother cam heir in the evining. I heard Calder was in mistak with her and me. I desir to doe nothing to dissoblidg him. The water was great, and so my wiffe was forcd to return to Burisyards al night.

We had the woeful, doolful, lamentabl tidings of the death and removal of the precius, worthie, verteus young Ladie Innes; for which my soul has reason to be greivd. Oh what an ornament to the countrey, to her famely! Oh what a dismal stroke and breach! How ominous and prodigius to the land, to this country!

9.—Die Dom. I desir to be affected and duelie exercised with the sad stroke this land and the Church of God has gott in the death [of] good young Ladie Innes. "The faithful decay, the godly fail from among the children of men." Is not this for a lamentation, and ought it not [to] be lamented? Such ar ta'en away, and alas! what ar they who ar growing up in the room and place of al the worthies who ar gon? and what seim we to be reservd for who ar behind? She was amongst thes singular ones who ar taking a burden of the Lord's work and interest, and concernd with his glorie. Let God help me to make a right use of this. My wiffe cam hom this morning. She gave us a furder account of the death of our deir and beloved friend, of whom we might have made more use in her lyff tym. . . .

We heard that it did stick with her and affected her, the baptism of her young child by Mrshl. [Marshal]. O what zeal for God! She was bold in the maters of God and her duty.

11.—Urkney's relict went from this, this morning, homward. I desir to be helped to give her singl and honest counsal.

12.—This day I went to Burgie, Aslisk, and to Elgin at night; visited the Ladie Moortoun; heard of an address by the H. C. [House of Commons] anent the King's declaring and nominating his successor. The Lord overule al to his oun glorie and honour. We heard read a speich reported to be the Lord Stafford's at his execution. I took too much libertie in Colonel Innes's, where I was al night with Burgie. Let the Lord forgive.

13.—I went to Innes; visited the old Lady, who was unweil; and from that went to Dippill. I desird to be affected with the desolation of that hous and famely. . . . Mr. John Stewart was ther, but had not freidom to speak.

17.—I heard that L. D. [Lord Doun] was com north, bot [on] what desing was not knoun. . . . I heard that L. D. had bein drinking at Tanachy Sabbath day at night. Oh! where is the fear of God? how farr from having place among men?

18.—I went East this morning in ordour to the burial of the precious Ladie Innes, younger, the nixt day. I heard by the way of the death of the hopful and godly young man, John Dounie, and that my uncl and his wiffe and famely wer much aflicted with this stroke.

19.—I went airlie to Dippil. Oh! my hart is not in anie sutable fram and postur such as the work of this day might require. . . . Maters wer in confusion and litl ordour. The young Laird went out to the Church. O that the Lord may sanctifie this stroke to him, and to all concernd! I went at night to Elgin, did visit the Lady Moortoun, and Ladie Kilraok at her hous: saw the King's return and ansuear to the address: heard that the Parliament was like to be adjurned: heard of som mistak betwixt som of the Privy Council and the Duke. O for a spirit of discerning! I visited E. Innes, and took too much liberti in eating and drinking. Lord! forgive.

22.—I . . . visited Sir Lod. Gordoun, Coltfauld, Windihils famely. Alr. Brodie in Kinlos was com from the South. I heard of expectation men have of evil tyms. Lord! prevent.

28.—I heard the Colledg of Edinburgh was brok up. Let the Lord

ordour al this confusion for his own glorie. . . . I heard the Lady Graing was brought to bedd of a daughter.

29.—I was compting with tennents of this bounds. Lord! help me to sobrietie, moderation, charitie, compasion, tenderness, in dealing with poor tennents, and to doe to others as I would have them to doe with me, if I wer in their roum and place. I gott a summonds fra Cowbinn for the first diet.

2 February.—I found that Mr. Geo. Key was not right. I desir to pity and sympathize with him. He seims to be weil pleasd with his own condition. I durst not, because of his temper and constitution, deal with him.

3.—I entred to read somewhat of Aretius and Gualters on Luke.

10.—I desir to be humbld under the sence of the libertie which I take to my words, expressions. I was challengd by H. K. for my excess and too much libertie in my asseverations, imprecations. I desird, in the sight of God, to tak with it, and to be humbld for it.

11.—I went to Elgin for account of what publict occurrences wer passing. I heard of a Parliament indicted at Oxford: of the Lords per^{s}. [? persuading] the King that the Parliament sud sitt in London, the capital city. I heard that the Colledg of Edinburgh was opened again.

12.—I read Marlorat and Gualter on the Lord's Prayer.

13.—E. Forbes and her husband wer heir.

14.—I heard that the Session of Dyk had turnd Mr. Geo. Kay off from the School. I desir to pity him. Ther was a meiting of the heretors appointed anent the School. Mr. William Falconer cam heir to advertis me to meit that day. He cam a day or two after this.

15.—I heard many things of Mr. Geo., which troubld me, which did show he was not right. He said he would turn in to Presbytries, and wad discover others in ther colours. I sie his weaknes, and desirs to aknowledg God in that I have the use of any faculty.

16.—At Dyk [I] found a woeful jarr and shamfull outcast betwixt Mr. Geo. and his wiffe. I desir to aknowledg God in this, for it marrs al that we could desing for him. He was at the turning his bak on the school, and famely, and al. I took som tym to speak to them both, and endeavourd to mak up the breach betwixt them. I exhorted them to moderation and meeknes, and to bear one of another. This does much lay me asid, and scrupl me to appear for him; but I find to be turned out of his School would put him quytt wrong.

18.—I went to Dyk to meit with the heretors anent the School. Ther was manie things faultie and wrong in Mr. Geo., who gott a rebuke, and was continoud to be taken on trial how he sud carry for the tym to com, with this condition that upon the first fault and error he should be turnd off.

I was cald by Leathen and Calder to goe up to Moynes and Leathen; which I did. We spok somewhat anent Mr. T. H. [Thomas Hog.] The Lord did furnish and help to som progres as to his accommodation. I desir to aknowledg God in his enlarging harts to doe any thing that way. Calder was useful and helpful to us this way.

19.—Mr. James Urquhart cam ther. We spok to him of our purpose and method anent T. H. I heard that Mr. James was straitnd in his outward condition. I desir to consider this, and to hear what the Lord calls for at my hands. I cam hom in the evining.

22.—I went east towards Monaghtie this fornoon; visited the old Ladie Leathen by the way.

24.—I went to Elgin; visited E. Innes; mett with Grant and Grang in the Toun; heard of the riot, excess, leud way of Lord Douns, and thos of his company and societie I heard of a most savage, abominabl wickednes comited by som lards on the border, who kild three or four of a famely, and took away money; wer found out at last by the dogg which they left behind them.

5 March —There was appeirance of company's repairing heir nixt day to James Fraser. Oh! that I might be made to hear the Lord's voice, and to obey it. Calder staid: Petgauni and his wiff cam heir also.

6.—Die Dom. Ther was only prayer and singing in the morning, which A. D. went about. James Fraser on 8 Rev. throughout, and 55 Isay. 7, "Let the wicked forsake his way, &c."

11.—I heard that James U[rquhart] and his wiffe took offence at my uncl and William anent ther fredom with their son. The best want not ther oun weaknes and infirmities.

16.—I went to Lethen this day to meit with Grant, and E. Innes, and Dr. Gordon. Mr. William Falconer spoke to me in his father's name anent Mr. Jo. Scott, to deal with Grant anent the giving him a presentation. This I fear may be a snar to me. Albeit I had no clearnes in it, yet I did undertak to speak in it. It wer my duty to have no hand or accession in thes maters. Let not the Lord imput sin to me. I found Grant not inclind to give him a

presentation, neither did I urge it. He is a young man of ill report, and alas! it is the land's plaug that ther is an open door to such.

19.—We should have sent for Mr. James Urquhart this day, bot did it not. I heard after, that he was unweil thir days past, yet had sermon in Dyk befor their Sacrament.

20.—Die Dom. Ja[mes] Fr[aser] was in Moynes. Som of the famely went there. A. D. at Lethen. We were alone.

23.—I went to Calder anent the affairs of D. Campbell's relict. . . . We seimd to com to som conclusion. I did undertak som burden of their debt. . . . Pluscarden cam ther while we wer together. He seimd not to be right. I cam hom at night.

27.—Die Dom. A. D. was with us. On 107 Ps. 20. "He sent his word and heald them, &c."

29.—I ordourd the dispatch of victl to Findorn. I worshipd God that morning at Kineddor. . . . I saw the poor fouk's land much overflown with water from the Logh and Lossie. I went in to Elgin to have mett with Calder; found Dr. Gordon ledd much by his humour and passion. I went at night to Burgie, where Calder was on his way southward.

1 April.—I expected to have had James Urquhart with us nixt day and Sabbath. I was too long of advertising him, and he was engaged to be at Lethen.

5.—I got letters this evening from Castle Forbes, wherewith I was surprisd, putting me to raise their money at this next term, and withal I did not apprehend the Lord Forbes was so smooth or fair as had been desirabl. The advertisment is lost. I was not expecting any such thing. I was in some perplexity about it.

8.—I got Leathen's return anent Park, that he seimed to be in a verie friendlie temper, and was willing that mistaks sud be cleird betwixt us, and wad submitt to Grant, Lethen, and Petgauni.

11.—I set out from hom this morning on my way to Castle Forbes, and my wiffe.

12.—We wer advertisd at Whytlumms to goe to Putachie first. We had ground to aprehend that maters wer not right betwixt my Lord Forbes and his son, and my daughter. We cam last to Putachie.

13.—We staid ther al this day, and had account of the mistaks betwixt the young and old. This was occasion of greiff and trubl to me. I desir to sie

and aknouledg God in it, and I desir to be helpd to giv them a sound counsal and opinion who ar most concernd in this trial. . . . We cald for Leslie, and spok with him anent the affairs of the famely, and was purposd to goe doun the nixt day to Castl Forbes.

14.—I found my selfe much darkend, and confounded, and ignorant what to doe or advis in maters betwixt them. I wait for light, and counsal, and direction from the Lord, in evrie point and passage that may occurr. We went doun to Castl Forbes. I had account of my lord's complaints of my daughter and the Mr. I endeavourd to satisfie and allay. I found he inclind to live a pairt, to keip his servants, &c., which I was not frie to medl anie thing in. Ther was som mistaks betwixt him and his son, and my daughter, which I endeavourd to remove and cleir. We spoke of the private bussines. I desir to putt al over on the Lord. Let him ordour and direct al to his glorie, and their good.

15.—I found my Lord [Forbes] passionat, and that it was needful for his children to folow him fairly, and comply in anie thing [that] was not sinful. I endeavourd a good understanding among them. . . . I went to Putachie at night.

16.—I found it a snar to the famely by admitting and receaving visits on the Sabbath, and keiping company with their friends and relations. Let the Lord discover and brak that snar. . . . I was greivd to sie the Mr. not so serius as he ought to be on that day, directing his letters and erands.

18.—We staid til Craigivar and his ladie cam, and went to Leslie, and at night to Castl Forbes. We commund of bussiness. My Lord vented humor and passion, both against me, his son, my daughter; said, that nothing was done for his son, or in his affairs, and that this was told him weil. I cud not consider of anie offence offerd to him by myself. It was my desing and purpos to keip al things fair among them; to doe them al the kindnes in my power. He said, If my Father had bein too for[e] he wad have done more. I cannot deny he was worth thousands of me; but I wad not willinglie be wanting in dutie to them. His friends wer displeased with him. I am apt to be overcom, and provokd, and irritat with thes expressions. This was my infirmity and corruption. . . . I did expostulat with my Lord anent this, his way, and caracters he put on me befor his friends. . . . I had a proposition the other day by my Lord Forbes of young Eight to my daughter; which I did not relish.

19.—This day was verie rough and windie. We set out from Castl Forbes, wher we left fair with my Lord. Let the Lord's peace and favour be among them and rule their hearts and minds, and keip them in good understanding one with another in his fear. We cam to Mulbenn at one o'clock afternoon, and from that to Innes at night. My wiffe was unweil, and distempered. Let the Lord turn it to good. We saw young Innes['s] children. I desir to have a sympathie with them in the loss of the precius mother. We satt up lait with the old man.

20.—We cam hom to the famely at night, where we found the children in health.

21.—The Bishop had his Synod at Invernes. I heard of their feasting, intertainment at that place, and many things unlik to such an office, as this pretended to.

23.—I heard that Mr. James Urquhart was in som mistak with me and this famely. I desir by al means to obviat and to have it removd. O that the Lord wad discover al the evil of my way, and reform, and purge, for his name's sake!

25.—I heard that the ladie Grant was brought to bedd of another son, cald Georg.

29.—I gott a letter to the Bishop's mother's burial.

30.—We had a meiting betwixt Main and Alr. Forsyth, and his sister. In him I sie an emblem of the vanity of man's labor under the sun. 'Man heaps up riches and knows not who sal injoy it, whether a wise man or a fool. Ther arises a profan and debauchit son in the place and roum of a father, and devours and consums his substance, and brings himself to shame and miserie throu sin. Mr. James Urquhart cam heir in the evining, and was throu the Lord's help to give a word the nixt [day].

3 May.—Was appointed for the burial of the Bishop's mother.

4.—Calder cam from the South, and cald heir. I went with him towards Kinoudie. I heard al things wer quiet and silent.

10.—Peiter Hepburn cam heir from Edinburgh. I heard of som sturr betwixt Sir Charles Halket and som curats in Fyffe, and that they wer befor the Counsal; and Sir Charles and others like to get the prison.

20.—I visited them of Both, spok to James Nimbo anent Mr. Thomas Hog. Mr. Thomas Ross['s] widow, and my grand uncl's was heir; wad hav shelter at Fedden. I was willing, if it could be of use to her, but it was ruinous. She was desirus to have anie opportunity to hear the gospel.

21.—My wiffe went to Lethen, to speak anent Mr. Thomas Ross['s] widow, and som accommodation to her.

Burrisyards cam heir and communicat with me som intention he had to sett out to the ministry. I found that the man was serius and aiming to make conscience. I found in him that which may sham and convince me. . . . He told me this had bein a burden and exercis on him for a long tym, and it appeird to him to be God's call to him to serve him in that station. He hoped ther was no corrupt carnal consideration in it. He askd my advis. . . . I mentioned the government and constitution of the Church, and his taking libertie and manumission from Bishops. He seimd to be cleir in that, and resolvd to com under no bonds or oaths. . . . I had no clearnes in this, yet told he me that Mr. J. U. had not dissuaded him to lay the thoghts asyd.

24.—I heard that A. D. had bein at Kilboyak, and ther had bein a confluence.

25.—Mr. James Urquhart cam heir. Alas! so ill as I have improvd the benifit of his company and other means, and now he seims to be alienat fra the hous. Ther is that among us which may scarr the Lord's servants. . . . He spok to me anent what he had said to Burrisyards. He gave him no ground of incuragment or approbation; feard a snare to him; wishd he might be hinderd and stopd.

26.—I visited my sister; found her apprehensive of death and danger at this tym. She exprest her dislik of Burrisyards' way. She regreted the want of our dear Father, whos company she had not made use of. I may joyne with her in this complaint.

27.—A. D. cam from the East. He had bein away thir 3 weiks. . . . I heard that ther was manie at the East desirus to hear and to have the means.

3 June.—I had letters from Edinburgh anent my uncl's condition; his apprehension of death.

6.—I heard Burrisyards was returnd from the Colledg, had bein graduat in ordour to enter on his trials to the ministry. Let not this be a snar to him as is feard it will be.

7.—I went to Calder this day. . . . Calder's son, Hugh, was and has bein verie unweil. They apprehend danger to him. . . . Leathen was there. We spoke of our private bussines; of Cromartie's cautionrie; anent Mr. Th. Hog and Knockaudie.

10.—Young Kinsterie, Brightmonie, and others wer heir. . . . I found appeirance of a stopp in the mater of Mr. Th. Hogg's accommodation. I desir not to be found taking anie occasion to hinder or obstruct it. Alr. Hay had right to the roum, and had no will of our medling in it.

13.—My sister Granghil was in labour. I desird to hold up her cace to the Lord, that He wad shew her mercie, speak his love and kindnes to her soul; that He wad spar and continu her to her famely and children. . . . I was cald to Granghil in the evining. She had sor and extrem labour. It pleasd the Lord to giv at length deliverance, and to bless with a son. . . . I heard of som appeiranc and liklyhood of discovering of Tanachie's leudnes, adultery, &c.

15.—I was purposing to meit with Tarbett att Arderseir, and wrat to him and Hugh Dollas. . . . Mr. John McKilican was heir the last night.

16.—We heard reports of a Parliament with us. The apprehensions of this ar formidabl and dreadful.

17.—Mr. Robert Forbes, Kilraok's chaplain, was heir; had com from Castl Forbes. I apprehend I may be in mistaks with them.

18.—My nevey [nephew] young Granghil was heir. I took occasion as the Lord helpd him [? me] to warn and exhort him to his duty. . . . I heard it spoke more off anent our Parliament. I was confounded with the appeirance of it. I desir to look up to the Lord for mercie, pity, compassion to his church and peopl. Let him look on her in her low estait, and disapoint the ruin that is intended by men.

21.—Granghil's son, William, was baptisd this evining.

24.—I heard that Grange had no inclination to be commissioner to the Parliament, and that Innes wad not embrace without incuradgment and invitation. . . . I found appeirance that Tanachy younger was like to be for Forres. . . . I heard the proclamation for the Parliament was read at Forres, Elgin, and other places.

25.—Spynie was with me after noon. He thoght it most unjust and improper to &c. [*i.e.*, to exclude the Duke of York], and that religion might be secured by corn. [coronation] oath, &c. I had som thoughts of goeing south, but am not determind.

28.—Graing cam heir this fornoon; was goeing to meit with Calder, Lethen, and others at Auldearn. . . . Visited James Urquhart's wiffe, and cleird my selfe of som mistaks concerning Tho. Hog's coming to Penick, and

Mr. James['s] accommodation. . . . The Laird of Innes elder, and his ladie, and Grang wer with us al night. . . . I found that Innes might be persuaded to goe south to the Parliament had he anie incuragment.

29.—Spynie cam doun to sie old Innes. We wer speaking anent choosing Commissioners to the Parliament. . . . Whil we wer speaking the Laird of Lohloy cam from Edinburgh. I desir to reverenc God's providence in this. I had som incuragment from him, and had letters from my uncl, Robert Martin, Polwart, &c. . . . We heard of the wild fancies of som who had bein professors.

4 July.—William Fraser, son to the Mr. of Saltoun, cam heir this night from M. Huntley. I heard of him the reports concerning the ends of the Parliament's sitting. I found him quytt wrong. He went away nixt morning.

7.—Graing and Culloden younger wer heir, the last on his journay south, as Commissioner, with Calder, to the Parliament. I heard that Clava had dissented from the instructions given to their Commissioners.

11.—John Brown cam hom drunk: I desir to be affected with this, that any thing of this sort sud be in the hous. The M. Huntly had hand in this.

14.—I went to Kineddar, did som litl in bussines ther, and returnd hom at night, wher I found the Lord Strathnaver and his lady, by whom I heard somewhat of elections as Commissioners of several men of corrupt principles and practices.

18.—We wer leading the rest of the petts. Ther was a great sturr and confusion among them in the night by beating one another. O that the gospel wer getting roum and place amongst men, and the fear of God! that wad suppress al riot and unrulines.

19.—I had letters from Edinburgh dissuading me to com south anent my privat bussiness; and albeit I had som inclination to goe, if I could have effectuat anything anent Holand debt, Cromartie's cautionrie, and with Boin and others of whom I had bussines, I desir to reverence God in his providence in laying anie impediment and stop in my way.

25.—I was giving som timber to Ja. Fordice. I observd much falshood and deceit among men. . . . Ther was several tries cutt and markd, which I had not given. I heard that young Cowbin was gone south last night.

28.—I went to visit the Ladie Grange. I heard that Grt. [Grant] had

favor of D. Y. [Duke of York]. Let it not be a snare. Ther was litl news cam from Edinburgh. We heard M. H. was not weil pleasd to be withheld from the Parliament. I cam in by Forres, was pressd by old B[ailie] Jo. Brody, and took a drink or two more than was fitt. Oh! when sal I be made to hate evrie evil way? I desird to be ashamd for this, and to be humbld. I cam hom lait indisposd for anie spiritual exercise or duty, in public or privat. I cald for Lethen to com down, but he cam not til the nixt day.

30.—The young goodwiffe of Both was brought to bedd of a daughter, Katren.

8 August.—I had letters from Jos[eph] this morning; had som account of bussines, and a kind of call to goe south anent the Holland debt, Cromartie's cautionrie, and anent my affairs with Boin and Cowbinn. I cannot say that my uncl's call was possitive and express; left it to my own selfe to siek counsal from God.

9.—I had no cleirnes anent my journay.

10.—I had much to discuraig and alienat from setting out.

12.—I aimd to seik the Lord's face for grace, pity, counsal, at this tym. Albeit I set out this day, it is with no other purpos or resolution but to return, if the Lord think fitt to lay anie impediment in my way.[a]

24 September.—Die Dom. I read Dickson on the 5 Ps.; heard A. D on 6 Eph.: "Praying with al maner of supplication in the Spirit."

25.—Spynie cam heir in the morning. I gave him account of what I had done att south, and of my purpos to return there this winter. I heard that there was like to be a change of the magistrats in Forres, becaus of the Test and their counccl. I heard that many ministers would not tak it.

26.—Oh for the frame of my hart! I suspect it not to be right with God. I suspect it of much unsoundnes, deceit. Oh that I cud gett it put in a mediator's hand, the great phisician's hand, who cam to seik and save that which is lost! . . . Granghil and Lethen, and others, wer heir with me. If thes who are acquaint with me knew what wer within me they

[a] Here is a blank of several pages in the Diary, in which the author apparently intended to register notes of his journey to Edinburgh, his stay there, and his return to the north, but which was never done. The next entry is dated September 24, after he had come home.

would abhor my company, and correspondenc with me. O that the Lord wad be pleasd to purg out this dross and scum, . . . and that I might be made a vessel meit for the Master's use!

27.—I took som inspection of the woods and matters about the town. Let not my hart be glued to them, or tak pleas^{r}, or promis it selfe anie thing from them. I was cald to goe to Grisliip to meit betwixt Granghil and Easterbinn. I have reason to be affraid of the danger and snars from ill company. Let the Lord help me to fear always. Old Tanachy was ther, and others. I found maters not like to setl betwixt them. On my return hom I found young Glassach heir. I regrait to sie so much ill in his way. My uncl, Ja. Innes, was heir; told me his straits and purposes. I perceive he has som expectation of help from me. I look to the Lord for direction and counsel. . . . I had som purposes of goeing south this winter, but dare not entertain them. Let my steps be orderd according to His word. Let Him give light and directions. Ther is Cromartie's cautionrie, and my action with Cowbin, my cleiring som things with my uncle, my children's condition, education, disposition; al of thes I putt over on the Lord, and desirs to wait for light and counsal from Him

29.—I went west to Kilroak, Clava, but did not sie the younger of Clava. I cam to Calder at night. . . . I heard the Bishop had bein at the meitings, persuading the ministers to take the test, and showing ther was nothing in it which anie loyal person could object against.

30.—I cam in the morning to Lethen; visited Mr. Tho. Hog ther. Jas. Fraser was at Moynes, unweil of the ague. How saverie ar they who have grace and acquaintance with God, and communion with Him!

4 October.—I went eastward this day, and my wiffe went east also. We visited Burgie's Ladi at Forres, who seimd to be on her jurnay towards her last end. I desir to tak warning and instruction from this exampl. O that I wer learning to die evry day! I was overcom with the passion and bitternes of my own spirit by the way with my wiffe. Sal I not be ashamd and humbld for al this passion and unmortifiednes? Oh what madnes to give such way to my own spirit and lusts! Thes blinds me, and misleads me. It was concerning compts and rests to servants and others, and the taking south the children. I am as a beast before God; so brutish and ignorant. Let the Lord pity and forgive, and cleans, and purg out all my dross and scum!

I visited the Ladie Moortoun. I perceivd her knowledg and tendernes grow. . . . I spok to her concerning her husband's and her own goeing south. I heard the Privie Counsel had taen the test on their knees. Some had their own distinction and exception. I heard from William Duffe that the E. Katnes was restord to his father's estait.

5.—I went nixt morning to Mon[aghti]; compted with som of the tennents. . . . I was purposd to have gone to Miltoun at night, bot turnd with my wiffe to Burgie. She was verie unweil there that night. We heard that ther was scruples amongst many concerning the test; that the ministers of Aberdeen wer against it; and som in our own countrey.

6.—My wiffe returnd hom. I went to Mon[aghti] again, and had the tennents working at the miln.

I got warning concerning my daughters their cariage and way. I desir to be helpd to make a right use of it. O that I could sie and take with my own evils, and that the Lord by his Spirit would convince and com in our harts, the harts of my daughters, that the Lord would com, and set his stamp and mark on them!

7.—I ended compts, and did som bussines with Miltoun in the fornoon. . . . I returnd to Mon[aghti], where the tennents wer at work at the miln, and cam hom at night.

8.—I heard the ladie Westfeild was neir her last. . . . I had appointed a Court against Monday with tennents.

9.—Die Dom. I read Dickson and Mr. James Urquhart's lectur on 14 Ps. A. D. was heir with us: [preached] on Rom. 3. 24., "Being justified," &c. . . . We heard in the evining that Burgie's ladie was removed. . . . We heard that she dyed weil. The Lord has his oun hidden ones.

10.—My wiffe went to Forres to tak inspection to the bodie of the ladie Westfeild. I heard mor of her savourie death and blessed end.

11.—Mr. James Urquhart was heir with us this day. Oh! so litl use as I make of such company. James M^cLean spok to me of a purpos he had of marriage with a daughter of the deceist Cumming of Ernsyd.

13.—This day was the burial of Burgie's ladie. We heard that at their Sinod they had declind to take the test, and had gott it to advise. I heard som of them had reasond against it. . . . Grant and his ladie cam hom. I observd his libertie of speich of Bishops. O for a right principl! The Bishop and Grant had som mistak together, and debate concerning one Mr. Scott.

I heard of som further riots comitted by Coubin, on the road goeing south. Let the Lord deliver me from unreasonabl men. Jo. Cumming, Logie, spoke to me of Ja. M^cLean's purpos. I declind to medl in it.

14.—I heard that Forbes had gone by, homward. I was trubld at this also. . . . We had som purposes of sending two of our children to Aberdeen. . . . I found mor aversnes to goeing South. I look to God for counsel in this also.

15.—I heard my coosin, William Brodie, was come from Edinburgh, and gone to Lethen. I had letters from my uncl concerning bussines. I heard of the continuance of his sicknes and weaknes. . . . We wer purposing to send two of the children to Mrs. Gordon at Aberdein.

I had desird Mr. Ja. Urquhart to com, bot he excusd his not coming. A. D. cam at night. I heard that most of ther Sinod was like to refuis the test. I heard of jarrs betwixt my Lord Forbes and his sone. I desir to be humbld in this. I sud not expect to sitt down on anie thing here. I heard furder of the extravagancy of young Cowbin on the road. I desir not to take pleisur in evil, or in anie thing of hurt to him, albeit he sud be my enemy. I wait for the Lord's bringing me thorou my trubl with him.

16.—Die Dom. I read Mr. James Urquhart's lectur, and Dickson on the 18 Ps. I was avers from having company com heir on this day. Let the good, wise, holy Lord ordour it aright in his providence, and help me to keip his way. A. D. on 41 Isai, 10: "Fear not, for I am with thee," &c.

17.—The tennents hors cam from Mon[aghti] to lead stones. I desir to examin this whether right or wrong. Oh! my corruptions does blind me, and mislead me. I was in the querrall[a] in the evining. My wiffe was purposd to goe with the children the length of Putachie.

18.—Coltfald was heir last night. I took not occasion to warn and examin or enquir into his way. O that the Lord wad sturr up in me that indignation and hatred against sin, which I ought to have, that nothing might byasst me to the approving, conniving and sparing it in anie! I spoke to him of other maters, but nothing of his state to God, of his evil wais or courses.

20.—My wiffe took journey to Putachie, and Lisie and Girse wer to goe thence to Aberdeen. I spoke a word to them; exhorted them to their duty;

[a] Querrall, quarry.

warnd them of the il and danger of following vanity and lusts They went to Mulbenn that night.

27.—I heard of changes in the Session: that Tarbett was made K[ing's] Register; Haddo, President; Boin on the Session: that Argyll was off, and out of his places.

1 November.—I went eastward towards Innes and Elgin. . . . I was communing with Miltoun anent our comon bussines in Cromartie's affairs, and on south goeing. I sie nothing fixd or setld heir. I heard that they wer pressing the test evrie where: that the Bishop of Edinburgh ———[a] and preachd against the sinn, as he cald it, of detaining the Kirk lands; for which we might be punishd with the removal of the gospel. I heard that several brughs wer lying waste without magistrats, becaus of the test.

2.—I staid at Elgin this night, wher I have reason to be ashamd. I went in to Kenneth M'Kenzie's with other friends, coosing William, Windihils, B. Brodie and others, and did exceid by wine. O that the Lord would once redeim from al his iniquities! I staid with B. Brodie al night.

3.—I desird to be humbld for my excess yesternight. Let the Lord forgive and cleans, and enter not into judgment with me. I went to Innes anent som affairs of my uncl Joseph, and my oun. I found the old man in great rage and distemper at Miltoun. I endeavourd to allay and shew him the evil and prejudice, and what reflexion it wad be upon him. I exhorted him to patient bearing, and laying asid his humour and passion.

4.—I was to goe to Spynie this morning. I had no pleasure or complacency in ther company. Let the Lord deliver me from snares. I staid a short whyl ther, but descended into no particulars. I heard that he was goeing to Aberdeen to offer the test to the Bishop of Aberdeen. I heard of the wikednes of som of his sons.

5.—I heard of the death of the old goodwiffe of Relucas.

7.—I had purposd to have gone to the burial of Mr. William Cuming's mother, the old Relucas['s] wiffe; but my wiff's condition could not permit me to goe: her feaver and distemper continued, and her weaknes was verie great.

8.—Spynie was heir with me. I had letters this or the nixt day from Edinburgh, and a call to goe south about the 20 of November. . . . I had

[a] A word here is apparently omitted by the Author.

from Edinburgh the new acts of the last parliament; which I perused. . . . I heard that Argyll was quitt out of favor.

10.—I am taken up about my accomodations and thoughts of building, and am apt to take satisfaction and pleasure in thes things.

11.—Grange and his ladie cam heir to visit my wiffe, and Mr. Jo. M'Kilican. He apprehended that most of the present time's ministers would com in and take the oath; once goeing wrong it was not easie to halt or stay; and that God wad not honor them. . . . He staid with me al night. . . . I heard that Mr. Tho. Hog thoght that a prison was preferabl to libertie at this time. It pleasd the Lord that my wiff's sicknes was somwhat abated.

12.—I was desird to com up to Lethen anent doeing somwhat for our honest ministers. . . . I had a letter from Ja. Fraser enquiring after my wiff's condition.

15.—I went to Leathen, and spoke somwhat with him and Petgauni concerning the honest ministers their provision.

16.—I was troubld with the cold, and a speat of reum, and defluxion. How many inconveniences is this liffe and stat subject to! . . . I had letters from Edinburgh importing a new call to goe South. . . . I heard of that sens wherin Argyl had taen the test, and the Bishops' and Counsel's explanation of it. Our Bishop was at much pains to have al engadged in taking it. . . . I heard also that Argyl was put in the Castl.

18.—Jo. Hepburn was heir. I went to Forres at Windihils' desir, to meit with the Bishop. I spok to him anent my bussines with Cowbin. He spok to me anent my affairs with him. . . . I heard that Argyl had bein committed to the Castle; but was set at libertie: that D. H. [Duke Hamilton] had refuisd the T. [test]: that Lethgow and Glascow wanted a counsel becaus of the T [test].

24.—I cam to Kineder at night; compted with the tennents; heard that the greater part of the ministers of Edinburgh had taken the T. [test], and that the rest wer laid asid from their charge.

25.—I did som trifls among the tennents. I was in doubt what to doe with Mrs. Gordon anent the boat. She was in arrear with me, and yet I have no will to take the boat from her. Let the Lord direct and inclin my hart to things that are equal. The Bishop cam not this day to Kineder. I went to Petgawnie at night. Oh! my wonted frame of drusines, and slippi-

nes, and securitie, was upon me. When sal Sathan's bonds be brok, and the poor prisoner sett at libertie, and delivered from his bonds. I found mistaks betwixt Petgawnie and his wiffe with Ja. Hepburn. I wishd them to lay them asid; it is not seasonabl to keip them up.

26.—This day was rough and stormie. I met with the Bishop at the Kirk of Spynie. Windihils had no fridom to goe to the hous, or to eat, drink. I dare not condem him, or justifie my self in my own greater latitud. . . . I visited the old ladie Lethen, and Glengerak's famely at Kilboiak, be the way, and cam hom lait.

28.—I had a new call from Edinburgh by my uncl. I had account of Argyll's condition, hasard, and caus. I spread al befor the Lord. My wiffe mentiond it as fitt to sett apart a tym to entreat the Lord.

I heard of the marriage of the Lord Forbes with the old Ladie Eight. . . . Granghil and his son cam heir. I heard from him that Kilraok was speaking for an accomodation betwixt Cowbin and me. I desir to slight no opportunitie or mean, but would gladly embrace peac with my neighbours on anie reasonabl terms.

1 December.—I had a letter from Moortoun, shewing that Tarbet had desird that we should not stur, or com South anent Cromartie's affairs, til the 20 of January. . . . I mett with the Bishop, bot ther appeird no way to setl us. . . . The Bishop had gott commission from the Council to offer the T. [test] to the Sheriffs of Murray and Nairn. I found many of my friends avers from my goeing South. . . .

2.—I wrat to Mr. Ja. Urquhart, concerning Argyl's caice, to be communicat to T. H. [Thomas Hog].

3.—I went to Calder; saw Argyll's indytment. I cam away nothing cleir or resolvd as to my journay, bot that I cast al over on God and His providence. . . . I visited Mr. James Urquhart and his famely. I found him distemperd, crasie, and unweil. . . . I cam hom lait.

4.—Die Dom. I heard that Calder had gott citation befor the Council to present Bray, and was resolved to sett out. I heard ther was fears of the E. of Argyll: that Sir Geo. Lockhart had refuisd to plead for him.

6.—I went to visit Spynie. I heard of Argyll's defences and vindication against his libel. Oh! what is this land reserved for? . . . Lethen cam heir. He and many of my friends wer not cleir in my South-goeing

8.—This day I sett out from my own hous. I roll over my burdens,

cares, and fears, and snars on Him. . . . I am to halt at Putachie until I hear from Edinburgh.[a]

2 April, 1682.—Die Dom. I rested at Fettercairn, being the Sabbath day. We spent the day together, Kinsteri and the servants. We read somwhat of Mr. Durham's Sermons upon Dying in the Lord. . . . I had to be exercised with my mispent tym at Edinburgh. . . . Eddinglass cam ther; made a great jurney befor and after; and slipd the midst of the day. O that my hart wer affected with the dishonour of God, that others keip not God's law!

3.—We croced the cairn in the morning; lighted again at Lumfannen at noon; visited Whythauch and his lady; heard of som ministers ther, who had not taen the test, others who had. I cam to Putachie in the evening. I was satisfied to sie and have the company of my children. . . . I heard of the children at Aberdeen. I had there letters from my wiffe.

4.—I cam from that place in the morning, and visited the Lord Forbes by the way. I found him crabbed and ill to pleas. I was apt to be overcom of my oun humor and passion . . . I lighted at Divron syd. Our hird hors satt up. . . . I cam lait to Elgin.

5.—I visited Eliz. Innes, Duffus; mett with Graing, Petgewnie, and others; visited Milton, his childr wer in danger and verie sick; visited the Lady Grang, and Moortoun, and others by the way; and thorou God's providenc cam to my oun hous and famely at night. Family worship was ended.

6.—I heard that James Urquhart and Thomas Hog wer oft unweil, cam litl abroad.

8.—I gave intimation to friends and others as to their coming heir on the Sabbath, to spare it, and not to com. Whether this may be right or not in the sight of God, I shal not determin, bot desirs to seik counsel of the Lord.

9.—Die Dom. I read Calvin on the 79 Ps. I was apt to offend at any persons coming to the hous. The Lord knows how to trist truble to

[a] Here follows a blank of several leaves. It appears that during his visits to Edinburgh, Brodie kept his Diary in a different volume. See p. 476. The next entry is 2 April, Die Dom. 1682.

me in any ways; and it wil not be my prudence, catiousnes, or warines wil prevent it, when he sies fitt to send it.

10.—I went down to Granghil in the fornoon. My wiffe was unweil, staid at hom. . . . In my return I had a proposition from A. D. anent my daughter, and their son, which did surprise. I was apt to inclin to it, and am easilie overcom of evry thing. . . . It is tru I hav never sein that good among them or in their society which was desirabl; yet the neirnes of the relation sticks. . . . I desir to spread it befor the Lord, and to be resignd to Him in al that concerns me. I desir also to take the opinion of honest ministers and good Christians. . . . They expected som ansuer the nixt day.

11.—There was a meiting this day betwixt Granghil and Easterbin, Lethen, Tanachi, and others, concerning that mater of Moy. . . . I communicat with Lethen that mater of K[atharine] and Granghil; which was not relishd by him. I was much concerned to have a discreit and prudent ansuer made to it. I heard this day that Grant his eldest son John, was seik to death, and given over of all; and nixt morning I heard he was dead.

12.—I was despatching letters south to my aunt, to William and Robert Martin. I heard that Mr. Angus M'Bean was to be dean in Mr. Jo. Cumming's place. I found stil much aversion in persons concernd as to that matter of daughter K. and Granghil's son.

13.—I went to Moortoun, missd himselfe, staid som tym with her, spok anent the proposition by Granghil, and the child K. She did not relish it either. . . .

15.—Alr. Dunbar, the Sheriff's brother, and I, went to Elgin; visited El^{z}. Innes, and the Bishop, who was unweil of the gravel. He was content to be ridd of me. I may learn how litl can worldly accomodations, places, preferments, cas, against such pains, diseases.

17.—Petgounie and his wiffe cam heir from Lethen; Main and others; James Fraser, and others with him. The land cannot bear such. He prayd in the famely, but was on his way goeing out of the kingdom.

Granghil and my sister wer heir; young Dumphail and my nevay [nephew]. I declind occasions of speaking with them upon the subject of the young persons.

19.—I heard the day befor of Jo. Spens his death; was invited to his burial the day befor. I heard he had taen the T.[test] with reluctancy.

21.—I heard that the Bishop continoud unweil. I had letters from

Edinburgh from my aunt. I heard of severals their goeing up; the D. his being at London.

23.—Die Dom. I read somwhat of Gilespie's Miscellanies,[a] concerning stabilitie and firmness in the truth, against scepticism, &c.

25.—I was cald to goe to Calder this day by Eliz. Innes. I visited the Lady Lethen by the way. . . . I spok with Calder anent the proposition of Granghil's with K.

26.—I heard of the death of one of Burisyeards children in the pocks, and another boy of Ja. Brodie's. I went al night to Burgie.

1 May.—This fornoon Mr. William Falconer cam heir, and spok at lenth of my abstractions, of his being tyed to give account of this, when his prsti [presbytri] justified themselves and their way, condemnd others disserting from them; seimd confident of himselfe in caic ther cam any steps of furder defection. I was too frie with him. Let not this be a snar to me.

2.—I desingd to sie Ja. Urquhart, Thomas Hog, and Kinsterie, Both, and thes at the West. He in Penick was not at hom. . . . I heard that som persons met with T. H. [Thomas Hog] this day, Lady Grant and others. I keipd back until they had done. I advisd with T. H. that mater of Carolina; which he did not relish.

4.—I heard of the death of Lord Rothes[b]; how terribl death was to him.

8.—I was writing letters to . . . Edinburgh to Mr. Martin, uncl's relict, coosing William.

12.—We had a meiting at Dyk betwixt Granghil and Easterbinn. . . . I was like to be ensnard by it. . . . Being cald to the burial of a son of Burisyiards, I went there in the evining. . . . My nevy [nephew] Granghil younger cam with me at night; spok of that proposition anent my daughter. I had thoght it had bein laid asid. Lord! give light and counsall. I shew[ed] him my aversnes, and the grounds. I wish'd him to seik the Lord's mind.

13.—I was desird be Glengerak to trist with him at Dyk, anent his daughter's mariage of Easterbinn; which I did. They ended and agreied on conditions. I was importund be my nevy in the mater of K. my daughter.

[a] Treatise of Miscellany Questions, a posthumous work of George Gillespie, 1649, 4to.

[b] The death of the Duke of Rothes took place on the 27th July, 1681.

. . . We heard of the great hazart the D. Y. [James, Duke of York] and the company was in in ther coming doun; that the ship was sunk, many lost, Roxbrugh, Hoptoun, and many others: the D. himself in great danger.

15.—We had it further confirmd concerning the hazard the D. Y. [Duke of York] was in, and the loss of lives. I spok with A. D. [Dunbar], the sheriff's brother, anent that mater of my daughter Katherine and Granghil. I was most uncleir, and more and more avers from it.

16.—I went to Forres to a meiting of the heretors concerning the church of that place, which was like to be ruinous. I had no incuragment to be active that way. Oh! so ill as all ar filld: what corrupt, unsound men!

I heard of the D. Y. his returning with his to England: that Haddo was Chancellor, and many other changes amongst statsmen. . . . I heard that the M. [Marquis] of H. [Huntly] his son was dead. I cam hom by Granghil's, and found from A D. that Granghil younger said he had got incuragment from me in his purpos.

22.—I heard of the desolate state of Edinburgh, and al being in confusion there.

23.—This day Tho. Dunbar, Easterbinn, and Jean Gordon, Glengerak's daughter wer maried.

24.—My Lord Sutherland's daughter, ladie Ann, was heir, goeing for England, on her father's call, and several company with her. They dined heir. I went with her to Burgie.

26.—Windihils cam heir to sie me. I read som [in the] afternoon on the litl book cald "The Graps in the Wildernes."[a] Yong Granghil was heir this night. I am much perplexed in this mater.

27.—The Lady Grant and Lethen cam heir; afterward the Laird from the East. Lethen was for my utter putting of that mater of Granghil and K[atherin], my daughter. I had som hankering.

29.—I heard of the death of Sir Geo. Munroe his eldest son, John, of the 2d mariage. I went to Leathen, and from that to Calder with Lethen and Grant. The Lord humbld me, in that I parted in mistak, and not at one, with Calder. His way was not so straight and even as otherwais. Yet why should I censure others, and not rather judg my selfe?

31.—I heard that Granghil took libertie to speak of me and the family,

[a] A posthumous work, by Thomas Bell, published in 1680.

with reflexions that they did take ill that we did not intertain the Son's proposition. . . . I heard of the death of Kilrack's son, John, at Edinburgh.

1 June.—I went to Forres to a meiting with the heretors of the parish anent the church. My wiffe went East also. The Bishop was there. We cam to no setlment with the Town. I find much blindnes, darknes, confusion, and fecklesnes. . . . The Bishop[a] pretended the honor of God, and edification of souls. Alas! so litl of this. We ended without anie effect. The old goodwiffe of Windihils spok to me anent her children. I found her complaints of her present state. I wrat to Windihils anent them.

2.—I mett with Granghil and his sone afternoon. William Crombie spok to me anent my Uncl's sons affairs. I heard of Cowbin's debts and continuing difficulties; of their profanity; that their daughter was with child.

10.—My nevoy spok with me after supper. I gave him my reasons why I could not consent to that proposition of his. 1. That neir relations, my own and others unclearnes anent this. 2. My friends unwillingnes and doubts anent it. 3. Her unsutablnes for such a place and station. 4. My fear of consequents. 5. My sister her humour, and the liklihood of greater mistaks amongst us than formerlie. Alas! so litl good as ther is heir, in this hous or that hous, so litl serius seiking of God. Thes ar bot som few of the many considerations which occasion my uncleirnes in this matter.

14.—I found by the mother her great aversnes from that purpos of Granghil's.

17.—I heard much of their humor and the venting of it against me and my wiffe from thes of Granghil. . . . A. D., the Sheriff's brother, cam heir at night. I heard mor of their rage against me at Granghil.

26.—My wiffe went East to Monaghti. Mr. John Steu[t] [Steuart] was heir. I comund with him anent that proposition betwixt Granghil and us. He seimd to be cleir as to the lawfullnes, nay was at pains to persuad and enforce the sutablnes and conveniencie. I told him wher it did stick. He told me it was his own practis betwixt his daughter and Mr. Don. Forbes' son. Mr. John went to Penick fra this, and to visit Mr. Hog and Lethen, and put them upon writing to Grant, &c.

30.—We heard that Granghil's son, Willie, was verie weak, and in the pox. A. D. and I went down afternoon, and visited them.

[a] Colin Falconer, Bishop of Murray.

3 July.—The first thing I was tristed with in the morning was a letter to the burial of Granghil's son, Willie, who was removd.

5.—I spok with Main[a] concerning my daughter Katharin: that proposition of Granghil's. I cannot say but I have som inclination to it, but withal I have much discuragment, manie exceptions, and uncleirnes anent it. . . . I understood that my daughter Katharin had som inclination and liking to the proposition: that she blaimd my freedom in som things. The young man was heir last night, and there seimd to be som tampering betwixt them.

7.—My wiffe went to sie T[homas] H[og] and J[ames] U[rquhart], to Brightmanie, Both, and other places at the East. . . . I found that T. H. had advisd the mater betwixt Katharin and Granghil, at least was frie on it, apprehended no impediment in the relation, &c.; and thought the less we expected in it, we might find the more.

10.—Graing was heir afternoon on his way to Culloden, and Alr. Dunbar, to end Burgie's mariage with Culloden's daughter.

11.—I heard that the Earl of Sutherland his patent for changing his nam was stopd, until he should take the T. [test]. I heard also that severals who had refuised the T. [test] in Mers, wer like to com in and embrace it.

15.—Old William Crombie was with me the day befor. I heard the Bishop had taken in one Mr. Todd to Elgin against the Town's inclination. . . . I heard good report of the Lady Strathnaver.

24.—I spok with J. U. [James Urquhart] concerning my daughter Katharin and that proposition of Granghil's; who was cleir that the mater was not in itself unlawful; and considering their circumstances and other things he thought it advisabl. The old Granghil spoke to me this day, and his brother. I declind and shifted. . . . I was purposed to speak to my daughter, and to advis with my friends, and putt it off on that. Ther was an occasion which did trouble me. This morning my daughter and the young man mett; it appeird that they had som relish of the thing, and wer engadgd. How to construct of this I know not; whether it may give any cleirnes in the thing to goe on, or whether it affoord not ground of watchfulnes and jealousi over young ones and mater of humiliation.

25.—I went again to Forres, where we found much circumveining, and

[a] Alexander Brodie of Main and his wife had come to visit him on the preceding evening.

airt, and subtiltie in Mr. Robert Dunbar, in tampering and desinging that bargain to himself of the Moy. . . . I apprehend Granghil's way not to have been right with Easterbin; bot this man's way is gross and unjustifiabl. I traveld betwixt them to no purpos, for Mr. Robert's art and craft was sein in all.

26.—This last dai's work and dissapointment did seim to alienat me the mor from that purpos of theirs with my daughter.

28.—I heard that furder, that the Ld. D[uffus] was our sheriff; and that they wer useing al rigour against them in Fyffe, and other places; and that it was expected som forces sud com north.

29.—Granghil younger was heir with us. I stil wait for light from the Lord in that mater. I heard of the desings against this cuntrey.

30.—Die Dom. Oh! how soon am I shaken as a reid. Anie appeiranc of trubl does. If the Lord ansuer me with strenth in my soul, we wer purposd to admit of none on the Sabboth. I was apprehensive of trubl desingd against me and friends in this place.

31.—I did call for my friends to meit heir on Wednesday nixt anent that mater of my daughter, Katharin, and Granghil. . . . I heard that Milton was taen upon a caption be the Bishop and town of Elgin. I was affected with this.

2 August.—This day was rainie and wett. My nevoy, Granghil, was heir this last night. He had bein att Elgin and Lethen, speaking som friends of myn anent his proposition to me. Thes I cald cam heir. We spok of the mater together. Alas! the worthie old men ar wanting and away, and in their plac is only raisd a wretched, sinful, weak, selfish generation. . . . I laid befor them the mater I had to advis with them. After conference upon the subject, al of them agried, that upon consideration of the circumstances, the tym, my condition, and that the young persons might be som way engadgd, and their not offering anie other, they acquiesced to listen to this.

13.—Die Dom. I was purposd to call for my daughter, Katharine, and as the Lord would help and enable to speak to her concerning herselfe. . . . I was purposd to move to her the coming under som engagements and bond to be the Lord's, and to be for Him in whatever condition and place the Lord shal put her in. . . . Having spok with Katharin I found her willing to come under new bonds, did aknowledg that she was under former bonds,

bot had not walked ansuerabli to them. In my father's liff tym she had entered in covenant with the Lord. . . . We prayd aud worshiped God together.[a]

14.—This evening my daughter, Katharin, was married to my nevoy, young Granghil. . . . I spok som what to her by the way goeing to Dyk, anent the state of lyff she was entering upon.

15.—We had account of my sister Grangehil's being in humor, and her carping at everi thing.

24.—We heard som reports of the death of my La[dy] Murray.

29.—Spynie had bein with us, giving account of the Lady Murray's death. . . . They wer desinging a great burial.

4 September.—I had a call to the burial of yong Boath's eldest daughter Ann, who had never recoverd of the poxe.

6.—We heard a report of the death of Duke Lauderdail,[b] bot not certain notice of it. The wise man dye[s], and so does the fool: they who have bein a terror in the land of the living, how easilie ar they brought doun to the grave in a moment!

9.—I had a letter from Calder, and account of his health. The D. Y. he said grew in favour. Windihils was heir with us. I am thinking of goeing south, am doubtful and [in] suspense anent my famely, and the ordouring of it. . . . Unles ther wer necessitie, I inclin not to move a step.

13.—The weather was wett and rainie: my oun harvest was ended, albeit in rain. This crop does threaten want and straits to poor peopl.

16.—Windihils cam heir. He was somewhat taen with drink.

23.—I heard that D. Lauderdail died with discontent. . . . We wer cald to the transport of the Lady Murray's corps from Findorn to Darnway att night; which was caried about from London in one of the King's yachts.

24.—Die Dom. I read Dickson on 22 Ps., v. 23. I found som savour on the words, bot that abids bot for a short tym. I was apt to be offended at som persons coming to this place. I was afraid of danger.

5 October.—I found humor and mistak like to com in betwixt my daughter Katharin and thes of Granghil and us. . . . I find the young

[a] Here follows a religious covenant in Brodie's hand-writing, subscribed by his daughter, Kathren Brodie.

[b] John, Duke of Lauderdale, died at Tunbridge, 22nd August, 1682.

woman ill to pleas, high, conceited, plaintiff, and querraling, and fretting, and manie such infirmities with her as thes. I desir to pity and cover. . . .

Mr. William Falconer cam heir anent his father's bussines, and spok anent Cowbin's.

6.—I went from hom fornoon, cald at Windihils, went to Spynie, setld with the Bishop anent my tack of teinds. I was loath to hold a favor of him. Let not his easines in particulars be a snar to be.

7.—I cam in to Elgin, did somwhat with my coosen, Eliz. Innes, anent her oun busines. . . . I heard of great appearance of confusion evrie where.

11.— . . . We staid fornoon at Petgaunie. . . . The Lord is like to scatter and disperse, and we know not if ever we be admitted to be in a society or famely again. Evry one is doubtful what to doe. . . . We sett out to Dippil and visited young Innes['s] children, and from that to Innes at night. I heard that Monmouth was seisd by an officiar or serjeant. I was dissuaded by Innes from goeing South, from the appeirance of danger. The lady Eight was brought to bedd at Innes. . . . He [Innes] advisd me to goe abroad, not to appear. He seimd to regrait the evil of the tyms.

12.— . . . We staid with Duffus at Elgin. I sat up lait. He seimd dissatisfied.

13.—I heard of many goeing of to Carolina, Pensylvania, [New] Gersey. I did not relish it. Ther was worship in Duffus famely. He has prepared a peic of the galrey for it: somwhat of form and ostentation, and other things wer observabl. We joind in worship with them, albeit my hart was away. I saw Sir Lod. Gordon, who had returnd from England, and was much in pressing me to joyn in that essay of New Gersey. I had no liking to it.

I cam to Burgie at night. I found Grange apprehensive of trouble, avers fra hearing, thinking of goeing off, &c. He had spok with Mr. Tho. Hog anent that point.

14.—I heard Park was com north and old Kinsterie.

17.—My wiffe was purposd her journey South. What the Lord will mak out of it I know not; bot I am cast upon the Lord. She went West to Calder, Lethen, and other places to take her leave. Let the Lord ordour this in His providence for His glorie, and our good, that there be no snar in it, for I am cast on Thee. I went to visit Park, but he was not at hom. I

was at Penik with Mr. James; gave him som account of our purpos and desing to goe South. He did not dis[a]prove; he exhorted to keip God's way; he mentioned our earthlines, particularity, selfishnes, securitie, and other evils amongst us, which wer sad prognostiks. He told me what Bray wrat to him from London, and what expectation of troubl was there. He promisd to com to us on Thursday.

20.—Park and many company wer heir with us this day; Mr. Jo. M'Killican this night. I heard of great appeirance of troubl every where to men of conscience, religion, or anie principle. Lord! prepar me for troubl. Petgaunie cam heir, and spok of his oun bussines; was on his way South. . . . My sister was advising with me anent her daughter Grisell. Jo. M'Kn. had proposd. They seimd to favor it. I expressed my dislike of it. After that I repented my freidom.

25.—In the fornoon my wiffe took journey from this and went throu Rothes, croced Spey. I returned and cam to Petgawnie at night, where was Mr. James Urquhart.

28.—I did som trifling bussines in the fornoon, and thereafter went to Griship to a meiting with James Nimmo anent his marriage.

31.—This day we had a meiting betwixt Don^d. M'Bean and Al^r. Roy at Dyk. Mr. William was examining in Dyk. He spok me concerning my not hearing; he wonderd at the unreasonablnes of it, &c. Alas! I am as a reid shaken with the wind. He staid long with me at Dyk.

1 November.—I had letters from my wiffe giving account of the children's being sick at Aberdein, and her goeing there. This did disquiet and trubl me. . . . I heard of the death of the Lady Whythauch. I desir to have a sympathy with them there in their affliction and trubl.

2.—The Laird of Calder cam hom from the wells and baths. I gott small intelligence by him. He told me there was a necessitie of conforming and hearing, which could not be shunnd. Mr. Jo. M'Killican was heir with Calder. Family worship was neglected. . . . Grant cam heir, and was cleiring som compts with me. I perceivd he was much alienat from us all and was like to brak all bonds of friendship with us. . . . Graing was heir this night. He seimd inclind to goe off for a while.

4.— . . . I heard by Windihils that the opinion of the cuntry and generally was that we wer al to be ruind and destroyd. . . . Kinstery younger was heir with me; advisd with me his bussines. I am deceitful and unsound; the world cannot imagin how deceitful my hart is.

10.—We had reports of the dragoons coming, and being cald for. The country seimd to be affrighted this way. I went out to Milton, and in stead of aggreing maters betwixt them, they brok up. This I am humbld in, and desir to be ashamd in it. Oh what a handful of destitut, blind, selfe conceited worldly covetous persons ar we! . . . I usd som fridom with Milton; his passion and rage, and my own broke out much. . . . I cam to Burgie at night. We spoke of the caic of not hearing, and of other things.

15.—I had a meiting with the tennents of thes bounds befor I sud goe off. I minted to exhort them to peaceablnes, good nighborhood, and to shun al occasions of evil.

16.—I met with the Bishop at Elgin. I found that affair of Cowbin's like to com on again. I had account from Da. Ross, Clava's son, of my wiff's being att Edinburgh: that Shaftsbury had gone over seas, Stair and others.

17.—I had letters from my wiffe giving account of the expectation of and apeirance of trubl, and that it was desinged by Ld. Dn. [Lord Doun], and that the Advocate and others had hand in it, anent Cromarty's affairs. . . . I heard of laying asid the indulged men, and that trubl against my selfe was desingd.

18.—I wrat south to my wiffe. I heard also account last night of my children at Aberdeen. We had a new meiting apointed that day with Cowbin; which took som effect. The Bishop decerned betwixt us. I spok to him anent the appeirance of trubl in the countrey of my selfe and friends. Let not this be a snare to me.

24.—The caic of the Lord's churches, the land's, the famelies, friends, the countrey, my own children's caice also, what mater of exercise might al of thes afford! If the Lord be desinging to bring me to trubl, shal I shun or declin it? or sal I recede from dutie, for fear of it? Lord! forbid. Thes things doe not rise out of the dust. I desir to sie, aknowledg and adore the Lord, if he sie fitt to stopp my way and passage from goeing out of this countrey.

From the 20 of November, 82, til the 17 of September, 83, is writ in another litl long whyt parchment book; in which tym I was much abroad, and at Edinburgh twice.

17 September, 1683.—This day or the nixt cam my two friends, Petgownie, and coosing William, heir from the South; of whom I had som account of affairs there, heard the celr [Chancellor] was com north. A day befor this the good wiffe of Aikinway was heir. Her husband had died in the tolbooth som dais befor. I found her and her son-in-law, Duncan Forbes, in som mistake with William.

23.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. William Falconer at Dyk.[a]

3 October.—I spok with the Laird and Ladie Calder anent the purpos I was cald for. Ther was a meiting betwixt them and Kilraok anent the mariag of ther two children. We mett at Rait, wher wer Innes elder and several Rosses. The meiting took no effect, bot resulted in appointing a private conference with a friend.

18.—I heard that M. Huntly had gone by, and to Invernes, and sent in word that he would cal heir in his return, which did astrict me to abid and remain at hom. I was cald to goe to Calder to the mariag of his eldest daughter with Kilrack. I excusd it on this account.

20.—This day I went to Lethen; spok to him of bussines. We had somwhat among us anent Mr. James Urquhart, and purposd to doe som thing with Siddie anent him. The Ladie Lethen was unweil.

22.—I heard Calder was summond to present Mr. Tho. Hog against the 1 of November.

23.—I returnd hom [from Forres] at night, where was Calder on his jurnay South, and L[aird of] Park, and others.

24.—I wrat my letters South by coosing William, to Register, Celr. [Chancellor], my aunt. I had gott an account som dais befor this, of the death of my uncl's son David, the eldest son, of good hope and expectation. The young man favored the best things, had knowledg, learning, and was in the prim, and coming to the flour of his age.

[a] This is the first occasion on which, since the commencement of his Diary at his father's death, Brodie records his having attended the parish church on the Sabbath; and after this similar entries regularly occur. Down to the 20th of November, 1682, an entry is made every Sabbath. These Sabbaths he passed wholly in private, reading generally Calvin and Dickson's Commentaries on the Psalms: and Alexander Dunbar, who was licensed for the ministry, often "exercisd" in the family.

25.—I took jurnay myself to Castl Forbes. . . . I did sett out, and Alexander Dunbar with me. . . . I went to Mulben at night.

26.—We jurnaid to Castl Forbes against their dinner.

27.—My stay ther was grivous and burdensom to me. The Lord did sie fitt to exercis me with the passion and weaknes of others, and I find no wisdom or grace to manage such a caice.

29.—I had to doe with much unreasonablnes and weaknes, and yet willfulnes, so that my jurnay ther was for the most pairt lost. My lord Forbes['s] son Arch[ibald] was cald back with the money, letters, and directions to the master. They proposed things most unreasonabl.

30.—I got up early this morning, and took leave of that famely.

6 November.—I . . . heard of the death of Marie Douglas, Spynie's sister. . . . She desird to be buried in our burial place, besid my mother; which was accordinglie ordoured.

8.—This day was the burial of Marie Douglas att Dyk. . . . I spok to Mr. William Falconer anent our affairs with Cowbin, and with Cowbin himself. I fear my keiping company with Cowbin may be a snare to me. I heard from A. D.[a] som desing of his mariag with the Ladie Altyr.

13.—I was taken up in writing letters south with Petgaunie. . . . Petgaunie returnd from Lethen, and went on his jurnay Southward.

17.—I gott a letter from Mr. A Dunbar anent the Ladie Leathen's condition, and their mistake of me, and that she was expected not to putt off that night. I dispatchd and returnd hom, and went to Lethen after supper about 10 or 11 a'cloak att night, wher was my wiffe and other company. The worthie ladie Lethen [died] som two or thrie hours after I cam there. [She] was a person of much knowledg, experience, prudence, and maks a great slapp.

18.—Die Dom. I staid at Lethen this day, being Sabbath. My wiffe returnd hom. . . . Dr. Gordon was there, and cam to me that afternoon anent the way of the burial, shewing their inclination to have ordour and al solemnitys.

21.—Young Granghil had bein at Invernes, and Castle St. [Stuart.] I was affraid of the young man's way and cariage, and his keiping of ill company. Let not this be a snare to him. I was appointing som alteration

[a] Alexander Dunbar, the sheriff's brother.

upon the burial-place of Dyk, the removing of the midd wall, and other things.

28.—I had letters from Edinburgh. I heard the E. Murray had no good desings against me, and was unfriendlie. . . . I had account of my eldest daughter's being broght to bedd at London of a son. . . . I heard anent Sir William Scot and his Ladie their sentence.

3 December.—I heard of the mariag of A. D. the Shiriff's brother, with the Lady Altyr.

6.—I had letters be Thom. Dunbar from Edinburgh. I heard that E. Murray had no good desings against him. I look to the Lord in this and above al instruments. The Lord sies it fitt thus to humbl, and exercise me.

11.—I went to Lethen. This was the day of the burial of the good, worthie, religious ladie Lethen, with whom I was apt to have som mistake with in her liff anent maters concerning Lethen his famely. This is bot selfe, which blinds me. Al that could be broght out of Str[ath]spey and other places wer gathered together. The Marquis H[untly] cam there; whom I desird to com with me at night, bot he declind. I was desird by Lethen to com there at night; which I did, albeit there was endeavours to have shifted me.

15.—I mett with Milton; perceivd by him that he was purposing South. I did apprehend danger to him. Let the Lord sanctifie evrie rodd and trial to him.

18.- Spynie cam heir with a proposition fra Dumfail anent my daughter Eliz., which I declind to embrace. . . . I told him that I heard anent the E. Murray's unkindnes towards me. We spoke of several things.

4 January, 1684.—This day Grant and his Ladie, and two of my eldest children went to Granghil. Oh what libertie take I to my selfe in my thoughts, and words, and cariage! I perceivd my daughter Katharin to be verie low, and weak, and in a condition which does trubl and make me afraid. Let the Lord pity and shew her mercie, and sanctifie her lott and condition to her. There is litl good to be sein or had among them. Let the Lord visit her in his mercie and grace, and let her soul be precius to him.

5.—I was imployd with Ja. Simson making bargain for som wood. My

wiffe went to Granghil. I heard mor of the poor croced condition of my daughter, Katharin. My bowels yearn for her. They are straitnd to ware upon her in her present condition. I apprehend they will all soon wearie of her. Let the Lord turn away my fears of her.

8.—Thos in Granghil wer unweil, my daughter Katharin, and others of them. I had letters by the post, More, whom I sent south. I heard that the storm was great by the way. Petgownie was gone to Torwodlie anent a mater of Grange's, with his dgr. [? daughter.] I heard the great men wer zealous and forward, that one Mr. Ant[hony] Sha[w], indulgd minister, was to be panneld; that the cclr. [chancellor] was much alon. The Lord sanctifie all thes things, and direct them to his glory.

9.—Mr. William Falconer cam heir anent Mr. Geo. K[ay] and Margaret Stewart. I declind to medl in it. I spok to him of many things. Let not my familiaritie be a snar to me, or a stumbling block to others. Dr. Gordon cam heir. I was not desyring of his company. My wiffe went to Granghil, and staid there that night with her daughter, who was unweil.

10.—I went this afternoon to Calder; the way was most dangerous and sliprie. They had a regular discreit famely. O that the Lord would teach me how to walk, and behave, and ordour my conversation in evrie stat and condition, and relation I stand into! I staid there that night. Nixt day

11.—I went to Castl Stewart. My thoughts and hart was barren, and fruitless, and no savour of God. What occasions, and seasons, and opportunities doe I lose and miss! Let the Lord purge, cleanse, and sanctifie the wretch wholly. I cam in by Kilrack; did sie the young persons, young Kilrack and his ladie. The night was cold, and I cam to Lethen.

12.— . . . Mr. William Falconer had spoke to me formerlie off Tho. Gordon's stay heir, and Alr. Dunbar's.

13.—Die Dom. I heard of the death of the old goodwiffe of Burrisyeards. Let the Lord prepar me for my change.

14.—I spok to A. Dunbar anent Lethen. My infirmitie is to be too open, and frie, and liberal in expression. I was cutting timber in the wood to Jamie Simson.

15.—This day I went to the burial of the old goodwiffe of Burisyards. Alas! I can give no account of my right improvment off anie occasion. We had som meiting anent the church of Forres, and anent Jo. Brodie's mariag and contract with one Barbara Cumming, Logie's daughter. I took too

much libertie in words, assverations, imprecations, and drink. I desir to take shame. Let the Lord give repentance and forgivnes off sin. Grant cam heir with me at night. I was indisposd for duty thorou my own sinful way.

18.—I staid this day also at the sam place [Lethen]. O! if I could reflect on my way, there might be great ground of humiliation, and selfe-loathing, and abasment. Let not the Lord enter into judgment with me. I am much abroad upon other men's maters and affairs; bot my oun hart is as the sluggard's vynyard, altogether overgroun with weids and thorns. I spok this day again to Lethen anent his oun effairs, setling, &c. The company was a burden to me; for al night Grant sett on me, and I was drawn into the snare to drink mor than was fitt. He sett on me also as to other maters, and wad neids have me goe to Lethen with som propositions; which I declind. The Lord humbls us in this mater, and dissapoints. I desir to sie and aknowledg the Lord in evrie step of providence.

19.—I cam airlie from that place, being in distemper thorou a giddines in my head. I aknowledg the Lord in His holy, spotles justice and soveraintie. O that anie thing could be as an hedge to withhold me from the paths wherein distroyers goe!

20.—Die Dom. We wer alon in the family; read Pss. and Calvin on them, and Dickson. Unles the Lord give instruction I will perish. . . . I heard Mr. William at Dyk, tho, alas! with litl edification or profit.

21.—I found great dimnes in my sight, and giddines in my head; which are symptoms of natural decay. . . . I was apt to be discuragd with this condition, being threatnd with the loss of my eye sight. I desir to aknowledg the justice and soverantie of God in it. How oft has my eys bein employd to behold vanitie, and look on objects to satisfie my lust! I have folloud the sight of my eyes, and has alloud my sences to take the government and rule of me. Lord! sanctifie this dispensation to me, and spare me, and give grace to use evrie gift and facultie, member and sence, for God, and His honour, and glorie.

22.—This day, or the nixt, Jo. Gordon brought me a letter from Hunt[ly], and cam heir with Tannachie. . . . Let not this be a snar to me, the familiaritie and intimacie, &c. I went with them to Dyk, and thereafter to Granghill. Let the Lord pardon and purge me.

25.—We ar reading in the famely the book of the Revelation, and I am

read[ing] Calvin on the Five Books of Moses, on the Commands. . . . The two Jo. Brodies in Forres, and the other in Pluscarden, wer heir.

26.—I was revising Jo. Brodie's contract of mariag with B. Cumming. I perceive that selfe love does blind and misguid me in evrie step. Glengerak cam heir also from Lethen. I had a call from Moortoun to goe there befor he went South.

29.—I went to Moortoun. My bodilie condition trubls and disquiets me. When sal sin and the dishonour of God be my burden and exercise? The Lord letts sie in my natural temper and unsutablnes to drink. O that the Lord wad give the grace of sobrietie of evrie kind!

30.—I found my selfe somewhat unweil in the morning, and cam doun to Mr. James Brodie in Kinloss; mett with the young man Johnston, to whom I promisd the barron's roum. I staid there most of that day. I beheld Mr. James his children, and desirs to sie and aknowledg God in this. I was intangld, or sufferd my selfe to be intangld, at Forres, with young Coubin, and the two or three bailies. Oh! so easie a prey as I am to temptation the Lord knows. I cam hom at night.

31.—I was called to Dyk by Cowbin, elder, bot he did not keip; apointed the nixt day. Brightmanie was heir. I used too much freidom with him now, and on Saturday also. I am a weak creatur, witless and foolish. I went to Granghill to sie my daughter, Katharin.

1 February.—Alr. Buchan cam heir to give me a charg of horning anent Moortoun's cautionrie for Crom[artie]. Da. Cumming was heir. I mett with Cowbin, elder, and Mr. William, at Dyk. I found uncertantie in dealing with the first. We appointed to meit again at Monday nixt.

2.—William Firsl returnd from the South. I had letters from Petgownie, Milton, William, and my aunt, and others. I was told of appeirance of troubl anent the old fines . . . There was som insinuations made to me of some necessitie to goe South. I rol my burden on the Lord. My wiffe went to Lethen. I was writing again South with Moortoun.

3.—Die Dom. I read the 110 Ps. anent Christ's kingly office, priesthood, conquest, and suffering. . . . I heard William Falconer on 25 Ps.: "Now for Thy nam's sake pardon myn iniquity, for it is verie great." He was giving intimation of his purpos of giving the Sacrament, which I am not frie or cleir to joyn and partake off, it being a condition of comunion

beyond hearing. Alas! I am unstabl, and dark, and blind, and ignorant, and undiscerning. Let the Lord give me understanding in his fear.

4.—This day was apointed to have mett with Cowbin. He cam heir and his son, and Tho. Tuloch, and Mr. William. I took too much libertie. Oh how oft doe I relapse in this, and how oft am I entangld and overcom of evil!

6.—Ja. Ross, the clerk of Nairn, cam to me heir anent Cowbin. Mr. William cam from Clava's, and dined heir. Main also cam afternoon. I did sie and apprehend troubl from the pblct [publict]. I am apt to fear men. Let the Lord be my dread and fear. I was told by Main, that my wiffe was inclind to hear, and persuaded others, and that it was not a principle. I desir to look to God in all of this.

10.—Die Dom. I minted to worship God in the morning, and sett out tymlie to have com hom [from Windihils], bot was weatherbeaten by such great drift and snow, with wind, that I could not winn throu, and was necessitat to take shelter at an hous in Inchdernie, where I staid for four or five hours, until the drift and storm was somwhat calmd and abated. I cam [home] afternoon. There was no sermon at Dyk.

11.—Brightmanie and my neic, Glassach, cam heir. . . . I heard of the death of Jean Innes, young Clava's wiffe.

12.—"The wise man dies, and so the fool; the brutish person perishes." There is nothing of this that a man has to boast or to glorie in. Oh that I wer made to know that God is the Lord, and my God and Father, throu Jesus Christ! How easilie can the Lord frett away man's beautie, as a moth! Dust I am, and to the dust I must return.

I heard that the Bishop was unweil of the gravel. Now albeit I be not considering thes dais ar coming on me, wherein I can have no pleasur, lett the Lord "teach me to number my dais, so as I may apply my hart to wisdom."

14.—I gott advertisment to the burial of young Clava's wife.

18.—I was cald this morning to goe up to Lethen by the Lady Grant. There was great fume and rage amongst them anent the convoiane of Lethen's estait. Grant was taking jurnay South to stopp and hinder it; and qhow manie threats, boasts, barbarous wicked desings and projects was vented! I traveld among them and reasond with Grant; spok with Lethen, who yet did somwhat to allay the furie and storm, and wrat to his brother

to delay for som season. The Lord humbls us in this mater, and sies it fitt to exercis Lethen, and in him all our famely with this trial. O for grace to sanctifie the Lord of Hosts, and to make him our fear and dread! The storm was somwhat calmd. I went from that to Calder att night, with Major Beatman, that lenth on my way to the burial of young Clava's wiffe.

19.—I worshipd God in the morning there; and Grant cam, and we went together to the burial. . . . I saw nothing among them of being affected with the stroak, but vanitie, ostentation, prid, "the dead burying the dead." I cam with Grant to Lethen att night.

20.—I was detaind there that day. . . . I cam hom at night, and had the account of my daughter, Katharin, being broght to bedd of a dead child before the tym.

21.—My wiffe was unweil and affected with her daughter's condition, and what she mett with in it. . . . I went down there, and visited her at Granghill.

28.—I heard that young Granghill was purposing to Ingland. I pity the poor young man who is so airie and vain, and unsolid.

3 March.—I heard of som purpos young Granghil had to goe to Ingland; wherof I had no relish. O that the Lord would make the young man serius, and give him Christian and sutabl imployment!

6.—This day was Margt. Stewart and Mr. Geo. Kay maried. . . . Mr. William spok to me anent the Sacrament, and my countenance and exampl. I told him I was not frie. The two bailie Brodies of Forres staid al night.

12.—I spok to B[ailie] Brodie anent his affairs, to cleir them. I had great complaints of his drunkenes. I heard old Innes was verie sick and unweil.

13.—I heard of old Clava's death.

14.—I heard from Mr. A[lexander] D[unbar] that Lethen had som purpos anent my daughter, and was coming doun. I had no opinion of it.

18.—This was the day of the burial off old Clava.[a] . . . I cam hom by Both: heard of Park's trubl and am affected with it.

22.—I heard of the Lady Calder her cariage to her daughter, the Lady Kilraok, and much of her humor and way.

[a] Alexander Ross of Clavalg, Nairnshire, was served heir male of his father, Hugh Ross of Clavalg, or Clava, 1st May, 1684.

25.—The laird of Grant cam heir this morning, and with him young Cowbin. Grant was on his jurnay to England. I heard Lethen had spok or writ to him anent the raising of dust against him. I spared to tel him anie thing was done at Edinburgh. I went with him to Forres, and Kilboyak, and writ som letters South, and pairted fair with him. . . . I spoke to him of Lethen's mariag, and what I heard anent my daughter, Elizabeth.

26.—I had letters som dais befor this from the South anent Park's condition, anent our affairs with Moortoun, and the Register; which seimd not to be right.

31.—I had a meiting som day befor this at Granghil anent their daughter Grisel and John Maxwell. I perceivd their fault and wrong in giving libertie to the young woman for so long a tyme to engadg her selfe, so as she could not get her selfe ridd.

4 April.—I heard that the King had writ doun that the husbands sud be liabl for ther wives ther conformity and abstracting. Evrie thing does shake me as the leaff of a trie. Teach me to cast my burden on Thee. Make me willing to submitt to evrie rodd and trial Thou shalt sie fitt to trist me with.

8.—I went East to Mon[aghti.] . . . From that went to Elgin, . . . and went to Innes att night, visited the old man, who was much altered, and low in his bodily state and condition.

10.—I had heard som dais befor of the stat and condition of the Laird of Park, and that he was neir to breaking. I desir to be humbld and affected with this. Let the Lord teach and give me the sanctified use off such a providence and dispensation as this. How litl ar any things on this syd tym to be rested upon! I was purposing to goe West to visit Graing and his Ladie, whom he had broght hom; a daughter of Sir Ja. Melvin of Hahill; bot delayd it til Saturday nixt. The weather was rough.

11.—The merchants wer taking up ther victual in Dyk. What am I that I sud be the seller and lender, and others the buiers, and givers, and borrowers! O for grace to honour God with my substance! How far am I from learning this lesson.

12.—I went east this day; did sie Dumfail by the way. Went from that to Altyr and din'd. Main was there. I went from that, and did visit Grang and his young Lady; and from that to Moortoun; spok to her concerning the mistaks her husband was in with coosing William and me. O!

but man is a deceitful creatur. Self-love blinds. Let the Lord purge out this evil and bitter root for his nam's sak. I told the Lady Moortoun what I found att Innes, and of her brother; and cam hom at night lait.

13.—Die Dom. I read the 146 Ps. in the famelie. . . . I heard Mr. Wm. Falconer on 63 Ps. "My soul follows hard after Thee, and Thy right hand upholds me." I am guiltie of vain, earthlie, carnal communication with Spynie and others betwixt sermons.

14.—Mr. William Falconer cam heir, and staid most of the day. . . . We had heard from Edinburgh, and from our daughter Ann, and their caice. My wiffe went to Altyr, and brought A. Dunbar, the Sheriff's brother, with her heir.

15.—I wrat letters and dispatches for A[lexander] D[unbar] to Castl Forbes, to my lord and his friends, to the Mr., and B[og]hall, and others. . . . Graing cam heir. . . . I heard from him . . . of the E[arl] of M[urray] his desings against me. . . . I heard of the remarkabl absolvtr of old Cesnok, and the way of it; that the witnesses confessd they had bein suborned, had perjurd themselves, that nothing they had said of that man was truth. I desir to sie and aknowledge God in this, may I say, wonderful deliverance. . . . A. Dunbar went from this to tak jurnay nixt day to Castl Forbes.

17.—I went to Lethen; spoke to him of several affairs concerning his own setling. . . . I cam in by Mr. James Urquhart, and staid a whil with him; heard that Mr. Tho. Hog was att libertie, and gone to England. I aknowledg God in this, that the Lord has enlargd the holy man.

18.—Coosing Milton was heir with me, who had com from the South. I heard further of Park's condition, and how he was like, and in danger of breaking. I heard the many dangers and snars at Edinburgh. The two John Brodies of Forres cam heir from Lethen. They wer both taen somwhat with drink. This is mater of humiliation. They cam from Lethen. I heard Kinsterie was com hom.

22.—Petgewnie returnd from the South. I heard further from him of Park's condition. . . . I heard our great men wer goeing up to London. I heard further of Cesnok's absolvtr, and the way of it. Calder also returnd hom to the cuntrey. I had ground to suspect the Register's ingenuity, and was affraid of prejudice by him.

23.—My wiffe went from hom this or nixt day; was at Altyr al night;

visited the Lady Graing, and Mr. James Campbell and his wiffe; returnd hom verie unweil and sick. . . . I heard Calder was to return again to the baths shortlie.

24.—I am much taen up with the masons and work about the toun. Let not this be a snar to me.

25.—Eun Campbel had bein heir som dais befor this, and in him I found much affection and zeal, love to godly ministers, to Mr. Tho. Hog. I find my oun deadnes, coldnes, and indifferencie. . . . The Lady Moortoun is fruitful in charitie, grace, liberality to Mr. Th. Hog. I find my selfe straitnd and narrow. Lord! enlarg my hart to Thee, and to Thy members and peopl.

26.—I had letters from London from the Mr. of Forbes; heard of his straits. He was forcd to stay there for want of credit affoorded to him to rais money. . . . I heard of Alr. Brodie, Belnamoon, his strait, being in prison at Bamfe.

29.—Lethen and his brother Petgownie, Main and his wiffe wer heir. We mett concerning Sanders Brodie of Belnamoon, bot it took no effect. Lethen proposd anent my daughter Elizabeth. I gave his brother and him satisfaction anent my declining of it. . . . I made my dispatches south by Bailie Brodie's wiffe.

1 May.—Windihils and his two sons wer heir with me, John and Alexander. I apprehended thes two young men wer vain and conceittie.

3.—I heard of the death of Geo. Grant of Kirdals; that he had died suddenlie. . . . The Laird of Innes younger was with me. I found the straits which he and the famely wer in; he complaind of poverty; seimd much affected with the state of his famely and children. It is the Lord who raiseth and brings doun famelies and levels them.

5.—We wer imployd this day, most of it, betwixt Granghill and Durn; and som bussines I had with them. Mr. Robert Dunbar in Moy was with them.

6.—Main returnd from the West, and his wiffe. I heard that they wer scarce civil to Innes at Calder, and that the lady fround and stormd Let the Lord give me the grace of patience, humilitie, meiknes, loulines of mind.

7.—I was invited and went to Granghill. The last night my neice, Grissel Dunbar, was maried to Jo. Maxwell. Let the Lord turn it to good,

to his glorie, and disapoint my aprehensions and fears. I heard that [he] had taken libertie to drink too liberaly the former night ther. Spynie and his son William, Durn, and others wer ther. I made my excuse, and went not to the burial of Geo. Grant of Kirdals. I heard ther was great debats betwixt the brethren anent his goods and estait.

8.—I advisd som friends to goe to the burial of Kirdals, which was this day, such as Windihils and Coltfield, Main and others. I heard Grant was com hom. My wiffe was verie unweil, and my fears of and concerning her ar great. She is verie weak. I cast her over on the Lord, and his providence.

10.—I went to Lethen this day; spoke to him and with him of bussines, and with his brother Petgownie anent Lethen's mariage.

11.—Die Dom. I heard of the Marquis of Montrose['s] death, and Mr. James Stewart, Kilmachloys. Burrisyards preachd upon the spiritual armour.

13.—I heard Kilraok and his son had been at Brodie, and took offence, where none was given.

14.—Grant, Lethen, Petgownie, Glengerak wer heir. Aknowledgment of God by publick worship was omitted in the famely. We spoke somwhat of Lethen's bussines. Petgownie wrat South. The Commissioner Stewart was heir.

15.—We entered to the bear seid. The weather was dry, and the ground parch'd. Isabel Dunbar, Hemprig's daughter, was heir, a widow, who had bein maried in the West. I was straitnd to her, albeit she appeird to be in neid.

16.—Calder cam heir; was goeing to meet with Mr. Hunt at Elgin. We spoke of Park's bussines. I went to Forres with him. We mett Mr. James Fraser by the way, by whom we heard of severals made doctors at Aberdeen. Vain and proud man affects a name, and preferrs to be cald divine rather then realie to be such.

19.—My daughter Elizabeth seims to have fallen in som decay. . . . My wiffe also continues unweil.

20.—I did wrytt to Calder and Kinsterie anent Park's affairs. Young Dumfail and Mr. Maxwel wer heir. Calder and Kinsterie cam heir at night. Famelie worship was neglected. This is my sin and sham, and I fear coms from a principl of unbeleif and atheism. . . . I heard of a pro-

clamation apointing the 5 Articles of Perth to be observed anent kirk sessions. I had letters from Edinburgh, from B. Hall, and coosing William, and Mr. of Forbes fra London.

23.—I had a line from Mr. Ja. Urquhart concerning his straits. . . . The day befor, Eun Campbel was heir with me concerning Mr. Tho. Hog and his affairs. Mr. Al^{r} went from this to Nairn.

24.—This day was the burial of Marg^{t} Birsben, Ja. Christie's wiffe. I gott letters from Park concerning affairs with him. . . . I was affraid to be entangled with companie. Lord Doun was there, and others. I spok to Tannachie concerning the troubl and oppression of my tennents.

25.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. William on that word, "Take head how you hear." I heard that Lord Doun was in Darnway, cam not to sermon or church.

27.—I sent in Windihils to Elgin to expede bussines with Ad. Innes. I did som affairs at Mon[aghtie], and about the barrons; staid at Tho. Gordon's son's most of the day, waiting for them from Elgin. The day befor, I had bein dispatching letters South to B. Hall and William Brodie, by Tho. Dunbar and William Kinaird, and money. I took greater libertie to drink then I ought to have done Oh how oft doe I relapse into this sin! Let the Lord bring me off thes sinful habits, and mortifie bitter roots for his nam's sake.

28.—I vented much passion and uncomposdnes and hastines of spirit in comuning with Robert Donaldson. How impatient am I of personal injuries conceivd or aprehended done to my selfe! zealous in my own maters, bot coldriff and indifferent in the maters of God and my soul! My passion braks out violentlie into cursing. O for grace to be humbld under the sence of this! . . . I cam to Dyk to the end of the fornoon's sermon preachd by Mr. William. Ther wer mony things I could not goe alongst in. O Lord! suffer me not to be caried away into ani sinful compliance with evils.

29.—This day ther was sermon in Dyk by Mr. Pat. Grant. This generation is bent to follow and to be adicted to forms. Petgownie was heir, giving me an account of his returns fra Inshdarnie anent his brother Lethen.

2 June.—Ther wer som mistaks betwixt Granghil younger, and Cowbin younger. I am a poor, blind, ignorant bodie, soon misledd. Marie Lister was heir. She was not supplied, albeit known to be in strait. O enlarg my hart!

9.—I went to the burial of Cowbin's nevey, Jo. Kinaird's son. . . . I heard that the cclr. [chancellor] was returnd from Court, and at Aberdeen, and that others that went up wer like to be sett off. . . . Eun Campbel was heir, goeing South, and so was Mr. Ja. Brodie and his wiffe.

10.—I went to Auldearn; visited thos of Both; mett with Calder, the Bishop, and Cowbinn; did somwhat in bussines; staid lait; nothing savorie or to edification amongst us. Oh! how long sal it be so?

11.—This day was appointed for meiting anent the Kirk of Forres. Graing cam heir in the morning. The Bishop mett with us at Forres. We yeilded to lett them be doeing at the work. I was sent to and told that Lord Doun had purpose to have bein with me al night. I went to Marg^{t} Tulloch's, where he was. Oh! I desir to regret my sham. What riot and excess, drinking of healths! &c. Lord Doun went, this night, with old Tanachie and his son, John, to tak away Bailie Tuloch's daughter out of Nairn. I am suspitious of that person's kindnes.

13.—I heard mor of that way they had taken with B. Tuloch's daughter, in taking her away. Ther was report of som unfair wais which young Tennachie had taken to engadg. The Bishop's son was in terms, and had agreied in terms. When the knowledg of God is wanting, what can bind persons? Nothing so sacred which they wil not violat and infringe.

14.—I was advertisd by Spynie that Lord Doun was to dine heir. He cam, albeit it was lait, afternoon. Oh let not this be a snare to me! Save me from the abuse of plentie, from the snare of evil company. There is a partie within me that complys with al kind of evil without. O deliver me from this bodie of sin and death! Spynie and his son was heir with him. I went to Auldearn. We went in to Cupar's hous, where I was overtaken with drink; cam hom seik. O that I could be ashamed of this, that like a dogg I goe to the vomit! Jo. M'Killican's wiffe was heir the night befor, and was on her return South.

16.—I heard that Huntly was goeing for England.

19.—I heard from Lethen and others that it was suspected that the cclr. [chancellor] was not so firm in his station as was reported.

23.—I heard that Argyll was in straits, and had difficultie to live. I heard that the cclr. was out of office: Perth was in.

24.—Jo. Brodie in Pluscarden was heir, and his wife, Logie's daughter.

25.—Petgownie sett out from Lethen, one of thir dais anent his brother's

affairs with Inshdarney. Let the Lord ordour al to his glorie. Petgownie was to bring hom his wiffe with him. There was much bussines anent Tannachie and his son's taking away a daughter of old Eailie Tulloch; which they did restor and send back again. Let the Lord guid and govern me by his word and Spirit, and give me not up to my own lusts and affections.

26.—My wiffe sett out this day on the fornoon to the Boag to sie my Lady Huntly err they went south. She went to Milton that night. I staid at hom, and my daughter Katharine and Granghil, and wer imployd in affairs at hom.

27.—I was much taen up with the masons evrie day, and goes out in the morning err I have performd privat worship; which proves a snar to me. . . . My wiffe returnd from the Bogg, and had bein at Innes.

28.—Mr. William Geddes cam heir with som of his books.[a] I had promisd him som incouragment. Young Kinsterie cam heir to buy som wood and tries. I was employd lait with him in the wood. O for grace to mind, and consider, and prefere the one thing necessar! I had letters from coosing William, and my uncl's wiffe. I heard formerly of the death of Mr. Robert Martin, and som other passages of providence anent his children. . . . I heard that Sir Tho. Armstrong was aprehended in Holand, and others escaped.

29.—Die Dom. One Mr. Hay in Auldern was at Dyk. I was little edefied, and found much distractednes and wandering in my thoughts. . . . There was one of the kye gored and kild by the other.

30.—I was in the wood cutting som timber to Ja. Simson, and with William Hay in Monaghtie.. Pluscarden cam by. I declind his companie. He gave a letter to my wiffe from my La[dy] Dn [Down] anent money. The Ladie Grant cam heir, with whom I had manie discourses. She complaind of her father's alienation and straitnes, and many other things. Lord! give wisdom how to caric and walk. I staid out lait with the masons. My uncl, Ja. Innes, was heir also. I am wearied of companie.

1 July.—I was this day also in the wood cutting som timber. The Ladie Grant spok of mistaks betwixt her husband and father, and how much

[a] "The Saints Recreation, the Third part," &c., in verse, printed at Edinburgh, 1683, small 4to. The author was minister of Wick, and afterwards of Urquhart.

she was trubld to sie anie such thing Mr. William Fraser cam heir, and staid til it was lait. I convoyd the Lady Grant on her way homward. I declind goeing to Lethen with her.

2.—The laird of Grant cam heir, and Mr. James Grant, bot staid no tym in the morning. I heard he was in humor, and ill dispos'd and resolv'd as to us all. Lord! give me Thy favor, and I have anuff.

3.—I heard of the death of Marie, who lay in the belly with my father. O that I could be equallie affected with what concerns the honour and glorie of God, as I can be with anie injurie, imputation, sham or blott on the famely! O the wages of sin! and how dear bought pleasur in sin! My wiffe went wast to Calder; Castl Stewart. . . . I was desird by Alr. Thomson, bot declind, and refuisd to goe to the burial.

4.—I was imployd with the masons. . . . Main cam heir, and his wiffe. He told me he had bein with Innes upon a bargain for Dippel. He told me his challanges and complaints of me. Main enquird into my opinion and adviss as to this bargain.

5.—This day was buried that woman Marie, who lived in disgrace and want. Several friends cam heir in the morning, bot I went not to the burial. . . . Main, Coltfald, Windihils, the two John Brodies in Forres, returnd this way. I did sie their inclination to take libertie and debord. O that the Lord would let me sie the evil of my oun and other fock's wais.

7.—I am taken up with trifls and maters of no moment. There is a vanitie in this of building, planting, &c. Lord! help me to sobrietie and moderation. I had a work horse that had his back brok by the neglect of servants. . . . I sent away to Red Castl to buy other horses. . . . I was imployd with Francis Smith buying an horse. I took too much libertie

8.—This day was rainie and wett. I went east to visit the Marquis of Huntly befor he went to England. Let the Lord keip me from snares and temptations. I returnd at night to Innes, wher my La[dy] Huntly was, and other companie. I heard that William Innes was com to the cuntrey, and Mr. James, the son of the lait Moortoun. I had no desir to sie them. It was told me that I was ill stated, and wad find trubl. . . . Let me have Thy favour, O Lord! and I have anuffe. I heard of the changes and alterations among our great men.

9.—I had many complaints from Innes of the Bishop. I visited Duffus at Elgin. I went to Spynie, bot the Bishop was not at hom; met him by

the way to Alves. O that the Lord wad keip a due distance betwixt me and evil!

13.—Die Dom. I heard one Tulloch, schoolmaster at Forres, on that word, "Let your conversation be in heaven." I was much overcom with drousines.

15.—The men of the ground wer making readie for the militia and rendevous to be this weik. In evrie thing I lye open to snares and temptations. I am told by sundrie of the expectation and appeirance of trubl. Lord! prepare me, and keip me from declining, defection, turning my back on God, or His truth. I had thoghts of imploying Geo. Durham in the militia. He declind on the account of the T. [test]. I durst not press. I had a line from him anent the Covenant, and his relish of it.

16.—I was puzld anent putting our horsmen and riders to the rendevous. . . . Mr. James Urquhart cam heir, and Mr. Alr. Dunbar, bot staid not anie tym. I heard of Grant's humor and querrals with us. . . . We had account that the Mr. of Forbes and our daughter was com to Edinburgh by sea from London. . . . I was cited to an justiciarie court to sett caution for all tennents, kinsmen, servants, &c. Let the Lord give counsal and light. Som thoght that the Councel had gott som character and badd impression of the shire: others, that it was from thes who wer commissioners of the justiciarie. . . . Mr. James Urquhart spoke to me of my duty, that I might not dispond or faint under trials, or take a wrong way to shunn trubl: spoke of the Lord's appeiring mervaluslie for his oun, as in the matter of Cesnok his absolvator.

17.—I dismissd the masons for 8 or 10 dais. I was imployd in domestik affairs. I made use of James Fordice, and two out of Grishipp, to goe to the rendevous. They seimd not to scrupl the Test. . . . Doctor Montgomrie was heir with me, and Main. I was straitned anent his bargain with Innes.

19.—My wiffe was thinking, or rather making readie, to goe to Putachie, to meit with her daughter, and sister, L. Lilias.

22.—My wiffe took her jurnay towards Putachie. I heard she becam unweil, and staid at Langbride. I was at Forres at the Justiciarie court, where we wer pressd to take the bond for the general peace; which the Hielands took. Our shire was divyded: severals took, and inclind to it. We wer hardlie dealt with by thes commissioners.

23.—Spynie, and his son Eaglsham, cam in the morning. I was persuaded to be surtie for them. . . . I returnd to Forres. The heretors mett, and did agrie to som hard conditions, and wer resolvd to send one of their number south. . . . I went in where Lord Doun was. What was there bot intemperancie, swearing, blasphemy, and al that is abominabl? Lord! pardon, and purge me. I staid at Granghil with my sister and daughter that night.

24.—Their son, my nevey, James Dunbar, in him I sie much dissolutnes and deboshrie, want of education, want of nurtur: he has drunk in a great deal of evil.

25.—This day was appointed for the heretors to meit at Elgin anent the bond. We mett with Duffus at his houss, and gave comission to Graing, and instructions. My debording and excess was practisd there.

28.—I had a line from Park, an excus anent his not coming north. I had a proclamation of the Councel, anent the forces being in readines.

30.—I went up to sie Lethen, becaus I heard he was unweil; and that Petgaunie was com hom, and that young woman he went for; but I missd Lethen, being at Calder, and visited Mr. James Urquhart. I heard that James Fraser (Brey) was again in prisson.

2 August.—I heard the Bishop was goeing for Edinburgh. I went to Spynie; spoke to him of my oun caice. Let not this be a snar to me. I spoke for a licence to Leathen to marie without proclamation.

4.—Leathen cam heir; spoke to me of his purpos of mariage; and I found him not weil in his health.

5.—After I had done somewhat with tennents, and anent bussines, I went East. Innes had bein with me the last night. I mett betwixt Main and him. I was denunced to the horn be John Rose for the Laird of Innes. I cam to Petgounie; comund affairs betwixt Inshdarnie and Lethen, and the young woman, and subscryvd a minut.

6.—I wrat to Innes, elder, anent the distress I was in by cautionrie for him. He was displeasd, and gave no satisfying return. O that I wer as earnest and anxious about other matters as I am about thes! I wrat again to the young laird, in which I got as litl satisfaction; which did disquiet me. We cal'd for Mr. Tho. Craig, and would have had him marie them at hom. He declind it; and in the evening we went to that parish church.

Our comunication was unsavorie, and much rotteness was in it. Lord! forgive and cleanse.

7.—I was put in expectation of danger by coosing William anent that cautionrie for Innes. I was purposd to have com off in the morning, bot was detaind a whyl longer. We had the trublsom companie of Dinkentie. O that I wer one in whos eyes a vyle person wer dispysd! We heard manie blasphemous words from him. We cam hom at night.

8.—When I cam hom I found the petts ledd for the most pairt. I sent for John Rosse, and for Kinsterie, and comund with them anent that cautionrie of Innese's, and cam to som close. Alr. Dunbar, Both's sone, was taken by a party and conveyed South, becaus he was the lait Argyl's servant.

9.—I was imployd in domestick matters. O for grace to mind and know the one thing necessar! Mr. Jo. Campbel of Moy and his wiffe wer heir, and his good son, and daughter.

13.— . . . We subscrivd the contract betwixt Lethen and Margt. Aiton, Inshdarnie's daughter. I returnd hom lait.

15.—Milton cam heir, and we passd much of the day betwixt him and his brother James. I sie the humor, passion, pride, selfe love, of others; bot I do not descend into my oun hart and breast. . . . We ended som bussines betwixt the two brothers.

19.—There was a pairt of the petts to lead hom; which we sett about this day. Main was with me upon his bargain with Innes. He seimd to be bent on it, and much engadgd to it. He imployd Graing and others to meit for him. I declind to meit on it. I gave dispatches to John Glass to Invernes mercat. Al my provision is for the flesh, what to eat, drink, and put on. Give grace to mind the one thing necessarie.

19.—I was imployd with sklaters, masons, and other workmen. My wiffe went to Lethen, and her sister.

21.—In dealing with depauperat tennents I am apt to be sever. Let the Lord direct and guid my spirit, and give the grace of charitie, and to consider the caice of the poor, the widow in Cottertoun, and old Willie Hay.

22.—Mr. William Falconer was heir with me. We spoke of my wiff's not hearing; of present circumstances. There cam one Alexr. Monro heir, enquiring for L. Lilias Ker. My wiffe and she went to Darnway afternoon.

23.—I heard Tho. Gordon, the clerk, was put out. I was told of desings against me anent the fynns.

25.—I heard that the Bishop was com hom. . . . I heard Alr. Dunbar was at libertie, Both's sone.

26.—Lethen and his Lady, and Inshdarnie, Petgownie, and Windihils, and manie company wer heir with me. I was purposing to goe to Putachie and visit them, and doe som bussines. Inshdarnie staid with me al night. He seimd, and I understood he had som purposes to my daughter Elizabeth. I found Mr. William Falconer not relishing it. I went eastward to Elgin; mett with the Bishop; had account of his jurnay, and of affairs at South. He advisd me to goe forward, and to visit the great focks. I listnd to it, and did return hom.

27.—I ordourd my affairs. I conferrd and comunicat with my wiffe my thoghts of goeing South. I comitt my way to the Lord. I cald for coosing William, and was to tak him alongst with me. I conferrd with Milton of his bussines. I found him resolut not to hear.

28.—I was this day also expeding my bussines at hom, and making readie. Let not this be a snare to me, as my south goeings has been formerlie.

29.—This day I sett out towards Putachie, with resolution to hold on my journay South. I roll al on the Lord, and His care and providence, the familie and my selfe, and al that concerns me. I mett Miltoun, Petgownie, and other friends by the way. I had a line from the Bishop, importing that they had got ordour and warrant to charg for the finns: heard of an ordour William Duff had for trial and examination of al [who] did not conform to hear, and had escaped fynning formerlie. I went to Spynie, borroud money for my jurnay. He wrat with me to the Chancellor, and Presdient; and I went to Mulben that night.

30.—We comended our way to the Lord, and our jurnay. I mett with Scatuel M'Kenie by the way, and jurnayd with him beyond Whitlumms, and cam to Putachie at night. I had not sein my relations and friends there since they cam from England. I mett with Leslie there; had account how he escapd his fynn, and got his discharg. I heard he took libertie. May not I judg my selfe?

31.—Die Dom. I heard of the Bishop of St. Andrews' death, Burnet, and his burial on Teusday nixt; and that the statsmen wer to remove from

Edinburgh; which made me remove from that place. . . . I heard sermon at Kincairn, and visited the minister, Mr. Forbes, after sermon; and cam to Cutties Hill at night.

2 September.—I sett out from this familie, and had a foul day in crossing the cairn. I visited Phesdo; and heard that Midltoun was made Secretar of Stat to the King for England; that Rochester was made President of the Councel there. I heard that my name was not in the list of thos who wer to be chargd with horning. I could not know what the import of this was. . . . I mett with Eaglsham by the way, and went to the 8 miln houss at night.

3.—Morning, was in doubt whether to goe to St. Andreus or not; bot hearing that the Statsmen wer to return to Edinburgh, I went not there. I mett the Lord Stranaver by the way, and cam to Kircadie at night

4.—I went to Bruntiland this morning; placed my horse there; crossd that ferrie; and was landed att New Haven, the tide being spent; and cam to Edinburgh in the fornoon, and took lodging to my selfe. I visited Sir Francis Scott, and his Ladie, and staid supper with them: heard how maters wer goeing on.

5.—I went airlie to Roistoun to visit the Register; told him my errand, to kiss the statesmen's hand. I spok with him of my oun bussines, of the fynns. I found litl expectation of doeing anie thing to purpos. He appointed to adress me to the Treasurer.

6.—The Councel wer taken up anent the examination of prisoners, such as Spense, Kirstairs, and others. I visited the President, Advocate, and others. I was much of my time idl in that place. I know not what to make of my jurnay, for I found difficultie to get anie opportunitie with Chancellor or Treasurer; which at last I had.

7.—I had mett with the Chancellor, and the Treasurer also, bot cu'd find no opportunitie to meit with the Register. . . . I had also visited D. Hamilton, and the Advocat.

8.—Die Dom. I went to the Abey Church with Sir Francis Scot and his Ladie; heard Mr. Scot and his coleauge on thes words: "He that keips his way sal preserve his soul." The Chancellor and Treasurer wer not there. I visited the Register after sermon. Oh how unsavorie comunication! No impression of a Sabbath. I supp'd with Sir Francis.

9.—The Council wer imployd in examination of prisoners, and used

tortures to bring to confession. I mett with my uncl's wiffe, and som of the children. . . . The Council wer ordouring and directing of their number to goe in circuit thorou the South and West. I heard that the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Ross, was to be Bishop of St. Andrus.

10.—Som of thir dais I had visited my Lord Tweddal; spoke with him anent my oun affairs. He expressd friendship; gave counsel; spoke anent my wiff's not hearing, and told me the danger of it. I thoght my selfe beholden to him for his freedom and ingenuitie with me. I knew not what to doe anent her.

11.—I could discern no benefit or advantage by my jurnay, or that it was to anie purpos.

12.—I was cald to goe to Newbatl with Sir Francis and his Ladie, and Ardmadie. I had no inclination to it; yet I yeilded. I went there, either this day or the nixt day. I sie much pleasur and affectation of statlie buildings, gates, entries, and walks about there. I desir to sie the vanitie of al thes. There was other companie there. I took too much libertie. I heard much of Lord Neubotl his loussnes, debording. Oh what an ill symptom! What smal expectation of good from the appearance of thos growing up or succeeding! We returnd at night to Edinburgh. Pat. Adam had com from the north with letters to B[og]hol and me, concerning money he was owing him. I causd dispatch that affair with Mr. Ja. Elphiston. I heard that Mr. Burn, and his son-in-law, wer both dead. O happy they who ar ta'en away from the evil to com! I had occasion of meiting with my lord Chancellor, and of speaking with him at som lenth. He told me of my name and friends being ill reported. He told me I was beholden to the Bishop of Murray. He promisd to wrat to him, and desird me to call for it on Sabbath evening. He said to me he wad suffer and lay doun his liffe for that point of Church government, and that Christian religion was inconsisting without it.

14.—I heard that several gentlemen in the South wer sent for by parties of horse; and this day, or the nixt was broght in, Philiphaugh, Gallashiels, Tarras, and others, and Polwart, and Torwoodlie. What can this import? Can such men be on anie such foul, blak work, as to desing anie thing against the King and government? Som of them wer examind. The Register went out to Roiston this afternoon. I had visited Lundie the Secretarie.

15.—Die Dom. I also heard at the Abey Church Mr. Scott: "He that keips his way preservs his soul." I am litl profited by anie mean: Oh! so sad an plaug and judgment as this is, to continue barren under al the means of grace. Let the Lord cure and remove this strok and plaug. Oh! so litl conscienc is made of the Sabath, or of the worship of God. All iniquity abounds thorou the land, toun, and cuntrey. I went to my chamber after sermons; supp'd with Sir Francis Scot. Oh! so litl tending to edification or savorie as was amongst us.

16.—Thos who were suspect were brought to the toun; others escapd. Ther was such discoverie as made men believe that ther hes bein som desings and contrivances this way. Park was apprehended; it was not known on what ground. It was reported that it was for som occasion this way.

17.—I went out to sie the children, and my uncl's wiffe at Drumseuch. Ther was a search in the Town, and great confusion; many persons apprehended, amongst whom was Mr. Geo. Campbell, and others who did not keip the Church. What wil the Lord bring out of al this?

18.—The Chancelor went away this morning to his own houss. I went to sie som houses and places about the Town, as the Clerk's house of ———,[a] and Bailie Cheislie's son's houss. Al is vanity and vexation of spirit. What in al of this to secure against God's wrath and anger? I returned to the Town; supped with Sir Francis; had the companie of Sir William Ker, which was hurtful and noisom to us. I had no pleasur in it. Oh! so brutish.

19.—I took leave of the Treasurer. He was pressing the Test on me; said, It was easie to get testimonies and characters. I went to Roiston, and din'd ther; had account from him of the certaintie of the Plott, and the discoverie. He aprehended Park might be in accession, and my Lord Tarres, &c. What wil the Lord bring out of al this confusion? I visited my uncl's wiffe at Drumseuch; and crossd the ferrie; cam to Bruntiland that night. We had bot unsavorie discours in the boat. I brought letters hom to my wiffe from her friends, Sir Francis and her sister, Lord Neil, and others, anent hearing. I was in perplexity anent her: did roll al on the Lord.

[a] Blank in MS.

20.—I took jurnay this morning; desird to aknowledg the Lord in al I had tristed me of preventing, dissapointing in my coming out and return; albeit I have done nothing in or by my jurnay. I aknowledg the Lord in al. I cam in the morning to Inshdarnie. He cam with me neir the water-syd; spoke to coosing William of his respects to my daughter, and wad have bein proposing such a bussines by the way, which I declind and shifted. I crossd Dundie Ferrie lait, and cam to the 4 myl hous at night.

21.—I traveld this day to Lumfannan, being Saturday.

22.—Die Dom. I worshipd God in the morning; read som Scriptur. O let not my way be a stumbling to others, or an offenc! I traveld to Putachie; heard sermon there: our communication was litl savorie. I did sie my children. I heard that my wiffe and family wer like to be in trubl by Shff. [Sheriff] Court. I cast my selfe and her on the Lord, and on his providence.

23.—I staid at that place this whol day to rest my hors; spoke to them of their wintering with us this year.

24.—I visited the Lord Forbes, and cam from that to Alexander Hai's at night. I met with Granghill younger, and Burdsyards by the way: heard of the state of the cuntrey, and my famely. This day was wett and rainie.

25.—We worshipd, or, at least, minted at it in the morning. I cam to Elgin; visited Grant, who was in toun; dind with Duffus; mett the Bishop at Spynie; mett with Petgownie and Miltoun, and cam hom, lait at night. I heard of the death of Anna, goodwiffe of Brightmannie.

26.—I took som inspection to affairs att hom, about the toun. I found the tennents corns in bad caice: my own corns wer putt inn, bot oh! in ill caice. I desir to aknowledg God in this. I spok to my wiffe concerning her hearing. Let not this be a snar to anie of us. I gave her letters from Sir Francis Scot and Lord Neil anent that, persuading her to heir the word. I cast al over on the Lord.

27.—This was the day of the burial of the goodwiffe of Brightmanie. . . . Grant cam heir in the morning, and one Dun$^{c.}$ Stewart, one of the guard, Al$^{r.}$ Monro, and others. I heard of And. Symintoun's being taken, and Park's mann, Montford; and Courts they had at Nairn anent one Ja. Nimmo, a servant of Park's.

28.—I heard that my Lord Doun was at Forres. I went thither, bot he

was gone east. I heard of their desings to seis Jon in Pluscarden anent his brother-in-law. Main had bein with me the day befor, and was speaking with me of his bussines with Innes and Tannachie. I heard that Innes had vented himselfe unkindlie off me.

29.—Die Dom. My wiffe was persuaded this day to goe to Church. O help to hear in faith, and to doe al in faith, and not to offend or stumbl others, or to be anie dishonour to God or reproch to religion!

1 October.—Two nights coosing William was with us. We conferrd of Lethen's affairs and circumstances, and resolvd to writt to the Advocate and Petgownie, and to send William south immediately.

2.—I cam hom this day, and visited Mr. James Urquhart's wiffe and famely, and cam hom in the evining. I heard Lord Doun was returnd to the West, and that John in Pluscarden was sett at libertie upon bail; had given up the contract and bond of his sister's provision.

4.—I went to Elgin to the head court. Doun did not keip. The Bishop had bein with me som dais befor; told me of the commissar his railing, and reproching me; advisd me to call for him. We took too great libertie in drinking at Colin Innes. I took leave of coosing William, and cam to Burgie at night, where was young Culloden and others.

5.—I cald at Mains, bot he was not at hom. I went to Windihils; spoke with his wiffe anent hearing. Let not this be ani snar to me for Thy nam's sake. I went to Moortoun, and spoke with her on that subject.

9.—The ministers wer mett at Synod in Elgin; bot I [am] apprehensive it was the week after this the ministers mett, and other things mentioned formerlie wer doon.

10.—Park's son had com som whil since to this countrey, bot I had not sein him. Let the Lord mind and show kindnes to the righteous seid, or the seid of a godly mother. I thoght straing that he cam not heir. O, for grace to know what the Lord is calling for at my hands in everie station, place, and condition he has placed me in, that I may live to his honour and prais!

11.—Mr. Alexander Kerr and Tho. Gordon, Glengerak's brother, cam heir. I heard from him of a railing sermon which Thorntoun had at Elgin, at which they wer al displeasd, Bishop and others. Lord! remove and drive out furth of Thy vynyard al hirlings, and those who serve their own lusts, and the lusts of others. Let al the veshels of the Lord's house be holy.

12.—Lethen cam heir this day. . . . We had heard from Edinburgh returns from coosing William. Mr. Tho. McPherson was heir also, and staid this day and the nixt, and preachd at Dyk. He had som gift of pray'r, tho' dull of hearing. He told me that our not hearing keipd him back formerlie. He prayd in the famely in the fornoon. Let not this be a snar to me for Thy nam's sake.

13.—Die Dom. Mr. Tho. McPherson preachd on 15 John: "Evrie branch in me, I purge, that it may bring forth mor fruit." He had sound edifying doctrin.

15.—I had heard from the South by William Firsal, and Windihil's son, Brodie, anent Lethen's circumstances, and his opinion and adviss anent it.

16.—We had cald for William Crombie younger, anent Lethen's bussines. We wer in great perplexitie. We did som things towards the ordouring his bussines. . . . Lethen staid with me several dais of this week. I did sie a great cloud of wrath upon my father's houss, relations, and famely. I justifie God. He has done great things for us, raisd them out of the dust, given many signal deliverances. We have cast off his cords and bonds, and have been unthankful, unfruitful, unmindful of benifits and obligations. The Lord threatens to cutt doun and cast off.

17.—We heard that L. Doun and his Ladie wer gone east, and wer expecting som return from the South anent Nimmo, and Lethen, and others. This did encreass and augment the perplexity of those concerned. Let the Lord dispel this cloud.

18.—William Crombie had gone to Findorn, and had spoke his skipper. I had aimd to seik the Lord in it, and desird to cast al upon the Lord's care and providence. Park and the Dean Hay cam heir. Park staid al night. I offerd my service, and was willing, with Calder and anie other friend, to doe somwhat for his father. Oh! so unsound as I am, the Lord knows; and deceitful is my hart.

19.—Lethen went hom this morning. Park staid most of this day. Alr. Hay spok to us of a purpos he had for the Dean's sister, and induced me to speak to him. I saw Park's straits growing on him.

20.—Die Dom. I heard Mr. William on Tit. 2, 11, 12: "The grace of God," &c. Main and his wiffe wer with me on Saturday and Sabbath. They staid at hom. The weather was stormie, and much snow fell on the

ground. Let not my practis or opinion be a snar or stumbling block to others in hearing.

22.—William Crombie younger, had returnd from Elgin with discuragment, and did much disharten Lethen and Windihils. . . . However, al of us seimd resolut that he should follow advice.

24.—Windihils staid heir with me several dais. We ar under the Lord's hand and arreast, and look to Him, and waits on Him: if he sie fitt to bliss means, or to blast or cross them, welcom be his will.

25, 26, 27, 28.—We wer most in doubt and perplexiti. We wer wonderfuly stoppd and crossd in desings this way. There had fallen great storms and snow. Craigivar and his son, and friends, had gone by to the marrag with Kilrack's daughter. I had gone doun one of thes dais to Granghil, and my wiffe, and her sister.

31.—I have mistold and misrekond a weik. Oh how manie lost dais and weiks have gone over my head! I placed the teinding, the Sinod's meiting, and other things wrong sett doun as to the tym. I heard again from Edinburgh by a Tain post, and to the same purpos that formerlie; that there was som hops of dealing for their friend; that advocat's opinion was favorabl for them; and that the Test wad cleir all. I heard that severals wer imprissond, South and West. Lord! prepar me for trials.

1 November.—Park younger, and Alr. Hay was heir with me. I found that his father's straits wer like to grow on him. Lord! prepar me for trials. Let me not suffer as an evil doer, or as [a] bussie bodie. If Thou cal for sufferings, let it be for Christ's caus, interest, name. . . . Let me not be drunk with the love of the world.

3.—I was purposing to have gone east about my affairs, bot was cald by Calder to goe there: mett with Cowbin and Mr. William Falconer at Dyke, anent Sandie Lie's bussines. Mr. William cam up with me to dinner.

4.—I went West on Calder's call; staid som tym at Boath; heard that severals wer pursheuing Park's tenments for their duties. I desir to be instructed by this. I visited young Kilraok and his Ladie at Geddes, and cam at night to Calder. He told me of his purpos of changing his name. He was apprehensive as to Lethen.

5.—We spoke of several purposes anent disposing of his son. We lookd on his planting, building, policie, enclosurs. I desire to sie vanitie writ on all things heir below.

6.—Craigivarr, and Fovern, and Camphil, cam heir this morning from the mariag of his son with Kilraok's daughter. We took too much libertie in drinking.

11.—Calder cam heir and dind; was goeing to meit with my Lord Dumfermlin at Elgin. I was affraid of inconvenience by meiting with them.

13.—I went to Dumfermlin's lodging. I have no power or facultie to withstand evil. Oh so easie a prey as I am! We drank too much. I staid in Duffus' hous that night, and appointed nixt morning to meit with Dumfermlin again.

15.—I visited Eliz. Innes at Elgin. . . . I mett with Milton; did sie him resolut not to hear, and to suffer the utmost. I dare not censur others. I ought to censur and examin my selfe. I am unstabl as water; as a reid shaken with the wind. He told me, he was of resolution to sell al his estait to Robert Donalson, and to leave the countrey. I desir to have a sympathie with him.

17.—I heard the Ladie Lethen had parted with child, and was unweil. Calder cam heir in the evining, from Moortoun, and staid that night. Alex^{r}. Hay cam heir, Brightmanie's brother, desiring me to meit for him at Leathen nixt day, anent a purpos of mariage with the Dean's sister.

18.—I . . . went to Leathen; mett with the Dean, Brightmanie, and his brother, and others; spoke of that bussines anent Al^{r}. Hay and the Dean's sister.

19.—I cald at Mr. James Urquhart's hous. He said, His work was done: he saw nothing for him to doe, and he would fain be gone and off. I told him, that might be rather a strok and judgment on others than on him. He said, that sin was [the] only thing I neided fear; that was it only wad make the breach.

28.—I heard that Granghil was on his way coming hom. . . . I heard from the Mr. of Forbes. I am afraid he be the wors of thir ill tyms wherein he is fallen.

5 December.— . . . I went to Milton at night; conferrd with him of his bussines; where was A[lexander] D[unbar]. Milton had inclination to putt away his estait. I advisd him to leave the countrey.

6.—At his desir I went in to Burgie. I inclind to have sein Moortoun, and cam hom at night. I mett with old Granghil; heard of the extrava-

gancies of som in the South; of a new Declaration renuncing the King's government. Oh, what spirits ar thes of!

9.—I worshipd God in the morning, and read somwhat on Durham of Scandal. I staid a whil with the Lady Moortoun; saw much goodnes and worthines in that woman; much stedfastnes.

10.—I had an letter from the Register bearing som expressions of his kindnes. I had account of other busines from William and my Aunt.

12.—I was cald to return thither [to Lethen], the nixt morning, to meit with Grant, becaus he was goeing South. I told him he was ill lookd on. He was goeing to meit Huntley at Edinburgh in his return from Court. I heard of the forfaultur of old Duchel, and the trial and examination of others.

13.—A[lexander] D[unbar] spoke to me somwhat anent Dumfail and one of my daughters. I have resingd them to the Lord. Let the Lord ordour their lotts and mine for his oun glorie!

15.—I went airlie to Lethen to meit with Calder, being cald on bussines. I found Mr. James Urquhart's wiffe was broght to bedd. We spok of our affairs with Park, and of his caice, and laid down som way for him.

17.—I heard that Kintor was made Treasurer Depute. I heard of great extravagancies of the wild distracted persons in the South.

19.—I went East this day in the morning. I cald at Grang who was unweil; spoke to him of his goeing to the Parliament, and taking the Test. Let me not be a snare to him, or to any other.

22.—I went this day to the burial of Elizabeth Boid, Thornhill's wiffe, at Forres. . . . I found the Mr. of Forbes inclind to libertie. Oh! so ill exampl as I give him.

24.—I had som insinuations anent Whythauch to my daughter, Elizabeth. I have great aversation from it as can be.

30.—Calder cam heir on his jurnay. We dind at Granghill

31.—He and his nevay, Park's son, went South. I wrat letters there. Lethen got letters from the Ld. Forret and fra Inchdarnie, seiking a discharg of the tocher.

1 January, 1685.— . . . I heard that one Baily of Jereswood had got his indytment, and was to suffer the nixt weik. I desir to be instructed by this, and to know the end of all thes trubls and commotions.

2.—I had a new proposition anent Tan. and my Elizabeth. I was spok to also anent Whthch. [Whythauch].

3.—L. Lilias resolvd to begin her jurnay the nixt weik.

5.—I mett with young Tan. at Dyk. He spoke to me anent my daughter Lis.; which I did shift and declin by al fair means. I was much pressd by him. I look to the Lord to be ridd of this snare. What can be the occasion of it, whether fra the young person, my friend, or whether from others? I have an utter aversation from it.

7.—We took jurnay this day from this place with Lillias, and cam to Elgin at night; visited Dumfermlin at his hous. We took too much libertie with him and Duffus at night in drinking. Oh! I am as a beast before Thee, that I sud return to thes abominations which once I have renunc'd and seim'd to escape. This is the ill which I oft fall and relaps into.

8.—I had letters from Edinburgh giving notice of som Circuit Court to be held at Elgin by a coram of the Councel, Errol, Kintor, and Sir Geo. Monro, anent irregularities. What the Lord wil bring out of this I know not.

14.—Ther was great appeiranc of trubl to the cuntrey. Oh! the cloud that hangs over it, over the famely and my relations. . . . I visited Duffus; saw the proclamation anent renuncing and disclaiming the murdering principls.

17.—I heard that the Bishop was requird to call in al the ministers in his diocie, with elders and beddells, to give account of irregularities.

18.—Die Dom. The heretors and militia, horse and foot, wer cald to convein to attend the Committee of the Councel at Elgin. I spoke to Mr. William F[alconer] anent my concerns, and found him straitnd and shey to me.

20.—I went eastward to provid hors for the Militia who wer to attend the Lords.

21.—I heard the Lords were come to the Boge, and wer to be in this day. I went to the Bishop; spoke with him of my own affairs. Let the Lord

keip me from sinful means and shifts, or trusting in them. . . . I went with the Bishop to the water syd of Spey. They wer reaceavd at Elgin with al solemnitie, and disposd into their lodgings.

22.—They held Court this day. Mr. Todd preacht to them, and after that they went to the tolbooth.

24.—The Lords had purposd a voluntari cess to be granted by the district. Many repind and grudgd at it, blamnd nonconformists for thes consequents.

25.—Ther was great appeirance of trubl and storm upon the cuntrey.

26.—Die Dom. I staid this day at Elgin, and heard Mr. Ja. Straq^{n}· and Mr. Marshal of Invernes. I desir to consider ther doctrin and positions laid. Alas! ar not such given in wrath? Ar thes the Lord's messengers, servants?

27.—Ther wer persons imployd to examin elders, and to take up delations, &c. I lodgd in William Brodie's hous at Elgin, and cald in for som provision. I had no favour with the Lords; found them look stern and squint to me.

28.—We heard they desing sever fynns. They ordourd the calling of som from Ross and Bamfe, som Monroes, som out of Sutherland, ministers in Bamfeshire. They brought in one or two from Spey side.

29.—The adress for the cess was subscrivd by al heretors. Our nighbors and countrey men wer much violent and prejudgd, and did al they could to persuade to severiti. "Ceass from man, whos breath is in his nostrils; wherein is he to be accounted?"

30.—They were preparing lybels against al that wer given up. . . . I din'd with the Lords. . . . I consulted the Advocat, Mr. R. M'Kenie.

31.—The Mr. of Forbes returnd to Brodie for som dais. He had no credit with the Lords as to me. . . . I got my lybel. I askd leave to goe hom til Monday.

1 February.—I am fild and possest with fears of loss, danger; bot am not afraid of sin, or snars, or temptations. There was a bond for the peace subscrivd one of thir dais, which I cannot justifie or warrant my taking. Alas! how easily am I overcom with ani thing, and broght over. A bond to live ordourly, to apprehend vagrant ministers, not to suffer them to live on our ground, and many such things as thes ar.

I continoud in this toun many dais. My wiffe cam to Toun, and appeird

before the Lords. I was cald to ansuear to my libel. I disound frequenting conventicls without my own hous. This is to declin fynns and punishment. Is there ani guilt in this befor God? albeit it had bein that I be ashamd of Thee before men, befor this adulterous and sinful generation. Oh! what is becom of al my resolutions? . . .

One of thir dais also I was fynd in two thousand pound Sterlin, or 24,000 lib. Scotts. The world has bein my idol, and the love of it, and covetusnes, the root of much evil, and the Lord justlie may punish in this. . . . I find al men estraingd; no favor from them. . . . We heard of the sicknes of the King; and som few dais after, we heard of his death. What may be the import of that the Lord knows. . . . We heard of the King's burial, the maner of his death. . . . The Mr. of Forbes also went South. . . . I heard of the appointing an new Parliament by King James the 7; and new members. I heard of the arreast and desing on anie money I had at [the] South.

Ther fell jarrs in betwixt me and Main. I desir to be humbld for it. I heard som suspected him of melancholy. Sal I be the mater of his exercis or troubl, or he of mine. . . . We had meitings apointed anent election of Commissioners to the Parliament. I fear a snar to my selfe in that by taking the Test.

Ther was debate anent election of Commissioners. Moortoun cam hom to that purpos. I declind to take any vote, because I was stil a pannel. I was minting to have some testimonie from the clergie and Bishop of my loyaltie and regularitie. Let not that be a snare to me, for I am easilie ensnard.

I went east to have visited D. Gordon. Spey was great. I cam on Saturday to Kinedor; staid sermon there; and cam hom at night. I was purposd to have taken jurnay south, bot hearing the Parliament was adjournd til 23 April, I staid som dais.

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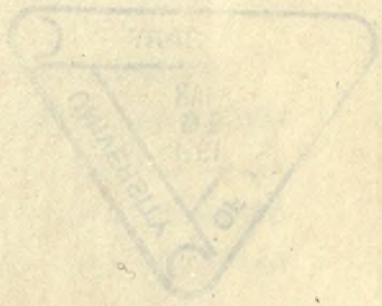
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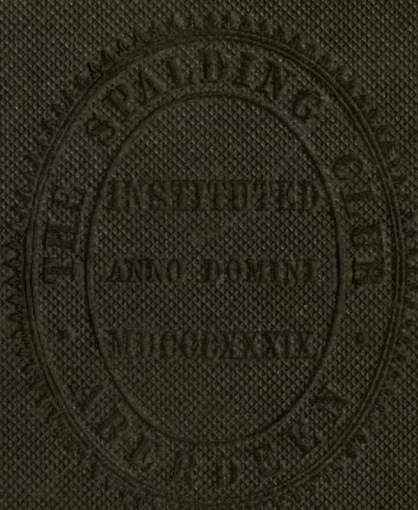
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